The Century Bible

Illustrated

THE CENTURY BIBLE

General Editor—Principal Walter F. Adeney, M.A., D.D.

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THE CENTURY BIBLE

A MODERN COMMENTARY

EDITED BY

PRINCIPAL W. F. ADENEY, M.A., D.D.

VOL. II

ISAIAH

XL—LXVI

DEUTERO-ISAIAH: XL–LV

TRITO-ISAIAH: LVI–LXVI

EDITED BY THE REV.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE, M.A., D.D.

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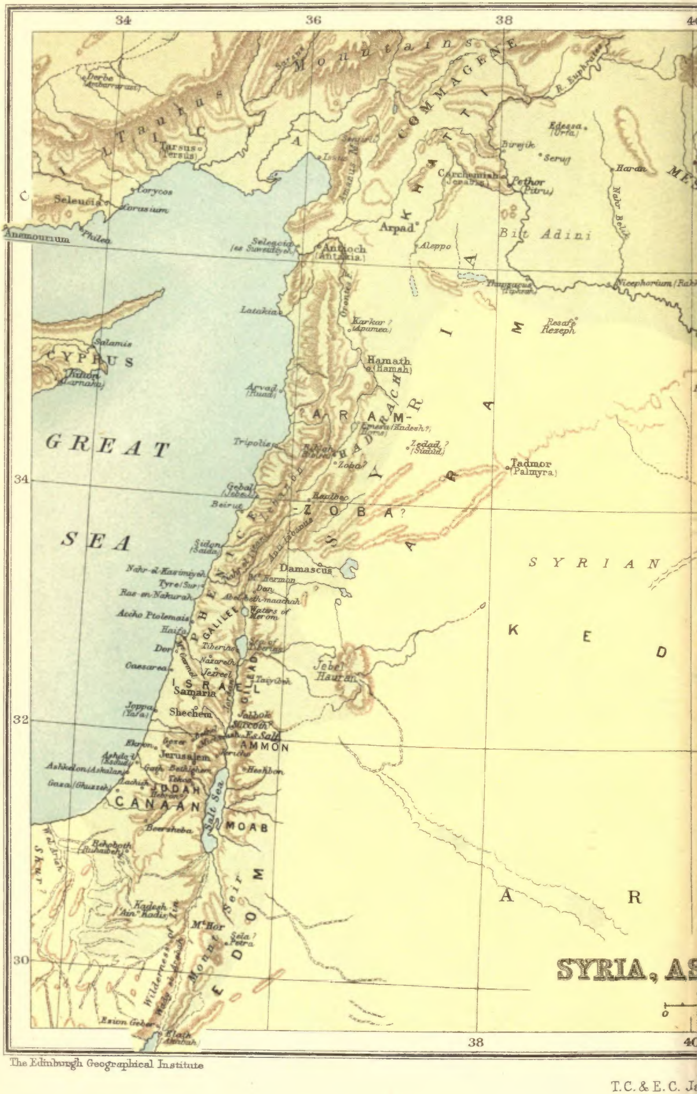
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The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

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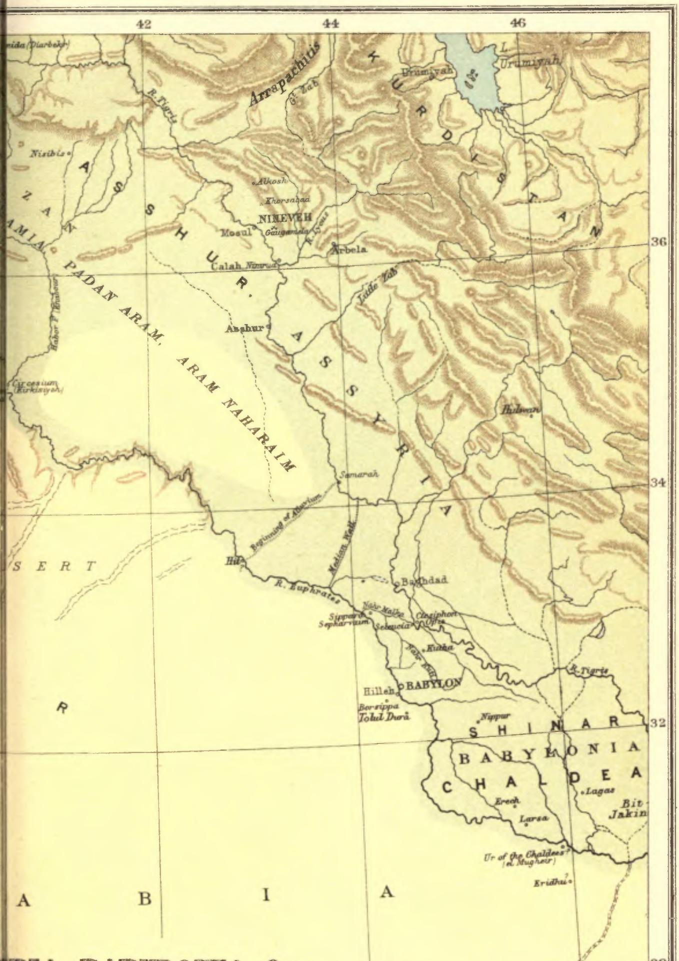
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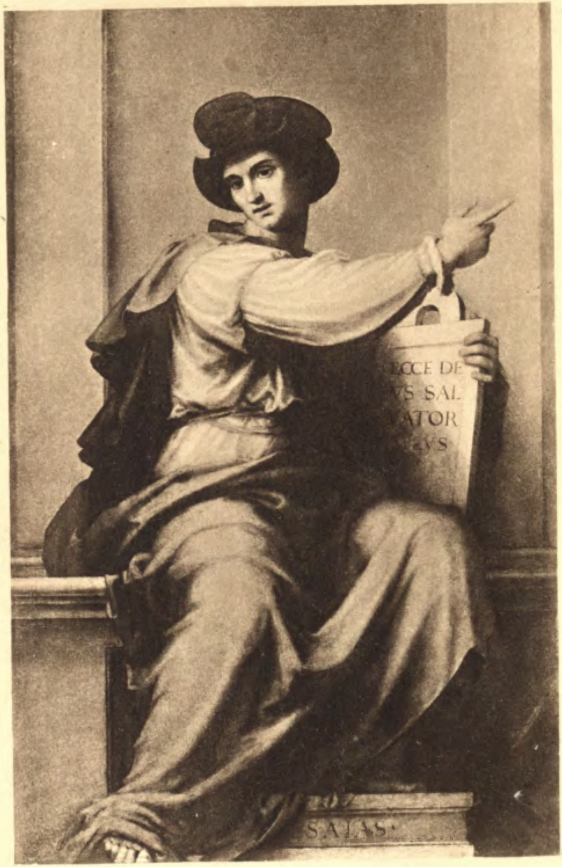
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VS
SAIAS

ISAIAH.
BY FRA BARTOLEMMEO.

The Century Bible
A MODERN COMMENTARY

Isaiah

XL—LXVI

DEUTERO-ISAIAH: XL-LV
TRITO-ISAIAH: LVI-LXVI

INTRODUCTION
REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES
ILLUSTRATIONS

EDITED BY THE REV.
OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE, M.A., D.D.

VOL. II

LONDON
THE CAXTON PUBLISHING COMPANY, Ltd.
CLUN HOUSE, SURREY STREET, W.C.

APR 29 1969

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VOL. II

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET
ISAIAH (CHAPTERS XL—LV)
OR DEUTERO-ISAIAH

INTRODUCTION

ABBREVIATIONS

O.T. Old Testament. N.T. New Testament.

A.V. Authorized Version. R.V. Revised Version.

LXX. Septuagint. A. or Al. Alexandrine codex. B. Vatican cod.

COT. Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, translated from the second edition of the German *Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, KAT.^{2}

KAT.^{3} The third edition in German of the above by Winckler and Zimmern, but an entirely new work on a totally different plan.

KIB. Die Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, edited by Dr. Schrader, vols. i-vi consisting of transcribed and translated Assyrian and Babylonian documents.

ZATW. Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

SBOT. Sacred Books of the Old Testament, ed. Paul Haupt.

PRE.^{3} *Realencyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (third edition).

DB. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.*

DCG. Hastings' *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.*

Enc. Bibl. Encyclopaedia Biblica.

J. Yahwistic writer in the Hexateuch.

E. Elohistic writer in the Hexateuch.

P. Priestercodex or Postexilian document of the Pentateuch.

[S. . . .]. Servant passages in the Deutero-Isaiah. Other bracketed passages are later insertions either by an editor or gloss-writer introduced into the Hebrew text.

KJ. Giesebrecht, *Der Knecht Jahves des Deuterojesaia.*

RS^{2}. Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed.

THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH

(CHAPTERS XL-LV)

CALLED THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. PROLOGUE. HISTORIC ANTECEDENTS OF THE EXILE.

BETWEEN the close of Isaiah's life at the beginning of the seventh century and the exile of the Jewish population in Babylonia there intervene nearly the whole of that century and the beginning of the sixth—about a hundred years. This interval may be characterized in a single sentence. It meant for the Jewish people the final destruction of their kingdom and, in part, of their national hopes; and it also meant the purification of their religious ideas and cultus. This last was the permanent result which the overwhelming tides of foreign invasion, Scythian, Egyptian, and Babylonian, left behind them.

Isaiah of Jerusalem, as we have already noted, uttered a great warning united to a great hope. He warned the nation that destructive judgments would overtake them for their sins against Yahweh—the sins of idolatry, necromancy, blind adherence to ceremonial, and national pride as well as sins of social injustice and drunkenness. Yet he also held out the hope that a remnant of the people would repent, that these would abide with God in their midst in Jerusalem, and that the city would be preserved from destruction. Finally, that a Messiah of Davidic lineage would arise and destroy the Assyrian power and establish the reign of righteousness and peace in Jerusalem.

To these anticipations the Jewish people clung in the dark days that awaited them near the close of the Jewish monarchy; but the warnings were not equally heeded.

Isaiah's prophecy that Assyria's power would be overthrown and that a Messiah would bring about this result was not destined to be fulfilled. The reforms of Ḥezeḳiah's reign were of such transient character and influence that soon scarcely a trace remained. A period of religious reaction set in, and it is to be noted that this religious decline synchronizes with Judah's political subjection to Assyria during Manasseh's long reign (687–41) and the brief reign of his son and successor Amon (641–39). Of this relation to Assyria we have decisive evidence in the two lists of tributary kings which closely resemble one another belonging respectively to the reigns of Esar-haddon and Ašurbanipal, in which the name of Manasseh of Judah occurs. See Schrader, *COT.*, ii, p. 40 foll., and cf. 1 Chron. xxxiii. 11–13. That this vassalage to Assyria gravely prejudiced the popular estimate of Yahweh's power and prestige can admit of no doubt. From the earliest days Yahweh had been Israel's war-God, and in the thoughts of the great mass of the Hebrews this tradition still survived. In the star-worship of Manasseh (2 Kings xxi. 3) we can trace Babylonian influence. On the other hand, the revival of Yahweh's worship and the drastic reforms instituted by Josiah synchronize with the decline of Assryian power, which very rapidly set in after the death of Ašurbanipal in 626 B. C.

The last quarter of the seventh century and the opening of the sixth are filled with the prophetic activity of the most remarkable of Israelite prophets—Jeremiah. It was Jeremiah who was destined to announce the final break of prophecy with nationalism. Isaiah, as we have already seen, was not entirely emancipated from the old traditions of Hebrew nationalism. His contemporary, Micah, was in this respect more advanced (cf. Mic. iii. 12). According to Isaiah Judah was still the object of Yahweh's fatherly solicitude. His personal power and presence continued to reside there. Though Judah was to suffer terrible chastisements—and it almost seems from Isa. vi. 11 foll. that this involved complete destruction—yet, as we learn from other passages, this was not to be. A purified remnant would survive all the fiery ordeals, and Yahweh would not suffer Jerusalem, His abode, to be captured by the foreign invader. This conception was expressed in the significant name *Immanuel*, a watchword of comforting potency in the dark days of the latter half of the eighth century.

But now even this last vestige of national hope was to be extinguished. The reformation in the age of Josiah, out of which the Deuteronomic legislation emerged, had not wrought the cure for national apostasy that had been expected. The deep wounds of the nation were even now but lightly healed (Jer. vi. 14, viii. 11). Avarice and falsity beset all ranks of society, even prophet and priest. It was a delusion to talk of peace or national well-being, for there was none. Jeremiah saw that the moral condition of Israel, social and religious, was beyond remedy. After Josiah had come the ill-fated Jehoaḥaz (or Shallum) and, after a brief and troubled reign, his elder brother Jehoiakim, the nominee of Pharaoh Necho. Judah had now sunk lower than ever, and had become the shuttlecock of the rival powers, Babylonia (which had succeeded to the inheritance of Assyrian supremacy) and Egypt. Once more, as in the days of Manasseh, the prestige and power of Yahweh sank in popular esteem. The mass of the people had never appropriated the teachings of Amos and Isaiah, which lifted Yahweh above the confines of nationalism and made Him the universal Lord whose nature and purpose were righteousness and whose worldwide rule was based on justice. The true prophets of Yahweh interpreted the disasters of the past as Yahweh's chastisements for idolatry and social wrong-doing. But the popular mind took quite another view. There were, in fact, two classes of opinion. Those who were worshippers of Yahweh clung to the belief which Isaiah's teaching appeared to sustain, that Yahweh would never permit Jerusalem to be captured or its temple destroyed. This view was held by the court and priestly party sustained by the false prophets. Of these Hananiah and Pašḥur were typical leaders. Even after the capture of Jerusalem in 597 B.C. they held that the evils from which Judah suffered were only transient, and that the temple, which had been left intact, would recover within two years the vessels which had been carried away by Nebuchadrezzar to Babylon. Within that short interval his dominion would be overthrown (Jer. xxviii. 2-4).

In contrast with these we have another and a very considerable section of the population who were open idolators, and their numbers must have enormously increased when the Jerusalem temple was destroyed and Yahweh, Israel's national deity, seemed impotent. The idolators would then boldly assert that the religion of Yahweh was played out. The evils from which the nation suffered they believed to be due to Josiah's reformation, which had offended the deities whose ancient cults he had abolished. A vivid chapter in Jeremiah (xliv) clearly exhibits to us these opposed theories of causation. It serves to illustrate the conditions against which Jeremiah waged constant warfare. On the one hand we have the doctrine of the true Yahweh prophets represented by Jeremiah, who declared that the disasters which had overtaken Jerusalem and had destroyed its temple took place because Israel had provoked Yahweh to anger by burning incense in the worship of other gods (xliv. 3). On the other hand we have the opposed theory of the exiled Jewish population in Egypt, inspired chiefly by the women, that the suppression of the worship of Ashtoreth was the cause of all their misfortunes (Jer. xliv. 17-19). Now the worship of Ashtoreth was the most widely diffused of all the cults of the Semitic world at that time. Not only was she worshipped in Phoenician cities, but under the name of Ištar her seductive demoralizing cult prevailed in the cities of Assyria and Babylonia, especially in the former (in the two cities Nineveh and Arbela[1]). She was worshipped in a variety of aspects, as giver of increase (somewhat resembling Venus) and goddess of love, as war-goddess, and as the deity to whom, like the madonna, beautiful hymns of penitence were addressed. Her cult was far more widely spread over the Semitic world than that of Yahweh, and was probably more ancient. To the ordinary Jewish inhabitant the arguments addressed by Rabshaḳeh to the beleaguered inhabitants of Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii. 22) must have recurred in varied forms a century later. And they came with tenfold force after the successive disasters of 597 and 586 B.C. But after 586 B.C. the destruction of Yahweh's temple must have meant to most unsophisticated minds the downfall of Yahweh, Israel's God. They were altogether unequal to the intellectual effort of a reinterpretation of Yahweh's nature and purpose. The vast extension of His domain and the moral elevation of His personality and ends, which the teaching of Amos first emphasized and which Isaiah had preached, were beyond their ken. All that they were able to apprehend was that the rôle of Yahweh, the national war-God of Samuel and Elisha, was at an end. It seemed to close in the last tragic scene with the blackened ruins of Yahweh's temple as its background.

We can now grasp the dimensions of Jeremiah's herculean task. He had to confront two parties. First, the court party and priesthood supported by the false prophets who clung to the last vestige of nationalism and believed that Yahweh would preserve His sanctuary and would save Jerusalem; and second, the increasing band of idolators who believed that the power of Yahweh was waning. The warfare against the first, though bitter and implacable, was not of long duration. Jeremiah had to bear for some years the opprobrium of anti-patriotism.

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[1] See Aŝurbanipal's insc. (Rassam-cyl.) *passim*.

He boldly and passionately proclaimed that the national polity was to be overthrown. Since Jehoiakim had abandoned the traditions of reform inaugurated by Josiah, the future was hopeless. 'The harvest was past, the summer ended, yet the people were not saved.' The stern logic of facts finally proved in 586 B.C. that Jeremiah was right and the court party wrong.

But in the case of idolatry with its worship of 'other gods' Jeremiah had to cope with a more persistent and insidious foe. Ezekiel chap. viii presents a lurid picture of the vitality and prevalence of idolatrous practices and mystic rites in Jerusalem during the exile. And we shall later have occasion to note the renewed strength of idolatry among the exiled Jews.

The teaching of Jeremiah presupposes the final destruction of the national and local ties on which Yahweh's religion had hitherto rested. The Babylonian invasions of 597 and 587 B.C. shattered the national basis of Hebrew religion. Henceforth it was not to be local, external, and national, but it was to be spiritual, internal, and personal. Instead of the religion of a social and traditional organization there was to be the religion of personality and character. There was to be a *new covenant* with Israel. The terms of this new covenant should be carefully studied in Jer. xxxi. 27–34, which Giesebrecht and Cornill rightly regard as the genuine utterance of the prophet. The New Covenant implies that Israel shall henceforth be ruled, not by a system of external ordinances, but by a law written in the heart, an internal operative principle filling every one with the knowledge of (i.e. loyalty to) Yahweh. Accordingly Jeremiah carried the development of prophetic teaching one step further, which was the logical result of the downfall of the Jewish state and its national sanctuary. Stress was now laid on personality re-created by divine grace. Lastly, the prophet did not leave his countrymen without hope of a restoration from exile. It is indeed doubtful whether any prophet whose utterances were mere denunciations of evil and threatenings of disaster would produce a permanent impression. That Jeremiah foreshadowed a restoration is clear from the episode related in chap. xxxii, which records his redemption of some land which his family had possessed in his native village of Anathoth. This event took place in the midst of the siege of Jerusalem, and the occasion makes the act still more significant as an expression of the prophet's faith in the return of Israel from captivity. With this we may compare another passage of like tenor, viz. Jer. xxxi. 15–17 (cf. verses 6–9), which is likewise the genuine utterance of the prophet.

The profound influence which the message and life of Jeremiah exerted on his countrymen, more especially on the exiled communities and their spiritual leader, will be noted in the pages which immediately follow. Great as this influence was, it seems hardly probable that it would have availed to arrest the gradual disintegration of the Jewish nationality, like that of their Ephraimite kinsmen, and with it the disappearance of the religion of Yahweh at this momentous crisis, if it were not for the co-operation of other potent personal influences and the emergence of a powerful historic factor which providentially intervened to avert such a dire disaster. These we shall now consider.

§ 2. THE EXILE PERIOD. EZEKIEL.—THE AUTHOR OF THE 'SERVANT-POEMS' AND THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH.

It is difficult to form an even approximate estimate of the number of Jews who were deported from their Palestinian homes to Babylonia during the interval 597–86 B. C. The subject has been carefully discussed by Meyer[1] on the basis of the notices in 2 Kings xxv. 4 foll., 11 foll., 22; Jer. xxxix. 4 foll., 7, 9 foll., lii. 28 foll., and we should be justified in assuming that over 100,000 men, women, and children were transported to Babylonian settlements during the eleven years referred to. Unfortunately for Palestine, this exiled multitude consisted of the most prosperous and energetic of the population, and included the artisans as well as cultivators of the soil (cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 16). And this was not by any means the entire loss in manhood which the country sustained. There must have been also a considerable migration to Egypt (2 Kings xxv. 26; Jer. xliii, xliv), as the recent discoveries in Assouan (Syene) clearly prove.

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[1] *Entstehung des Judentums*, pp. 108–14.

The forlorn condition of Judah, deprived of all but the weakest and poorest of the population, and possessing no leaders capable of restoring prosperity to the state, can be readily imagined. The land became in consequence an easy prey to the ambitious designs of the Egyptian king Pharaoh Ḥophra (Apries) and of his successor Amasis until a victorious campaign against the latter by Nebuchadrezzar (568 B. C.) put an end to danger from this quarter. Meanwhile fresh troubles arose within Palestine itself. The Edomites, who had already taken part in the destruction of Jerusalem (Ezek. xxv. 12, xxxv. 7, 10; Ps. cxxxvii. 7), forced their way into Judah from the South-East, at this time of depopulation and weakness, and established themselves in the region of Hebron.

Jerusalem still remained the centre of the depopulated region. Among the ruins left by the invader modest buildings were once more reared. Jer. xli. 5 gives a glimpse of the surviving religious life. There we learn that after the departure of the Babylonians offerings were brought from Samaria, Shechem, and Shiloh to the spot where the old temple of Solomon, now in ruins, stood. From Lam. i. 4 we might infer that there were still priests in Jerusalem, and we may assume that the altar of Yahweh in the temple enclosure was re-erected. But the darker obverse side of the religious life of Judah is presented in Ezek. xxxiii. 25, and the indications contained in Jeremiah's oracles confirm the impression of a widespread idolatry.

We now turn to the life of the exiles in Babylonia. Among the spots where they settled was Tel Abîb, near the river Kebar, which is identified as one of the numerous canals of the Euphrates (Ezek. i. 3, viii. 1). In Ezra viii. 15–17 mention is also made of the places Casiphia and Ahava. It is impossible to assert definitely whether the exiles were scattered over the country or lived in compact settlements. We may infer from Ezek. xiii. 9 and Ezra viii. 17 that they maintained their ancient clan or family descent carefully preserved in registers. Accordingly it was the heads of these families (fathers' houses) who were the leaders of the individual communities (Ezek. viii. 1 foll.; Ezra viii. 1). These exiles, as we learn from Jer. xxvii foll. and Ezek. xii. 21—xiii. 23, had been deluded by the hopes with which false prophets and soothsayers had flattered them to look for liberation from evils and the return to their native land in the near future when the yoke of Nebuchadrezzar should be broken. With strange self-gratulation they regarded themselves as the true Israel, and looked down with self-complacency on those who had remained behind in the home-land. To a certain extent this superiority was well founded. We have already observed that the best manhood of Judah had been deported to Babylonia, and there can be no doubt that the general condition of these exiled communities was superior to that of their kinsmen in Palestine. The protection of the Babylonian monarch and the settled order and government of Babylonia brought them distinct and far-reaching advantages which reacted on the subsequent development of Judaism. The Babylonians treated their war-captives more humanely than the Romans in subsequent days did. The latter sold them as slaves, but the Babylonian conquerors not infrequently settled them as free men within their own borders[1];

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[1] See Meyer, *Entstehung des Judentums*, p. 113, footnote.

and, even if they were reduced to the status of slaves, their position was far more tolerable than it would have been under the Roman Empire in Italy[1]. The tone of respect with which Ezekiel speaks of Nebuchadrezzar was well justified. Babylonia was a land of industrious peace which, unlike Assyria, flourished by agriculture and commerce rather than by spoliation and war. Jeremiah had excellent reasons for his wholesome counsel to the exiled population: 'Build houses and dwell in them, plant gardens and eat their fruit, and seek the welfare of the land[2] whither I have exiled you' (Jer. xxix. 5).

The Jews who devoted themselves to agriculture or commerce in Babylonia lived in a much larger world than their Palestinian brethren. The latter probably gave up their exiled compatriots for lost in much the same way as the descendants of the deported Gileadites and Naphtalites as well as the Ephraimites of Samaria (in 721 B.C.) who became absorbed into the population of the surrounding districts in Assyria and Media (2 Kings xvii. 6, cf. xv. 29). Doubtless the process was slow, but it was sure, and, in the circumstances, inevitable. It is in fact pretty certain that this fate did overtake a considerable number of the Jews who settled down in the Euphrates lands, lived prosperously, resigned themselves with contentment to their lot, and placed themselves under the tulelage of the gods of the land whose temples adorned the chief cities of Babylonia of which these were respectively the lords and patrons. All this would be expected of a foreign race planted on foreign soil, inasmuch as the social life of any Semitic land was closely bound up with its religious cultus and sacra. Of this we have a vivid illustration on Palestinian soil in the case of the deported Babylonians whom the King of Assyria had placed in Samaria, who at once became worshippers of Yahweh (2 Kings xvii. 24 foll.).

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[1] 'The slave had a great amount of freedom, and was in no respect worse off than a child or even a wife. He could acquire property, marry a free woman, engage in trade, and act as principal in contract with a free man' (Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws*, &c., p. 168). See also art. 'Servant (Slave)' in Hastings' *DB.*, pp. 463, 467.

[2] So read with LXX (followed by Giesebrecht, Duhm, and Cornill).

It was in truth a very critical period in the history of the Jews and their religion. The capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. and the destruction of its temple must have come upon the exiles of 597 B.C. as a terrible shock, which aroused many a patriot Jew from the vain delusive dreams of a speedy overthrow of Nebuchadrezzar and of the restoration of the temple treasures. The imminent danger now to the *Palestinian* Jew was that he would surrender his belief in the power of Yahweh and lapse back into the Canaanite cults to which the Hebrews in former centuries had been so prone (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 4–20). As we have already seen, this proved to be the actual result. The danger to a Hebrew in a *foreign* country, which was also the land of his *conquerors*, was that he would worship the conqueror's gods, the patrons and lords of the foreign soil, who had, in accordance with current Semitic ideas, shown that they were mightier than Yahweh the God of the Jew. How serious this danger was both in the days of Ezekiel and later in the time of the Deutero-Isaiah is shown by many indications. The prophecies of Ezekiel sometimes appear to partake of the character of an *apologia pro fide sua.* He is at the greatest pains to maintain the honour and glory of Yahweh in the midst of a gainsaying generation. All the resources of his eloquence and his highly-wrought style, which loved to express itself in rich elaborate diction and in the complex, cumulative effects of a luxuriant imagination, were devoted to his single great theme—the majestic and overwhelming might and glory of Yahweh, the God of Israel. In attestation of this he sets forth the terrible chastisements which God would inflict on all the unfaithfulness and idolatry of Israel and the vindication of His might in Israel's restoration.[1]

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[1] Compare Lofthouse in his introduction to Ezekiel in this

This restoration is portrayed in an elaborated scheme which occupies the last nine chapters of the book.

Ezekiel is the first among the trio of great personalities who belong to the exile period and rescued the religion of Yahweh from dire peril of utter extinction in this—perhaps the greatest—crisis of Hebrew history. We must, therefore, consider for a few moments this powerful creative genius, so many-sided in his gifts, at once prophet, priest, and far-sighted statesman.

In the days of Ezekiel the externalities of the past national life and religion of Israel had been buried in ashes and ruins. In exchange for these Jeremiah had led the people to the more permanent internal foundations of a spiritual renewal. But can a religion permanently subsist in this world of space and time without some external concrete embodiment? To the Jewish exile in Babylonia, unable to break away from the local traditions of religious life, the ritual of sacrifice so integral to worship was impossible in an alien land (cf. Isa. xliii. 23 foll. and note). Ezekiel, with the imaginative and at the same time practical genius of a statesman, took up once more the broken threads of Israel's religious traditions and wove the strands anew into statelier and more attractive forms of ritual and of national polity, adapted to the new conditions of life and thought. He was the pioneer in the reconstruction of national life on the basis of a reorganized ecclesiastical system. This reconstruction occupies the closing nine chapters in the collection of his prophecies. They differ entirely from the Deuteronomic system of legislation. There, it is true, we have a theocracy, but the nation and national institutions maintain their due place in the scheme. But in Ezekiel's constructive effort the ecclesiastical dominates throughout. In his earlier oracles Ezekiel (xxxiv. 33 foll.) speaks of one shepherd, Yahweh's

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series, pp. 17–19, and especially the suggestive remarks of Peake in his *Problem of Suffering in the O. T.*, pp. 30–2.

servant David, who is to rule over united Israel. But in chaps. xl–xlviii (572 B.C.) the rôle of the prince is a very shadowy one and recedes into a secondary position. The foreground is filled by the temple and its precincts and the functions of the officiating Zadokite priesthood. The prince, it is true, has a central domain, but his function is largely ecclesiastical. The theocracy is not a national kingdom in the old sense. God is to rule over a church-state. His universal power and glory are not to be manifested in a Jewish monarch's kingdom and throne, but in His own august restored temple which is to be the centre of the restored commonwealth. On this the gaze of the exiles was fixed by the eloquent idealist. In chap. xliii we have a description of the solemn entry of the God of Israel through the eastern gate of the temple, which is filled with His glory. In chap. xlvii there is a beautiful portrayal of the fertilizing and healing stream which issues out of the sanctuary and flows through the land, deepening as it flows. This concluding section of Ezekiel's prophecies, descriptive of the temple and its ritual, the centre of the restored Jewish people, concludes with an inspiring phrase which is the new name bestowed upon the Holy City Jerusalem—*Yahweh is there.*[1]

This is not the place to refer in detail to Ezek. xxxvii, which prophesies in the symbolic vision of the dry bones revived (verses 1–14) respecting Israel's moral renewal and restoration; and also, in the symbol of the two sticks united, respecting the unification of Judah and Ephraim. We have, lastly, in chaps. xxxviii and xxxix a portrayal of the final victory of Yahweh achieved on behalf of Israel over Gog and all the forces of heathendom.[2] Such were the ideals and hopes with which Ezekiel strengthened and inspired his exiled fellow countrymen in the early days of their foreign life, and strove to arrest the disintegrating forces to which they were exposed amid the imposing civilization and cultus of Babylonia.

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[1] Perhaps suggested to this literary prophet by Isaiah's watchword *Immanuel.*

[2] Some recent critics have doubted the genuineness of these chapters, but on what do not appear to the present writer valid grounds.

Ezekiel, with his powerful and attractive personality and the singular fascination of his prophetic style, passed away probably before the close of Nebuchadrezzar's reign. No sign of deliverance from captivity, which became more galling as the successive years elapsed[1], greeted the eager expectations of the exiled community, who fed their declining hopes on the oracles of departed prophets. It is not in the least surprising that as time went on faith began to wane. Hopes drooped and languished, and the exiled Jews in larger numbers yielded themselves to the seductions of Babylonian cults. The logic of facts seemed to demonstrate that Marduk and Nebo were more powerful than Yahweh. How serious this menace to the Jew's allegiance to Yahweh became in the latter part of the exile period is clearly revealed in numerous passages of the Deutero-Isaiah, who is constantly at the pains of emphasizing the undisputed and sole pre-eminence of Yahweh and the utter impotence of foreign deities, on whose images (with their image-makers) he pours the bitterest scorn. Let the reader take note of the passages xl. 12-17, 21-31 ; xli. 4, 5 ; xliii. 9-13 ; also xl. 19, 20 ; xli. 6, 7, 28, 29 ; xliv. 8-22, 24-6 ; xlvi. 1-10.

Now the writings of the Deutero-Isaiah were composed near the close of the exile-period, when the ascendant star of the Persian conqueror Cyrus attracted the attention of this prophet whose oracles are our subject of study. There can be no doubt that the advent of Cyrus came at the crucial point of the struggle between the Yahweh religion of the Hebrew prophets and the polytheism of

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[1] We can clearly infer this from the contrasted attitude of the prophets Jeremiah (xxix. 5-7, xxviii. 14, xxxviii. 3, 17) and Ezekiel (xxvi. 7-11, xxix. 18-20) towards Babylonia and its ruler and that of the Deutero-Isaiah (xlvii. 6 foll.).

Babylonia and Canaan. In the centuries subsequent to the reign of Cyrus Persia was destined to wield a great, mysterious, and by us hitherto inadequately explored influence over Hebrew religion, especially in the ultimate realms of evil and evil powers, of angels and eschatology. But these subjects lie beyond our province. It is sufficient to say that the prophecies of restoration, which had been first uttered by Jeremiah and afterwards developed by Ezekiel, were now definitely linked by the Deutero-Isaiah with the personality of the Persian conqueror whom he designates as the anointed servant of Yahweh. Yahweh, the supreme Lord of the World, had destined Cyrus to work out His own divine purpose of restoration for His cherished and beloved people Israel.

We cast our gaze back over the critical period of a quarter of a century that intervened between the close of Ezekiel's ministry and the prophecies of the Deutero-Isaiah. What happened in this interval? Nothing happened to better Israel's external lot and bring hope to the exile. In the earlier days the glowing pictures of a revived and reunited people, ruled over by a prince of David's line (Ezek. xxxvii), had directed the earnest faith and expectation of the Jews to the dawn of a happier day of freedom which they believed would soon approach. But, as the years passed by, there was no sign of approaching light. Even the growing power of Media afforded no consolation to the captive. The years 565 to 550 B.C. must have been a period of midnight darkness to the Jew. The power of Babylonia still remained unbroken, and the pious Jewish exile would often ask

'Hath God forgotten to be gracious?
Will Yahweh cast off for ever,
And be favourable no more?'

At this crisis of Israel's despair there arose a seer who spoke in the midnight darkness words, some of which have been preserved to us by an ardent disciple, the

Deutero-Isaiah, who incorporated his utterances among his own. We only possess these utterances in the four so-called 'Servant-poems,' viz. Isa. xlii. 1-4, xlix. 1-6, l. 4-9, lii. 13—liii. 12.

The last of these, which is the longest, is also the most notable and impressive, and it has exercised the profoundest influence over Jewish as well as Christian thought.

All critics are agreed as to the distinctive character of these poems, but respecting (*a*) the meaning which is to be attached to the term 'Servant of Yahweh,' which is the subject with which these poems deal, and (*b*) the authorship and date of the poems, the widest difference of opinion prevails. The literature on the subject is so extensive that it is impossible to deal with all the varieties of opinion and all the debated points. Some of these will be found discussed in the commentary. We confine ourselves to the main issues and to the results which the present writer regards as most probable.

(*a*) We begin with the question: What is meant by the term 'Servant of Yahweh'? Let it be clearly understood that the traditional Christian opinion that the servant here is simply the prophetic portrayal of Jesus Christ, who died for the world's sins, is an untenable view, as untenable as the identification of the 'young woman' (called 'virgin' on the basis of LXX) in Isa. vii. 14 with the mother of Jesus. The special mode of interpretation of the O. T. out of which such interpretations arose will be found by the reader explained in the introductory remarks to chap. liii. Modern scholars are agreed in holding that the mediaeval Jewish interpreters were on the right path in maintaining that the suffering servant in these passages is a personification of the suffering Jewish community. What is this suffering community? Was it the entire Jewish race, or was it the pious exiles only, still faithful to Yahweh, who maintained themselves in seclusion from the idolatrous worship, magical practices and social institutions of the Babylonians as well as from the society of the degenerate fellow exiles around them, and thereby incurred the persecution and hatred which has been the bitter lot of Jewish populations in Europe even now? In the following pages and in the commentary we shall endeavour to show that this latter is the true interpretation of the expression 'Servant of Yahweh.'

When we turn to the oracles of the Deutero-Isaiah we find in them the same expression 'Servant of Yahweh' (or, when Yahweh is the speaker, 'My servant') constantly recurring. According to the view upheld in these pages, this expression was borrowed by the author from his revered predecessor, the author of the four Servant-poems. On the other hand, critics, like Budde, Giesebrecht, Marti, Cornill and others, hold in opposition to Duhm that both in Deutero-Isaiah and in the Servant-poems this personification has the same meaning. It merely designates the race Israel, and on this ground, as well as on that of the close parallels in language, it is argued that the author of the Servant-poems was the Deutero-Isaiah himself.

Duhm, on the other hand, holds the opposite view in an extreme and, in our opinion, untenable form. He is right, however, in maintaining that a contrast is clearly marked between the conception of the 'Servant' in these four poems and that which meets us in the Deutero-Isaianic passages. In the Deutero-Isaiah the 'Servant' represents the entire Jewish race called 'Israel.' He is represented as a prisoner plundered, despised and a worm (xlii. 18–24), and also by no means as an ideal personage, for he is blind, deaf, and full of sin, though chosen by God's gracious purpose, protected by His might, and destined for a glorious future. But in the Servant-poems the Servant is a more exalted personality, though a victim of dire persecution. He is pure and innocent, is Yahweh's disciple, chosen by Him to minister to the heathen world and to carry the light of divine truth to all nations. His sufferings and death are an atonement for the guilt of Gentile nations as well as for that of his own race (xlix. 6, liii).

(*b*) We now come to consider the question of the *authorship* and *date* of the Servant-poems. Duhm correctly observes that the Servant-poems may, at any rate in most cases, be detached from the contiguous matter without serious detriment to the continuity of thought. This clearly indicates that they were insertions. On the other hand, it can be shown that the context in some cases is affected by their presence. Take the case of the first Servant-poem (xlii. 1–4): verses 6 foll. are obviously connected in thought with the majestic passage that precedes. And the same may be said of the verses that immediately follow another Servant-poem, viz. xlix. 1–6. Likewise lii. 10, which precedes the final Servant-poem, certainly seems to prepare the mind of the reader for the final Servant-poem, lii. 13—liii. 12, which should probably be regarded as a final judgment-scene in which the Gentiles are summoned to bear witness to the moral purity and exaltation of the Suffering Servant. On these points the reader will consult the following commentary. Now all these links of connexion are important, as they are fatal to Duhm's theory (which we hold to be untenable on other grounds), that the Servant-passages were composed in post-exilian times, written, in fact, after the Book of Job, since the leprosy with which the martyred servant is afflicted may be regarded as a borrowed trait. On the other hand, the ideal of the priestly tribe of Levi contained in Mal. ii. 5–7 is held by Duhm to have been moulded by the reminiscence of the character of the Suffering Servant in Isa. liii. There is no cogency whatever in these arguments. The traits of the Book of Job may with quite as good, if not better, reason be regarded as the reflexion of Isa. liii rather than vice versa. Both deal with the problem of suffering, but the point of view is different. As for Mal. ii. 5–7, the connexion is far too slight to base any argument upon it. Moreover, if we transfer the growth of the conception of the Suffering Martyr-servant into the post-exilian period 536-450 B.C. we are coming within the time out of which arose the writings of Haggai, Zech. i–viii, Malachi and lastly the Trito-Isaiah, a period when ecclesiastical ideas begin to assume importance and the spirit of legalism and of Jewish particularism were growing. Of all these tendencies the Servant-poems exhibit not the faintest trace. In fact their spirit is the exact negation of them. The post-exilian period was uncongenial soil for the growth of the Servant-poems.

Accordingly we are led back to an earlier time to which the internal relations subsisting between the Servant-poems and the Deutero-Isaiah decisively point. The writer lived and wrote between 565 and 550 B.C., i.e. before the ascendant star of Cyrus aroused the dying hopes of Israel. It was the midnight darkness of the Jewish race. The minds of the still faithful and pious community were harassed by the problems of the national misfortunes in the past and their own present sufferings. Where was the fulfilment of the Divine promise that in Abraham and his seed all families of the earth would regard themselves as blessed[1], his name being taken as the type and symbol of one whom God has greatly prospered? Why was Israel, God's chosen people, so severely chastised? Surely the sins of the people had received adequate retribution. Was Israel exceptionally guilty above all other races of mankind that the strokes of adversity and humiliation should fall upon him so heavily? Why should Yahweh allow His own devoted and faithful followers to languish in ignominy and persecution without hope of better days? Would the better days ever come? Or had Israel no place or function in the future of the world? It was the task of the writer to attempt an answer to the troubled heart of Israel.

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[1] Gen. xii. 3 can only be interpreted in the light of the parallels xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, where the Hithpael or reflexive form is used. The expression 'shall bless themselves in thee (or thy posterity)' means any one of any race shall call himself happy 'as Abraham,' whom God hath so greatly blessed; cf. Gen. xlviii. 20, where Jacob says to his grandsons: 'In thee shall Israel bless, saying, "God make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh."' For the obverse example of 'cursing' cf. Jer. xxix. 22 (so Dillmann, Holzinger, and Gunkel). The traditional interpretation based on LXX, Vulg., &c., must be rejected. See Bennett's *Genesis* (in this series) on this passage.

It was the problem of suffering once more definitely presented for solution. Israel's calamities had already been interpreted by the earlier prophets from Amos to Jeremiah as Yahweh's chastisements inflicted for Israel's past disloyalty. But a new solution was needed. It was this ever-recurring mystery of pain that the prophet seeks once more to solve to the harassed faith and the perplexed conscience of the still faithful exiled community, torn with doubts and fears as to the future of themselves and their religion. The solution is attempted from a wholly different standpoint, and to our modern thought, unfamiliar as it is with the ritual and underlying conceptions of sacrifice, it seems that the writer pursues a strange path—the mysterious path of *atonement*. For the first time perhaps in the world's history an altruistic ideal of life is set forth of the highest and purest type as a solution of the great enigma of pain. We are well accustomed to the solution of suffering as discipline. But discipline may be destitute of any high moral value. It may be for my own personal advancement rather than for my neighbour's good. The thought of this Hebrew poet took a loftier flight. It was the sublime conception that Israel was exiled in Babylonia that he might, as God's servant, carry the light of God's saving truth to all the nations of the world that was destined to serve as the anodyne to the pious exiles' sorrow and perplexity. The main theme of the poet's message is to be found in xlix. 6. Here we see that the restoration of exiled Israel, first prophesied by Jeremiah and set forth with characteristic elaboration and artistic detail by Ezekiel (xl–xlviii), still remained the cherished hope of this poet. But its fulfilment seemed a long way off, how long no man could conjecture, for no sign of dawn was visible. But Israel's restoration was not the main function of Yahweh's Servant. It was in truth secondary. A higher task awaited him :

'To establish Jacob's tribes,
To restore the scattered[1] of Israel,
Is task too slight for My Servant.
Yea, I will make thee a light to the Gentiles,
That My salvation may extend to earth's bound.'

The writer had evidently drunk deep from the wells of Jeremiah rather than from those of Ezekiel. Such chapters as Ezek. xxxviii, xxxix were wholly alien to his modes of thought. He had pondered deeply over the great oracle of the New Covenant (Jer. xxxi. 31), and it was the spiritually purified and inwardly renovated community—now probably represented by a small remnant of the exiles—who endeavoured to keep faith and hope alive, and suffered scorn and persecution, that was destined to execute this, the highest mandate that any people can perform, the service of mankind.

The passage just quoted clearly shows that the poet drew a distinction between Israel in the widest sense (including all the Jews of Palestine as well as the *Diaspora*) and the pious and faithful band of the followers of true prophecy living in Babylonia. This distinction meets us again in the last poem of the series, viz. in liii. 8, where the Servant stands opposed to his own generation, i. e. the contemporary Jews, the 'people' to whom the latter part of the verse refers as failing to realize that the sufferings of the Servant were an atonement for their own sins.[2]

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[1] So we should read on the basis of the LXX.

[2] It is not possible to deal at length with the controversy respecting both these passages and Giesebrecht's expedients

The poet regards this society of Yahweh's true believers as the nucleus of a redeemed people. These are the true, genuine Israel, though they be now but a remnant and a minority. Probably the early oracles of Isaiah of Jerusalem, delivered nearly two centuries before, were recalled by him, together with the significant and prophetic name, Sheār-yāshûbh, bestowed upon Isaiah's son. The writer quite naturally passes from the nucleus of the future redeemed Israel to the larger Israel which it was to restore and rally round itself and which it in a true sense represented. The ancient Orient was not bound by the severe logical restrictions of consistency which are the recognized necessity of our modern Western thought. Hence it is not in the least surprising that an Oriental poet should in the exuberance of his faith call the Servant of Yahweh 'Israel, in whom God is to receive glory.'

The character and work of the Servant are gradually unfolded in each successive poem. His gentle modesty, his tender regard for others, and his unfaltering pursuit of righteousness are recorded (xlii. 3) in the *first* poem. In the *second* we learn something of his world-wide prophetic mission. In the *third* we hear for the first time of the bitter scorn and contumely through which God's Servant is compelled to pass and the steadfast faith wherewith he patiently endures it all, confident that God is near him and will vindicate him in His own good time against his adversaries (l. 6–9).[1]

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in support of his theory which identifies the Servant of these passages with empiric Israel. The reader is referred to the commentary on xlix. 6, where Giesebrecht succeeds by elimination of a clause in verse 5 and the excision (suggested in this instance by Duhm) of another clause in verse 6, in securing a text more favourable to his theory.

[1] From the expression 'my vindicator (justifier) is near' (verse 8) we have no right to infer, as Giesebrecht does (K. J., p. 47), that the deliverance was to be immediate. The passage is the vivid expression of confidence that Yahweh is near to His Servant in these times of distress, and will one day triumphantly vindicate His Servant's claims and worth.

The vindication of the Suffering Servant is described in the *fourth* or *final* poem, which is considerably longer and unsurpassed in its pathos and power. Unfortunately it has been marred in its transmission by evident signs of textual corruption in the closing verses. Its character is best described by calling it a final judgment-scene. The Gentiles for whose salvation the Servant has been destined, and for whom he has laboured and suffered, are now summoned by Yahweh to bear their testimony before His august tribunal. Yahweh is the first speaker. The triumph of the Servant is consummated at last, and Yahweh Himself declares that the final exaltation is commensurate with the depth of the previous anguish and humiliation. And yet the final glory is spiritual only. It would be an error to press the concluding words of this poem as a prophecy of material greatness. The language is that of Oriental metaphor. We move in a great spiritual world, and the earthly dimensions shrink and vanish. The poet who sings in the midnight darkness gazes into the infinite realms of the midnight sky. And thus we see no longer Jerusalem and its walls, so prominent in the thoughts and utterances of the Deutero-Isaiah. Even the temple has vanished. For all that is local and national has passed away, purged out by the fires of sorrow. The writer belongs to the spiritual lineage of Jeremiah and not of Ezekiel. We dwell no more within the confines of Israel's world, but in the larger realm of humanity and God. This is made clear by the verses that follow (chap. liii).

After the address of Yahweh, Gentiles are summoned to bear their testimony. They declare that what they have heard is almost beyond credence. We now learn for the first time that the Servant has suffered a martyr's death which was an atonement for the sins of the Gentiles as well as of Israel. In the concluding verses, which exhibit too evident signs of textual defect, Yahweh once more speaks (verses 11, 12) and confirms what has been uttered by the Gentile spokesman. The martyr-people shall be perpetuated in their posterity. They shall attain to high dignity and privilege among the great and strong.

We here reach the furthest development as well as highest point of Hebrew prophecy as it extends from Amos through Isaiah to Jeremiah and the poet of these four remarkable fragments. It is probable that the last died in the land of exile. He may indeed have been conscious of his own approaching death when he wrote the lines (liii. 8, 9):—

'By oppression and judgment he was carried oft,
And among his generation who would reflect
That he was cut off from the land of the living,
On account of the transgression of his people was he smitten
to death.
And one appointed with the wicked his grave
And with evildoers[1] his sepulchre.'

We may reasonably suppose (with Duhm) that the pathetic figure of Jeremiah persecuted and imprisoned (Jer. xxxviii) was also present to the mind of the poet[2].

The relation of those Servant-poems to their context clearly reveal the profound impression produced by their author upon at least one younger contemporary, the

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[1] So we should probably read the amended text: see commentary.

[2] The writer has not sought to make this Introduction a fully-stocked museum of hypotheses both possible and impossible. No reference is made to Sellin's view (concurred in by Winckler) that the Suffering Servant is to be identified with Zerubbabel, a theory which he subsequently abandoned in favour of another which identified him with the exiled king Jehoiachin; both equally improbable. The reader is referred to Cheyne's article on the *Book of Isaiah* in *Enc. Bibl.*, who emphatically (col. 2205) denies that the Deutero-Isaiah was the author of the Servant Songs. On the other hand, the present writer altogether disagrees with his opinion that the inserter and editor cannot be identified with the Deutero-Isaiah, and that to this later editor xlii. 5–7, xlix. 7–9^a are to be ascribed. See the notes on these passages.

Deutero-Isaiah. That this latter was one of the elder poet's reverent disciples is fairly evident. The phrases and ideas which the elder poet employed recur in the oracles of the younger—notably the phrase 'Servant of Yahweh' (or in the utterances of Yahweh 'My servant'). This expression, however, as we have already observed, is consistently used in a wider and less ethical sense by the Deutero-Isaiah so as to include the whole of Israel with all their vices as well as their virtues. It would obviously be contrary to all correct ritual traditions for one so defective as a blind and deaf servant to be offered up as an atonement (Deut. xv. 21; Lev. xxii. 22-4; cf. xxi. 16-21; Mal. i. 7, 8). Respecting the defects of the Servant in the Deutero-Isaiah, cf. Isa. xlii. 18, 19; xliii. 25; xliv. 22. Here we observe the wide interval that separates the earlier from the later prophet. That a reverent disciple, who often pondered over the words of his great master, should repeat his phraseology with certain variations, such as 'my justification (vindication) is nigh,' li. 5 (cf. l. 8), is the natural if not inevitable consequence of the close personal relation of master and disciple.[1]

On the other hand, when we live and move in the atmosphere of the younger prophet's thought, it will be found that we have descended to a lower level, though we are still in the high uplands. The restoration of the exiles and the rebuilding of the Jerusalem walls and temple, to which no reference is made by the earlier poet, became a vivid and dominating conception in the later, when the advance of Cyrus was threatening Babylon and the deliverance of the exiles came nearer to realization (xl. 2-4, 9; xlvi. 13; li. 3, 17; lii. 1, 2, 7-9, and in reference to rebuilding, xliv. 26, 28; xlv. 13; xlix. 16; liv. 11, 12). It is quite true that the universal ideal of Israel as God's Servant, destined to bring the light of His saving truth to the Gentiles, was a cherished conviction which the disciple had learned from his master (cf. xlii. 6 with xlii. 4 and xlix. 6), but with the earlier poet it was the dominating conception in all his poems, while in the later it has become secondary. The thought of the later poet chiefly revolves round the ideas of Yahweh's universal and invincible sovereignty and power and His unabated love for His people Israel—qualities which will find their triumphant manifestation in the return of the exiles and in the restoration of Jerusalem and its temple. On these themes all the resources of his majestic diction are expended. We note, however, the decline of the high ethical spirit of altruism so characteristic of the earlier poet. We hear of Israel's sufferings, but no longer of Israel or an elect portion thereof as bearing the burden of the world's guilt. Mankind falls into the background. The Gentiles are accessories in the drama, whose duty is to minister to Israel's glory. They also render homage to Yahweh, but it is rather the Yahweh of Israel than of mankind. Cyrus is to conquer Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sabaea and make their captive inhabitants slaves to the Jews. The wealth of Egypt and the gain of Ethiopia are to swell the triumph of Israel's restored power and dignity (xlv. 14). Gentiles are to perform the menial task of carrying the Hebrew exiles back to their own land. Foreign kings and queens are to bow down to Israel and lick the dust. The previous relation of Israel to Gentile races, viz. of vassal to superior lords, is now to be reversed (xlix. 22, 23; cf. li. 22, 23).

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[1] With xlix. 6 comp. xlii. 6, 7. A list of the phrases may be found in Giesebrecht's *K. J.*, pp. 128-31; xlix. 7 as a parallel to xlv. 14 should, however, be excluded, since xlix. 7 is Deutero-Isaianic and is foreign to the ideas of the earlier poet; liii. 12 *a* should certainly not be pressed into any comparison with xlv. 11. There is not the faintest suggestion that the strong are to *serve* or be *subject* to the Suffering Servant. Duhm rightly observes:—'The meaning is that God's Servant will stand on an equal footing with the mighty ones of the earth, although himself no mighty one nor king of royal blood.' This is manifest in the closing lines of verse 12.

Another point of contrast between the earlier and the later poet is the evident influence of Ezekiel over the latter[1]. In Ezek. xliv. 6–10 the introduction of an uncircumcised foreigner into the sanctuary of the future commonwealth of Israel is strictly prohibited. The influence of these ideas respecting holiness and uncleanness is evident in Isa. lii. 1, when it is said respecting Jerusalem the holy city, 'There shall no more come unto thee the uncircumcised and the unclean.' Cf. lii. 11. Even the faint trace of Messianic expectation connected with the line of David (probably Zerubbabel) visible in lv. 3, 4 seems to have been derived from Ezek. xxxiv. 23–31, rather than from Jer. xxiii. 5, 6. Cf. also Isa. liv. 11 f. and note.

Thus the contents of the Deutero-Isaiah exhibit a remarkable blending of the highest spiritual and ethical ideas, which had been derived from the teaching of Jeremiah as well as from the elder contemporary, the poet of the four Servant-passages, combined with other conceptions belonging to the lower plane of nationalism. The latter were evidently stimulated by the advent of Cyrus. That event awakened in the later poet those glowing anticipations whereby he sought to rouse the declining religious life and hopes of his fellow countrymen.

§ 3. CHAPS. XL–XLVIII AND XLIX–LV. PLACE OF WRITING AND STYLE OF THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH.

It will not be necessary to restate here the grounds for the almost universally accepted belief of Old Testament scholars that chaps. xl–lxvi originated from quite another source or rather sources than Isaiah of Jerusalem. The authors of those chapters evidently lived in wholly different historic environments from that which surrounded the prophet who uttered his oracles in the days of Aḥaz and Ḥezeḳiah. Ever since the time of Rosenmüller[2], the author of the *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum*, nearly a century ago, an ever-increasing band of scholars have perceived that no satisfactory interpretation of chaps. xl–lv is possible unless we assume that Jerusalem was in ruins, its temple destroyed, and a considerable portion of the Judaean population had been deported into exile in Babylonia. On the foundation of these presuppositions all the allusions of these chapters become clear and intelligible. Seventy years ago Gesenius placed the accumulated evidence of style and contents in masterly and convincing array in his commentary on Isaiah. Further investigations have not in any degree diminished the cogency of his arguments, though the analysis of the last twenty-seven chapters has been carried much further and with varying results. Since the death of Gesenius all the wonderful results of cuneiform discovery hitherto attained have shed a wonderful light on the history and civilization as well as the religion of the new Babylonian empire. We are now in possession of the records of Nabonidus and Cyrus, who reigned at the very time when Isa. xl–lv were composed. But these important results of archaeology have only served to illumine and confirm what the more advanced critics of the earlier half of the nineteenth century had already put forth as the result of their investigations. During the last twenty years, it is true, we have attained still further results, mainly through the researches of Cheyne in England and of Duhm in Germany. It is now generally recognized that chaps. lvi–lxvi form a group which stands quite separate and belongs to a later, post-exilian period (Trito-Isaiah). This last group of chapters is therefore treated separately.

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[1] Duhm's assertion (Commentary, 2nd ed., p. 380) that the Deutero-Isaiah was wholly unacquainted with Ezekiel is therefore unwarranted.

[2] The criticism which separated the last twenty-seven

But respecting chaps. xl–lv there have been considerable

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chapters and assigned them to a later authorship of course goes back to a still earlier date, viz. the latter part of the eighteenth century, when Koppe added his own contribution to the German translation of Lowth's commentary. Koppe was soon after followed by Eichhorn, the teacher of Ewald.

differences of opinion. The main point of divergence has been the question of the unity of authorship of both the groups of chaps. xl–xlviii and xlix–lv. With reference to xl–xlviii, which herald the advent of Cyrus, critical opinion has been fairly uniform in assigning them to a writer[1] who lived in Babylonia and indited these prophecies at some date between 555 and 538 B. C. (i. e. from the time when Cyrus began his conquering career to his capture of Babylon), most probably between 545 (capture of Sardis) and 538. On the other hand, some critics have hesitated to assign chaps. xlix to lv to the same author as that of the preceding section. Among these Kosters, who held that there was virtually no return of the exiles to Jerusalem in 536 B. C., referred xlix. 12–26, li. 1–16, and lii. 17—lii. 12, liv foll., to a distinct writer from the author of chaps. xl–xlviii. The former lived not in Babylonia but in Palestine. Kosters based his view on grounds of style, such as the use of the expression 'holy city' in lii. 1. But the apparent specialities of phraseology on which Kosters relies are certainly outweighed by the resemblances to the Deutero-Isaianic diction of xl–xlviii. Moreover, as Cheyne points out (*Encycl. Bibl.*, 'Isaiah' (Book) col. 2204), the tone of optimistic idealism displayed in these passages would hardly be possible for a resident in Jerusalem in the days of Haggai and Zechariah.

Accordingly we have well-assured grounds for holding that xl–lv were almost entirely composed by one hand. In what place were they written? Duhm appears to suggest Phoenicia, but the grounds seem exceedingly weak. Nor has Ewald's view, that they were composed in Egypt, much to commend it.[2] On the other hand, the evidences which point to Babylonia as the place of authorship for chaps. xl–lv are exceedingly strong and may be enumerated as follows:—

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[1] When we speak here of unity of authorship, it must be understood that we except the 'Servant passages' as well as occasional interpolations.

[2] Ewald (*Propheten*², III, pp. 12, 30) holds that Isa. xiii. 2—xiv. 23 as well as xxi. 1–10 were composed in Babylonia, but that xl–lxvi (excepting lvi. 9—lvii, which Ewald assigns to

1. The victorious progress of Cyrus would be noted in Babylonia owing to its geographical position and waterways far more quickly than in Canaan, and still more would this argument apply if Egypt comes into comparison.

2. The scenery in xli. 18 (where we should probably translate 'water-channels' rather than 'water-springs' in accordance with the Babylonian use of the same expression[1]) and xliv. 4 is characteristic of Babylonia and its irrigation, while the specific reference to trees in xli. 19 reminds us of the parks consisting of varied trees in which Babylonian and Assyrian monarchs delighted, and which were in many cases brought from the lands which they had conquered.[2] Cf. li. 3.

3. Kittel in 1898 called attention[3] to the remarkable parallels in phraseology between the language of Isa. xliv. 27—xlv. 1–3 and that of the Cyrus-cylinder (see Commentary, ad loc.), which appears to indicate that the Hebrew writer was familiar with the court-style current in Babylonia. This only a residence in the country would have enabled him to know.

4. The references to ritual in xliii. 23, 24, where 'frankincense' and 'sweet cane' are mentioned, are derived from the elaborate worship of Babylonia. See Commentary on the passage.

5. The references to magic and astrology in xlvii. 9,

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the time of Manasseh), were composed in Egypt, on the ground of xli. 9, xliii. 3, xlv. 13 foll., xlvi. 11. It is enough to say that these passages furnish a very insufficient support for his theory.

[1] See the note by the present writer in Schrader, *COT.*, ii, pp. 311–13.

[2] See art. 'Garden' in *Encycl. Bibl.*

[3] *ZATW.*, 1898, Heft 1, p. 189 foll.

12, 13 are as vivid and definite as those of Ezek. xiii. 17–23. Both evidently indicate that the writers were in close contact as eyewitnesses with the practice of Babylonian magic. The researches of King, Tallquist, and Zimmern into the cuneiform documents have given us a clearer insight into the incantation rituals of Babylonian sorcery.

6. We have no mention of Canaanite deities, not even of Baal and Ashtoreth, but only of the two chief deities of Babylonia, viz. *Bêl* (an epithet of *Marduk* or Merodach[1], the god of light and tutelary deity of Babylon) and *Nebo* (xlvi. 1). Both names are significant. For there are certain parallels between the Hebrew Yahweh and the Babylonian Marduk, while Nebo (Babylonian *Nabû*) was a god who was widely worshipped in Babylonia. His name enters into the names of the first two and last (viz. Nabonidus = Nabûnaïd) Babylonian monarchs of the New Empire. The god Nabû was the bearer of the tablets of destiny, yet he did not know, as Yahweh did, of the advent of the victorious Cyrus (xli. 22, 23, 25, 26, xliii. 9, xliv. 25 foll., xlvi. 9–11).

7. Contact with Babylonian mythological ideas is strongly suggested by the lyric passage Isa. li. 9, 10. Rahab, the monster whom Yahweh is said to have 'hewn in pieces,' bears a close analogy to the dragon-goddess of the deep, *Tiâmat* of the Babylonian Creation Epic. The conflict waged against her and the god Kingu (with other allies) by the god of light, Marduk, is described at length in the fourth tablet of the Creation-Series, lines 85–145. After the slaughter of Tiâmat by Marduk, we read in lines 137 foll. that

> 'He hewed her to pieces like a fish, a flat one (?), in two halves
> Out of her one half he made and covered the heaven.'

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[1] Zimmern, in *KAT.*[3], pp. 356, 374, 395 foll.

[2] The reader is referred to the article 'Cosmogony' in Hastings' *DB.*, vol. i, pp. 504–6. On p. 505 a concise summary of the Babylonian Creation Story will be found, and

It is of course true that we have possible traces of the existence of this myth among the Hebrews in pre-exilian days. It may well have existed in Canaan in very early times, i. e. before 1400 B. C., when the Babylonian language and civilization were widespread along the Palestinian littoral, and thus came to influence the early Hebrew inhabitants. All this is suggested by the Tell-el-Amarna tablets (about 1400 B. C.), as well as by the close parallels between the opening chapters in Gen. i–ix and the legends contained in the cuneiform records. At the same time there is no passage where the reference to the conflict of Marduk and Tiâmat is so clear and vivid as in Isa. li. 9, 10 (Pss. lxxxvii. 4 and lxxxix. 10, 11 are evident echoes from this passage in the Deutero-Isaiah). This fact is significant, and can hardly be explained except by the close contact of the writer with Babylonia, the source whence the legend sprang.

8. The influence of the Babylonian language on that of the Deutero-Isaiah is indicated by the expression 'take hold of the hand' (xli. 13, xlv. 1) and the rare Hebrew word for 'bowl' in li. 17, 22 which is apparently a borrowed Babylonian word (*ḳabu'tu*). In later days this loan-word appeared to Hebrew readers so strange that copyists inserted the ordinary Hebrew word for drinking-bowl or cup (*kôs*) as an explanatory gloss.

These eight grounds for concluding that the Deutero-Isaiah composed his oracles in Babylonia might be supplemented by others of a negative character, viz. the absence of any allusion to Canaanite cults, towns, or populations (e. g. Philistines, Ammon, Moab). Some of these grounds, taken individually, might be considered not to carry much weight, but taken together they have great cumulative force.

We now come to the consideration of the *characteristic*

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passages in the pre-exilian O. T. which contain references to the dragon of the Chaos-depth are cited.

style of the Deutero-Isaiah. This we can only indicate so far as it appears in the English version. The many specialities of *Hebrew* terms and phraseology cannot be exhibited in a work such as this. They are fully set forth in Cheyne's *magnum opus*, the 'Introduction to Isaiah,' pp. 250–70, and in briefer and more condensed form in Dillmann-Kittel's Commentary, p. 349 foll. It is, however, easily possible to set forth before the English reader many features of style characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah which appear in an English rendering. Among these may be cited—(1) The tendency to *reduplicate* the phrase, e. g. 'Comfort ye, Comfort ye' (xl. 1); 'I, even I' (xliii. 11, 25, xlviii. 15, li. 12); 'Awake, Awake' (li. 9, 17, lii. 1); 'Depart ye' (lii. 11). (2) The introduction of divine utterances by a series of descriptive clauses setting forth God's attributes commencing with 'Thus saith Yahweh' (xlii. 5, xliii. 1, 14, 16–19, xliv. 6, 24, xlv. 18). (3) Certain recurring formulae, e. g. 'Fear not, for' (xli. 10, 13 foll., xlii. 1, 5, xlv. 2, liv. 4); 'I, the first and last' (xli. 4, xliv. 6, xlviii. 2); 'I, Yahweh and none else' (xlv. 5 foll., 18, 22, xlvi. 9). (4) The combination of the divine name with the following epithets:—'Creator' (xliii. 1); 'Stretcher out of the heavens' (xl. 22); 'Fashioner of Israel' (xliii. 1); 'Redeemer' (xliii. 14, xliv. 24*a*, xlviii. 17*a*, xlix. 7, liv. 8). (5) Other expressions such as 'Lift up thy eyes above' (xl. 26, xlix. 18, li. 6—also in lx. 4). 'Things to come'= the future (*ôthiyyôth*), xli. 23, xliv. 7, xlv. 11. (6) Lastly, we note the tendency to accumulate descriptive clauses, xl. 22–3, xliv. 24–6, xlvi. 3; in reference to Israel, xli. 8, 9, xlvi. 3, xlviii. 1, xlix. 7; in reference to Cyrus, xlv. 1 [1].

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[1] For a fuller list of contrasts between the special diction of Isaiah and Deutero-Isaiah the reader is also referred to Prof. Driver's useful handbook *Isaiah, His Life and Times*, 2nd ed. (1904), pub. Francis Griffiths. This writer, however, does not draw the distinction between Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah established by recent criticism (Duhm, Cheyne, Marti), and fully recognized in this volume. *Some* of the

In general it may be said that the diction of the Deutero-Isaiah is rich and full, and though the style may be considered as distinctly rhetorical in form, it possesses great dignity and impressiveness.

§ 4. THEOLOGICAL CONCEPTIONS OF THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH.

(a) *On God.* Respecting the character and sovereignty of God the Deutero-Isaiah's conceptions were framed on those of the eighth-century prophets Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, but are expressed in language of fuller compass. Like Amos he portrays Yahweh as the creator of the material universe (cf. Amos v. 8; ix. 6[1]) in numerous passages of great sublimity (xl. 22, 26; xlv. 12, 18). All other objects in the universe, even individuals and nations, shrink into utter insignificance compared to Him (xl. 15–17, 22). Both His power and His mind are infinite (xl. 28), and this power He will bestow on the weak (verse 29). All else is transitory while He abides eternal and His word is as eternal as Himself (verses 7, 8) and is ever potent (lv. 10, 11). His power over nature is constantly emphasized so that He can effect whatever transformations He will (xl. 4, xli. 18, 19, xlii. 15, xliv. 27, 28, li. 10). He is also Lord of all time as well as of space, the First and the Last (xli. 4, xliv. 6, xlviii. 2).

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characteristic phraseology of the Deutero-Isaiah is also found in the Trito-Isaiah. It should be noted, however, that *not one of these special characteristics of Deutero-Isaianic style which are noted above is to be found in the four Servant-poems.*

[1] These verses, resembling others which assert Yahweh's cosmic supremacy and also His lordship over human destiny (of foreign nations as well as Israel, ix. 7), are rejected by Wellhausen, Nowack, and recently Harper, chiefly because they appear to break the sequence of thought. The grounds hardly appear adequate for the excision of this passage from the genuine utterances of Amos, though the style may partially resemble that of the Deutero-Isaiah, and some features remind us of the Book of Job.

Hence all events as they occur, such as the victorious career of Cyrus, are known to Yahweh, the omniscient Lord of Time, before any other knew it (xli. 26, xlii. 9). Cyrus was predestined for his victorious career by Yahweh long before Cyrus knew what was to await him (xlv. 6, 7). Thus while Yahweh communicates the knowledge of future events to His own messengers, He makes the soothsayers mad and frustrates their tokens (xliv. 25, 26).

Both *righteousness* and *holiness* are predicated by the Deutero-Isaiah of Yahweh. With regard to *holiness* the conception is essentially ethical and does not differ from the use of the term in the eighth century prophet (see especially chap. vi, and note on the word) from whom the Deutero-Isaiah borrowed the term, 'Holy One of Israel'. But as G. A. Smith (art. Isaiah in Hastings' *BD.*, i, p. 496) clearly shows, the conception of righteousness and righteous (*ṣĕdāḳah, ṣedeḳ, ṣaddîḳ*) as applied to Yahweh had undergone a change in the Deutero-Isaiah corresponding to the change of conditions. In the eighth century righteousness implied the purity and justice of God's nature which demanded corresponding qualities in the conduct of His people in an age of terrible moral and religious declension. The Deutero-Isaiah, living among his exiled fellow countrymen in Babylonia, was confronted by different conditions. Prof. Smith truly says that the moral problem of the sixth century (550–38 B.C.) was concerning '*God's power and will to fulfil His word and redeem Israel.*' Righteousness includes, therefore, the idea involved in the Hebrew *ĕmeth*, viz. faithfulness, consistency with His promises. Cf. xli. 2, 26, xlv. 13 and note. That this was the prevailing conception in the mind of the Deutero-Isaiah does not exclude the fact that the word is also used in other senses (see xlv. 8, and note). On this large subject of the use of the term Righteousness (i.e. the Heb. *ṣ-d-ḳ* and its derivations) in the Deutero-Isaiah, see Skinner's full note in his commentary on

Isaiah (xl–lxvi) in the 'Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges' (Appendix, Note ii, p. 238 foll.).

With reference to the *monotheistic conceptions of Yahweh*, it may be said that the Deutero-Isaiah closely approximates an absolute monotheism, but does not actually reach it. Absolute monotheism was obtained more slowly than most readers of the O. T. imagine. It is true that an unrivalled and indeed utterly incomparable pre-eminence is assigned to Yahweh in His sovereignty and omnipotence both in time and space. It is also true that the gods of polytheism are spoken of as utter nothingness and vanity and utterly impotent (xlvi. 7, cf. xliv. 9 foll.). But this does not prove that the deities of foreign nations were regarded as non-existent. Chap. xli. 21–3 show that this can hardly have been the case (see the notes on these verses). In the subsequent evolution of Jewish religion we find the gods of heathendom transformed into demons.

(b) *Israel.* The relation of Yahweh to Israel, called by the Deutero-Isaiah *His Servant*, brings out in strongest relief the ethical character of God. Though the stern discipline of suffering and exile, through which the nation has passed, might seem to suggest that Israel, the bride of Yahweh,—a conception familiar to a Semite and employed with remarkable power by Hosea—had been abandoned by Yahweh, yet this is the absolute reverse of the truth. Yahweh is Israel's Redeemer (xliii 1, 14, xliv. 22, 24, xlviii. 17, xlix. 7, liv. 8). Israel is Yahweh's own (xliii. 1). In the midst of the nation's deepest tribulation Yahweh will ever be near His people to save them from destruction (xliii. 1, 2). Jerusalem, Israel's depopulated city, can no more be forgotten by Yahweh than a child by his own mother (xlix. 14, 15). Israel shall be gently led as a flock by its shepherd, the weak and faint gathered in Yahweh's arm and carried in His bosom (xl. 11). *Forgiveness* is the natural expression of such love, and it is granted freely, though in the past

Yahweh has been 'wearied' with Israel's iniquity: 'I am He that blotteth out thy transgressions for my own sake,' i. e. the ground of forgiveness is to be found in Yahweh's love to Israel.

Respecting Israel's great function as Servant of Yahweh to bring the knowledge of His truth to other races we have already spoken. In the writer of the 'Servant-poems' this conception is fundamental, but in the Deutero-Isaiah it is not so prominent. Cf. above § 2, pp. 18–26.

(c) *Eschatology.* It cannot be said that the horizons of the Deutero-Isaiah's anticipation lie far removed from the present. The consummation of all his yearnings and hopes lay in the immediate future. All Israel's sorrows were soon to cease. The hardships of the past were at an end, and all the sins of the older time were more than atoned for (xl. 2). The bow was in the cloud, and the 'waters of Noah' should flood the world no more (liv. 9). Messianic ideas revive which since the days of Ezekiel had slumbered. The ideal of Yahweh's Suffering Servant had for a time taken their place, but in what we might perhaps regard as the Deutero-Isaiah's closing utterance (chap. lv) he recurs to the old Isaianic conception of the ideal Davidic ruler of Jesse's almost worn-out stock (xi. 1–9). Zerubbabel of the ancient Davidic line was evidently in his mind as the 'prince and commander of peoples,' the leader of the restored commonwealth. Thus the future anticipations of the Deutero-Isaiah naturally lead us to the Messianic utterance of Haggai (ii. 22).

§ 5. EPILOGUE. DEUTERO-ISAIANIC ECHOES IN LATER HEBREW LITERATURE—THE LEAVEN OF THE 'SERVANT-POEMS.' CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY THEIR ULTIMATE FULFILMENT.

The universalism of the Deutero-Isaiah reverberates in subsequent literature. We shall frequently have occasion to refer, in commenting upon the Trito-Isaiah, to the manifest influence of the Deutero-Isaiah upon its diction and ideas, especially in chapters lx–lxii. The great conceptions respecting Yahweh which find expression in Isa. xl frequently recur in the Psalms. The note of universalism so powerfully struck by the Deutero-Isaiah re-echoes in the religious songs of Judaism. Cf. Ps. ii. 11 (10 Heb.); xxi. 27, 28 (28–29 Heb.); xlvii. 1, 7–9 (2, 8–10 Heb.); lxvi. 1–8; lxvii. 7 (8 Heb.), lxxxii. 1, 8; lxxxvi. 9, 10; cii. 15–28 (16–29 Heb.). The last is a conspicuous example of Deutero-Isaianic universalism. Similarly with reference to phrase as well as idea, Ps. cvii. 35 (cf. Isa. xli. 18).

But our interest is chiefly directed to the high ethical ideals expressed in the Servant-poems. How far did the Jewish nation in the future respond to the high calling of the race expressed in Isa. xlix. 6, 'I will appoint thee as a light to the Gentiles'? The verdict of history has been that the influence of this great conception of Israel as God's missionary race was only partial and fluctuating. It had to contend with that spirit of particularism which seems to be inherent in nationality. Certainly no modern European race dare cast a stone. The great ideas expressed in the Servant-poems had to wage a constant warfare against that spirit of national exclusiveness which sought to keep God's mercies within its own narrow race-walls (cf. Luke iv. 25–9; Acts xxii. 21, 22), and imposed the severe restraints of legalism upon the foreigner who might seek admission to the privileges of the Covenant Race.

Nevertheless the power of these great ideas first definitely expressed in the Servant-poems[1] could not be suppressed. We frequently meet with them in the Psalms in which the conception of God's universal goodness is frequently expressed. Ps. cxlv. 9: 'Yahweh is good

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[1] Only very superficial exegesis could make a claim of priority for Gen. xii. 3 (J); see footnote above on p. 21.

to all and His tender mercies are over all His works.' Ps. xxxvi. 7 (Heb. 8): 'How precious is Thy loving-kindness O God: and as for mankind, under the shadow of Thy wings they take refuge.' Moreover, the heathen are constantly called upon to praise God—Ps. ix. 12, xviii. 50, xlviii. 11, lvii. 10, xcvi, cv. 1, cviii. 4. The universal conceptions also find expression in the Book of Job—a work which is evidently influenced by the Servant-passages, and deals with the problem of suffering from another standpoint. Neither Job himself nor his friends are Jews. Another remarkable example of the influence of the Servant-poems and their central thought (Isa. xlix. 6) is the *Book of Jonah*, a work which belongs to the close of the Persian or beginning of the Greek period. It is a protest against Jewish exclusiveness both eloquent and significant because it seems to stand solitary. God's care for all His creatures extends beyond even the confines of humanity; it includes also the animals within its scope [1] (Jonah iv. 10–11).

When we come to the Maccabaean period (after 168 B.C.) the struggle with Antiochus Epiphanes gave immense impetus to the national spirit and the reaction against Hellenism. The *Ḥasîdîm* or pious devotees, out of whom Pharisaism emerged, were the living embodiment of this tendency to safeguard the observance of the Torah and resist foreign encroachment. All these influences militated against the liberal tendencies fostered by Hebrew prophecy and the missionary function of the Jewish race as God's messenger to mankind inculcated in the 'Servant poems.' Nevertheless these nobler ideals did not perish. In the 'vision of animals' contained in the *Book of Enoch* we have very definite allusion to the conversion of the heathen in the end of the world [2]. Similarly in Enoch

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[1] The author owes the reference to this significant and beautiful trait to Prof. Peake.

[2] Note especially chap. xc. 33–6: 'And all that had been

x. 21 foll., 'And all the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations shall offer me adoration and praise, and all will worship me. And all the earth will be cleansed from every corruption and sin and from all punishment and torment, and I will never again send them upon it from generation to generation for ever.' So also cv. 1, 'And in those days, saith the Lord, they shall call and testify to the children of the earth concerning their wisdom: show it unto them, for ye are their guides.' In the 'Similitudes' of the *Book of Enoch* the universalist conception is expressed even more strongly. The 'Son of Man' becomes the light and hope of the nations, especially of those who are in affliction. All who dwell in the world are to fall down before Him (xlviii. 4, 5 [1]).

When we ask ourselves the question how far Judaism undertook an active propaganda of its faith among the Gentiles, we shall find but few traces of such propaganda in the early post-exilian period. No doubt active efforts

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destroyed and dispersed and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of heaven assembled in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to His house. And I saw till they laid down that sword which had been given to the sheep, and they brought it back into His house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord; and all the sheep were invited into that house, but it held them not . . . And I saw that that house was large and broad and very full.' Cf. also Tobit xiii. 11, xiv. 6, 7.

[1] 'He will be a staff to the righteous on which they will support themselves and not fall; and he will be the *light of the Gentiles* and the hope of those who are troubled of heart. All who dwell on earth will fall down and bow the knee before him and will bless, laud, and celebrate in song the Lord of Spirits' (comp. lxii. 6, 7, 9, lxiii). Bousset in his *Religion des Judentums*, 2nd ed., p. 96, furnishes other illustrative citations from the Slavonic Book of Enoch and Book of Jubilees. The present writer desires to express here his considerable obligations to this important work of Prof. Bousset as well as to Schürer's instructive chapter on the 'Proselytes' in his *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 3rd ed., vol. iii, pp. 102-35.

were made immediately after the return from exile to win over to the true Judaism of the pious exiles those Palestinian Jews, considerable in number, who had lapsed into heathenism. During the early post-exilian centuries we find that the word *gēr* (or *tôshāb*), which originally signified the foreign resident in the land of the Jew, came to be employed in the narrower sense of proselyte or converted Gentile. In fact the Priestly legislation devotes special attention to this *gēr*, and repeatedly emphasizes the fact that the *gēr* has the same ceremonial duties as the Jew. Here we have certainly an indication that the bond that constituted the religious community was *religion* and not mere nationality. But it is easily possible to attach undue importance to this fact. For it cannot be denied that the underlying motive was not any strong desire to win over the aliens, but a tendency which was, after all, exclusive. The Jews after the exile found a large number of strangers dwelling in Palestine, and they were anxious to convert them and so keep the land and community in which they dwelt pure from all foreign contamination in cultus.

It is rather to the *Diaspora* we must look, as Moriz Friedländer in his recent stimulating work has shown[1], for the liberalizing and quickening influences of the Jewish race, and for the real response to the message of the exile poet. Bousset thinks that the enormous increase of the Jewish *Diaspora* in the second century B. C. can only be accounted for by the assumption that those Jewish communities received considerable accretions from without. There can be no doubt that the Hellenic-Roman world was specially accessible to Jewish influence, and especially to Jewish monotheism. Owing to the decay of polytheism and to the teachings of Greek philosophy, the age was ripe for the advent of Judaism. In the presence of the shifting and contradictory speculations of Greek philosophy and its fluctuating societies, the Jews had their steadfast, firmly-welded communities—their fixed religious system and their abiding faith. And there are many testimonies to show that the Hellenic Jew ardently sought to extend his faith among the Gentile population that surrounded him, until he awakened the misgiving and even hatred of those whom he sought to convert[1]. The *Jewish Sibylline poet*, writing in the second century B. C., not long after the destruction of Corinth by Mummius, makes that event the occasion to call the Hellenic world to repentance by reason of the great overthrow and Divine judgment that has come upon it through the Romans. The Jewish poet hopes for a time in which there will reign a universal peace and there will be a common law for mankind upon earth (iii. 744-61; cf. 616 foll., 806 foll.). But it is *Philo* who is the most eminent example of liberal Judaism throwing its doors open wide to the Gentile seeker after God. Greek philosophy moulded his symbolic interpretations of the Hebrew Scriptures. To him the Jewish Torah was a book for the world and not simply for the Jew: 'For it attracts and converts all men, barbarians and Hellenes, the inhabitants of the mainland and of the islands, nations in the East and in the West; Europe, Asia, the whole inhabited world from one end to the other' (*Vit. Mosis*, ii, § 20 (chap. iv): cf. the entire section § 17 foll.).

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[1] *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums*, p. 239 foll.

In the time of Christ the success of the Jewish propaganda is attested by the conversion of King Izates of Adiabene (in Assyria), his mother Helena and his entire household (Josephus, *Antiq.* xx, chap. 2). It is attested by St. Paul's missionary journeys, in which he found side by side with the Jews Gentile co-religionists.[2] Indeed it seems fairly clear that the first successes of Christianity were won in these very circles of Gentile proselytes to Judaism. It is even attested by Christ's own denunciations, which show that the Palestinian Pharisees were also ardent in their endeavours to convert the Gentile: 'Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, dissemblers, for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte . . .' (Matt. xxiii. 15). Judaism, as we know, spoke with two contrasted voices during the first century of the Christian era. *Hillel* was the genial propagandist of his faith among the Gentiles. One of his chief utterances is cited in Pirḳê Abhôth, i. 12, 'Love all creatures and lead them to the law.' And there are many traditions of his gentleness and charity to foreigners and of the like disposition on the part of his followers. A beautiful saying is reported of Simon son of Paul's teacher Gamaliel: 'If a Gentile comes to enter into the covenant, extend to him the hand that he may come under the pinions of the Shechina.' But the other voice, hard and bitter, was that of *Shammai* and his school, characterized by severity and exclusiveness towards the Greeks and checking all tendencies towards a liberal propaganda. The terrible conflict with Rome in 70 A.D., and still later in the uprising of Bar Cochbâ in 135 A.D., stifled the missionary zeal of Judaism. The school of Shammai prevailed. Christianity, which, mainly owing to the efforts of St. Paul, had cast off the restrictions of Jewish nationalism, viz. circumcision, the laws respecting unclean meats and even the Sabbath, had by this time become not a mere sect of Judaism but a universal religion. It now occupied to the Gentiles the place of Judaism, and carried with it the knowledge of the O.T. Scriptures and their ideas, divested of ceremonialism, to all the races of the world. The fulfilment of the great

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[1] Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 96 foll.; Seneca quoted in Augustine, *De Civ. Dei.*, vi. 11.

[2] Called *σεβόμενοι* or *φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν* or *προσήλυτοι*, Acts xiii. 16, 26, 43, 50, xvi. 14, xxii. 4, xviii. 7: cf. Rev. xi. 18. Bousset also quotes the interesting technical expression

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metuens on a number of Latin inscriptions. This writer holds that hitherto the importance of this mission of Judaism to the Gentile world has not been estimated highly enough.

ideal of the Suffering Servant expressed in Isa. xlix. 6 and liii finally passed from Judaism to Christ and Christianity.[1]

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[1] The reader of German is directed to the interesting and suggestive characterization of Jesus, and especially of St. Paul, from a liberal Jewish standpoint, in the concluding chapters iv and v in the above-mentioned work *Die religiösen Bewegungen*, &c., by M. Friedländer. Also on the Jewish Sibylline oracles see pp. 289-95.

THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH

ISAIAH XL—LV

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

ISAIAH

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH

Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. **40**

I. THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH.

Chaps. xl–lv, or Deutero-Isaiah, is a collection of oracles, intended to be a message of comfort and awakening hope to the Jewish exiles in Babylonia, composed 542–538 B.C. (see Introduction).

(1) CHAPTERS XL–XLVIII: THE ADVENT OF CYRUS.

A. Chaps. xl–xli describe the advent of the new and happier time. Yahweh is portrayed in majestic language as standing alone and incomparable, far above and beyond human estimate and conception, supreme in wisdom and might, the hope and strength of all the weak who trust in Him. He will display His might by raising up Israel's deliverer (Cyrus) through whom the people's foes shall be destroyed, and Israel's restoration shall be effected.

(*a*) Chap. xl. 1–11. God commands that a message of comfort and pardon shall be given to His people (verses 1, 2). Heraldic voices are raised to prepare the path for God's advent through the desert (3–6). Another voice declares that while everything human perishes, God's word is eternal (7, 8). An exhortation is addressed to inhabitants of Zion to bring this good news to the towns of Judah, bidding them not to fear, since God is at hand armed with might to render a true recompense and to lead His flock like a faithful shepherd.

1. comfort ye: repetition of phrase, as we have already pointed out (Introd. p. 35), is a characteristic of this writer. Who are addressed? The LXX (or the Hebrew copy which they employed) suppose that it is the priests[1], a conjecture which may be safely rejected. The Targum holds that the prophets are here addressed. This view is more probable. The interesting parallel Isa. lii. 7–9 leads to the conclusion that the words are addressed

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[1] Marked in Q (cod. Marchalianus, sixth century) with the hexaplaric obelus.

2 Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned; that she hath received of the LORD's hand double for all her sins.

to all who are capable of receiving the Divine message (Dillm.-Kittel).

The word 'saith,' corresponding to the Heb. imperf., emphasizes the present time as that in which the utterance is made. Cf. the use of the partic. 'crying,' verse 3.

2. Instead of 'my people' we have **Jerusalem.** From this it is not to be inferred that Jerusalem was already built. Jerusalem merely stands here, as in xlviii. 2, xlix. 14 f., li. 16, lii. 1 foll., 7 foll., to represent the Jewish community. The hope of the glorious future is concentrated in Jerusalem, the old home of the race. Words of comfort are to be addressed to Jerusalem, now in ruins. Both the city and the people it represents can have no conception of the bright dawn which is coming. R. V. (marg.) 'to the heart' indicates the actual Hebrew words here rendered by 'comfortably'. We have the same use of words in the original in Gen. xxxiv. 3, l. 21; Judg. xix. 3. The message of comfort is that the time of hardship or period of forced bond-service is completed. The word in Hebrew, *ṣābâ*, properly means military service, but in later Hebrew, as in Job vii. 1, it means hard bond-service or the work of a hired servant (cf. x. 17, xiv. 14.—In Num. iv. 3, 23, &c. (P) it means the service of the Levites in the sanctuary). It is quite evident that we must take the word here in its later meaning of 'bond-service,' since 'warfare' or military service has no historical relevance to the condition of the Jewish people in the days of the exile.[1]

Translate 'that her iniquity is paid for,' i. e. atoned for or made good. The Heb. verb is difficult to translate, and expresses the graciousness of the Divine act of cancelling or atoning for the guilt. In Lev. i. 4, vii. 18, xix. 7, &c., it is used of God's gracious acceptance of sacrificial offerings. Indeed, God's tender compassions are such that He considers the chastisements which the Jewish race has already endured to be twice as great as those which were due. We gain nothing by supposing that the last clause of this verse is based on Jer. xvi. 18, 'and I recompense unto them [first of all] double of their guilt,' for this only tends to obscure

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[1] Owing to the feminine gender of the word *ṣābā* here, which is most unusual, Marti alters the text and would render, 'she has completed her time of service'; but the modification is unnecessary. The word is also feminine in Dan. viii. 12.

The voice of one that crieth, Prepare ye in the wilder- 3
ness the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a
high way for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and 4

the force of the present passage. Moreover, critics deny that Jeremiah was the author of the verse cited (so Giesebrecht and Cornill). Duhm and Marti formerly affirmed the dependence of this Isaiah passage on that of Jeremiah; but now the former critic, both in his later edition of the Isaiah commentary and in that which he has written on Jeremiah, has withdrawn his earlier view.

3–4. The opening words are most idiomatically rendered 'Hark! there is a cry: "Prepare ye Yahweh's way in the wilderness."' This is the real signification of the word for 'voice' in the original (*ḳôl*).[1] The words 'in the wilderness,' it will be noted, are connected with the words 'prepare ye Yahweh's way.' This is clearly indicated by the Hebrew accentuation which is followed by Dillm., Kittel, and Duhm. On the other hand, LXX, Matt. iii. 3 (and parall.) as well as Vulg., connect the words in the way that has become familiar to us, 'The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord...' This is the rendering of A. V. On the other hand, R. V. have followed what is undoubtedly the correct tradition of our Hebrew Massoretic text, which the following parallel clause, 'make level in the desert a highway for our God,' demonstrates with clearness. In this clause the word 'desert' in the Hebrew original is *'Arābāh.* This, however, does not mean the well-known Palestinian 'Arabah, which included the southern part of the great depression of the Jordan valley including Jericho. This would imply that the great Divine procession is to come by the way of Se'ir, which is geographically most improbable. 'Arabah is here used in its purely generic sense, and denotes the desert between Babylonia and Palestine, through which God is to lead His people, as He did formerly from Egypt (so Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, Knobel, and nearly all recent exegetes): cf. xlix. 11, lii. 8, 12 and also lxii. 10 foll.

Who is the personage who utters the cry? Evidently not Yahweh, or we should not have the expression 'a highway for *our God.*' On the other hand, it can hardly have been a human being, since the whole character of the highway here described implies a task beyond human powers. There appears to be a suggestion that celestial powers are to construct this colossal roadway for Yahweh's triumphal progress whereby mountains and hills are to sink, and the bases of the valleys to rise to form a level path. Is

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[1] The same word occurs in Gen. iv. 10, which accordingly ought to be translated, 'Hark! thy brother's blood cries . . .' see Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*^{26}, § 146. 1, rem. 1.

every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places
5 plain: [and the glory of the LORD shall be revealed, and

the voice that summons them to this task one of themselves, similar to the Seraphs who cry to one another in Isaiah's consecration-vision (vi. 3)? The entire conception is based on this image of a monarch's royal progress for which fitting preparations are made (cf. Mark xi. 8). Cf. the language in reference to Cyrus (xlv. 2).[1]

4. The physical features involved in the levelling process are here described in their large outlines. Probably we should render the latter part of the verse 'the steep[2] shall become a plain and the mountain-ridges an open valley.' Both this and the preceding verse might perhaps have been conceived by the enthusiastic poet as awaiting a literal fulfilment, like the vast physical changes portrayed in Isa. ii. 2. It is by no means easy in dealing with O. T. prophecy to be quite certain where the purely figurative employment of terms enters. In this particular case the purely metaphorical use of the language seems to be required by the geographical conditions, since no considerable hills—certainly no mountain-chains—intervene along the desert journey between Babylonia and the borders of Palestine. Accordingly we have here vivid imagery employed to describe the vast difficulties which are to be overcome by supernatural agencies, whereby the way is to be prepared for Yahweh's glorious advent and Israel's deliverance.

xl. 5–8. Metric considerations combined with those of internal connexion in thought have led Duhm to a complete reconstruction of the order of verses 5–11. The opening lines of the original Hebrew, verses 1–4, are long lines in the familiar Ḳînah or elegiac measure, each consisting of a longer and shorter portion like the metre already described in our commentary on Isaiah chap. xiii (vol. i, p. 183). The following verses in our text, 5–8, all flesh shall see it together: for the mouth of the LORD

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[1] Gunkel, *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des A. T. u. N. T.*, Heft 1, p. 49, note 5, as well as Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der Israel.-Jüd. Eschatologie*, p. 223, thinks this conception borrowed from the solemn street-procession of the god Marduk from Babylon to Borsippa, in which the images of the deities were borne by the priests. We have similar parallels in Egypt; Erman, *Die ägypt. Religion*, p. 43. But these analogies, though suggestive, are hardly convincing.

[2] This seems to be the actual meaning of the Hebrew (*'āḳōbh*, comp. the Arabic *'aḳabat*, meaning a *mountain-path*).

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are not in the same measure. The Ḳinah measure of the opening four verses is not resumed till we come to verses 9–11. These considerations have led Duhm (who is followed by Cheyne and Marti) to the conclusion that the original order of the verses 1–4, immediately followed by verses 9–11, has been disturbed by the insertion of the foreign element, verses 6–8, placed immediately after verse 4, because it opens with the same word 'voice' (= 'Hark!') as the four-lined stanza, verses 3–4. After this insertion had been made, verse 5, consisting of three shorter lines (with the expression strange to the Deutero-Isaiah in the concluding line: 'For the mouth of Yahweh hath uttered it'), was added by a later editor in order to furnish a suitable transition from verse 4 to verse 6 with its announcement that all flesh is grass. Hence the allusion to 'all flesh' in the second line of verse 5.

A careful examination of the contents will probably convince the attentive as well as unprejudiced student that these views of Duhm, based in the first instance on considerations of metre, rest on a strong basis. Let him read consecutively verses 1–4 and 9–11 and he finds himself in one continuous and harmonious current of confident expectation of God's great achievements on behalf of the people who are the objects of His tender care. But how strangely and discordantly does the minor key of verses 6–8 break into this harmony! But what is the actual place and connexion of verses 6–8? There is no sufficient reason to deny their Deutero-Isaianic origin, though their sombre colouring is out of harmony with verses 1–4 and 9–11. Duhm (whom Cheyne in *SBOT.* follows) inserts verses 6–8 between verses 11 and 12, and this arrangement might be accepted in default of a better. Yet even here the minor key hardly accords with the calm exaltation of the lines that follow. We should prefer to insert them between verses 17 and 18.

5. The passive **shall be revealed** is not so probable a rendering as the reflexive 'shall reveal itself.' **Flesh** here, as in so many other passages, means the mortal race: Gen. vi. 12; Jer. xxv. 31; Zech. ii. 17. **All flesh** refers to all humanity and not Israel exclusively. The object after **see** is not expressed in Hebrew, but in our version is rendered by 'it,' i. e. the glory of Yahweh. The LXX seem to have had either another text before them or to have taken objection to the omission of any object to the verb 'see.' They supply as the object 'the salvation of God,' and the Hebrew equivalent of these words is actually added by Lowth, Ewald and Oort in the Hebrew text (cf. also Luke iii. 6). But there are objections to the insertion as it overloads the verse, which consists of three short lines. Not improbably, as

6 hath spoken it]. The voice of one saying, Cry. And one said, What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the
7 goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field: [the grass withereth, the flower fadeth; because the breath of the

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Rosenmüller suggests, the similar passage, lii. 10, may have influenced the translation of the LXX.

6–8. *Human transience and decay contrasted with the Divine permanence.* These verses are in the ordinary distich form quite distinct from the Ḳinah measure of the first four verses and of verses 9–11:—

> ' "Hark!" one cries, "proclaim!"—and I said: What shall I proclaim?
> "All flesh is grass—and all its charm[1] like the wild flower:
> Dried up is the grass, withered the flower—for Yahweh's blast blows on it;
> Yea, the people is grass.
> Dried up is the grass, withered the flower—but the word of our God abideth for ever."'

6. It will be observed that in place of 'one said,' which is the reading of the Hebrew Massoretic text (which involves obscurity as to the subject referred to), we have followed the translation indicated in R.V. (marg.) based on a different pronunciation of the same Hebrew words and adopted by the ancient versions LXX and Vulg.

7. The 'blast of Yahweh' probably alludes to the hot east wind that scorches up vegetation. The grass and flower do not refer to the might and glory of Assyria and Babylonia only. **All flesh** evidently, as in verse 5, includes Israel as well as foreign peoples. Here the former is intended quite as much as the latter. There is no sufficient reason for rejecting the clause 'Yea, the people is grass' as a gloss, as Gesenius, Hitzig, Oort, and other writers have done. The Hebrew word rendered 'Yea' occurs in xlv. 15, and the expression 'people' as a general designation of the earth's human inhabitants meets us in chap. xlii. 5. It is, however, quite possible that the expression 'the people' here refers more particularly to Israel, since it is the ordinary designation for God's covenant-race (Isa. i. 3; Hos. i. 9, ii. 1, iv. 6 and *passim*).

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[1] We should probably so render the Heb. *ḥasdô* of our text. The LXX render by *δόξα*, 'splendour,' which presupposes either *hôdhô* or *h*^{a}*dārô* (rather than *k*^{e}*bhôdô*).

LORD bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass]. The 8
grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of our
God shall stand for ever.

O thou that tellest good tidings to Zion, get thee up into 9
the high mountain; O thou that tellest good tidings to
Jerusalem, lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be
not afraid; say unto the cities of Judah, Behold, your
God! Behold, the Lord GOD will come as a mighty one, 10

On the other hand, we have stronger grounds for rejecting verse 7 entire, since it is omitted in the LXX, and the repetition of phrase in verse 8 suggests strongly the supposition that we have here a duplication due to the carelessness of a scribe.

9. The Elegiac measure of verses 1–4 once more recurs, and the same spirit is breathed of joyful confidence. The rendering given above (R. V.) differs from that of A. V., which is 'O Zion that bringest good tidings' (placed in the margin of R. V.). The literal rendering of the Hebrew is 'Glad messenger of Zion,' and this is interpreted as an instance of what is called appositional genitive[1], i. e. it means 'Glad messenger, Zion,' or, in other words, 'O Zion that bringest good tidings' (A. V.). This view has very large support. Not only from the Greek translators LXX, Aq., Theod., Sym., but also from Vitringa, Clericus, Ewald, Delitzsch, and others. On the other hand, it is also possible to treat the feminine construct form in the original as a collective sing. So that the rendering should be, 'O messengers of good tidings in Zion.'[2] This explanation is adopted by Duhm and Marti, and is supported by the parallel passages, lii. 7 foll. and also xli. 27.

10. come as a mighty one is the idiomatic[3] rendering of our Hebrew text. But the ancient versions LXX, Pesh., Targ., and Vulg. pronounced the Hebrew characters with different vowels, and probably we ought to follow them and render 'come with strength' (so Gesen. and Ewald, followed by Duhm and Marti).

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[1] Of course the word stands in the original Hebrew as a feminine construction; we have a similar use in Isa. i. 8, daughter of Zion (see our note ad loc.). It is called sometimes an *explicative* or *epexegetic* genitive, Gesenius-Kautzsch ^{26}, § 128, 2, k.

[2] The idiom of this use of the feminine singular is explained and illustrated in Gesenius-Kautzsch's *Hebrew Gram.* ^{26}, § 122 s.

[3] On this idiom, called *Beth essentiae,* see Gesen.-Kautzsch ^{26}, *Heb. Gr.* § 119, 3 i.

and his arm shall rule for him: behold, his reward is with
11 him, and his recompence before him. He shall feed his
flock like a shepherd, he shall gather the lambs in his arm,
and carry them in his bosom, *and* shall gently lead those
that give suck.

12 Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his
hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed
13 the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance? Who
hath directed the spirit of the LORD, or being his counsellor

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His arm shall rule for him means that Yahweh shall conquer His foes by His overwhelming power. As a successful warrior He obtains the reward of His efforts.

11 touches on the more gentle traits of Yahweh's character. He is not only the victorious warrior who breaks down all opposition, but, like a good shepherd, shows tender care for His sheep. Cf. Jer. xxxi. 10; Ezek. xxxiv. 11–16. The Heb. verb translated 'gently lead' is specially used of leading a flock to the watering. Cf. Exod. xv. 13; Ps. xxiii. 2.

(*b*) Verses 12–31 describe in language of great sublimity the incomparable greatness of Yahweh.

Verses 12–16 portray the unsurpassed power and wisdom of Yahweh, and the utter inadequacy of all offerings, in three short strophes of five lines each. The subject, however, is not the same as that of verses 6–8. These latter, as we have said, are conceived in the minor key. But the note of sadness is entirely absent here. Accordingly it is impossible to see here a continuation of the theme of the interposed fragment verses 6–8.

12. The interrog. **who** in this and the following verses means: What human being? and anticipates a negative answer. This rhetorical and negative use of the interrogative is frequent in Hebrew. Cf. Num. xxiii. 10: 'Who has counted the dust of Jacob?' also Isa. li. 19; Job ix. 12, &c.

For **and comprehended**, &c., we might render with more accuracy, 'and hath measured out in the tierce-measure the dust of the earth.' The tierce-measure (Cheyne) means probably a *third* of an *Ephah*, which would amount to about 2⅔ gallons.

13. The Hebrew word here, *rûah*, rendered **spirit**, means the *mind* of God, correctly rendered in the LXX version by *nous*. On the other hand, the mind of a man is represented in Hebrew by the word *lēbh* (which is usually translated 'heart'). The last

hath taught him? With whom took he counsel, and who 14
instructed him, and taught him in the path of judgement,
[and taught him knowledge], and shewed to him the way
of understanding? Behold, the nations are as a drop of a 15
bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance:
behold, he taketh up the isles as a very little thing. And 16
Lebanon is not sufficient to burn, nor the beasts thereof
sufficient for a burnt offering. All the nations are as 17
nothing before him; they are counted to him less than

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clause of the verse is best rendered 'and hath been his counsellor that informs him,' or 'as his counsellor informs him.'

14. It is a distinguishing characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah that he works out his ideas in rich variety of phrase. At the same time this verse is overloaded by the colourless clause 'and taught him knowledge,' which adds a line in excess of the five which constitute the stanza. It is omitted in the version of the LXX, and should be cancelled out of the text as a gloss.

15. 'Behold, the coast-lands he lifts up like fine motes.' Probably we have here a reference to the earthquakes to which the shores and islands of Asia Minor are specially liable (Ps. xxix. 6, cxiv. 4, 6).

16. Yahweh is so great that not all the wood or all the beasts on Lebanon are sufficient to furnish a sacrificial offering that is worthy of Him.

xl. 17-20 continue the same line of thought, viz. of Yahweh's greatness. He is so exalted that no image can be formed of Him. Some critics (Oort, Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti) consider that chap. xli. 6, 7 find their proper place in this section—probably between verses 19 and 20. There is much to recommend this view, since in chap. xli they are unrelated to the context in which they stand.

17. 'Less than nothing' is supported by Vitringa, Clericus, Umbreit, and other scholars, but this rendering is too strong an oxymoron to be probable, though in point of language this *comparative* sense of the Hebrew preposition which precedes the substantive 'nothing' is quite admissible. It is better to follow the ordinary signification of the Heb. preposition and render 'of nothing,' i. e. formed of nothing, having no basis or substance. We might follow Cheyne here and translate the clause:—'They are reckoned by Him as *vacancy* and chaos.' The word *Tōhû* or 'chaos' recalls the cosmogony of Genesis, chap. i. This same

18 nothing, and vanity. To whom then will ye liken God?
19 or what likeness will ye compare unto him? The graven

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word occurs there in verse 2, rendered 'waste' in R. V. (in A. V. 'without form'). In the LXX version of the present passage the word is untranslated.[1] But metre requires its presence.

This verse is not intended to describe God's entire indifference to the nations of the world owing to their utter insignificance, since this would be altogether opposed to the general conception of Yahweh's moral relationship to the races of the world to whom He has destined Israel to be servant and messenger (xlix. 6); but it is intended to portray by a strong image the utter nothingness of men and of nations in comparison with the immeasurable greatness of Yahweh. A certain contrast with xlix. 6 nevertheless exists.

18. The Heb. copula here is rightly rendered in A.V. and R.V. by 'then.' The word 'compare' corresponds to a word in the original which means to 'set over against' as counterpart or resemblance. The same verb is used in Ps. xl. 6 (A. V. 5) and lxxxix. 7 (A. V. 6). It is here that Hebrew monotheism finds in the O. T. its culminating expression. It is significant that in this verse the word for God is neither *Yahweh*, the special national designation of the God of the Hebrews, nor the current plural form *Elōhîm* (which may also be employed to denote foreign deities), but the universal Semitic form (used in Assyrian-Babylonian) as well as Canaanite-Hebrew *El.* This form occurs here without any addendum[2], and is found twelve times in chaps. xl–xlviii expressing the universal God of humanity who stands alone and supreme, inexpressible in the concrete limited forms of the sense-world (so Dillmann).

19. In order to exhibit the absurd futility of representing God by images, the prophet enters into the trivial details of image manufacture.

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[1] There can, however, be hardly any question of the genuineness of the Hebrew word *tōhû* in this passage, as it seems to have been a favourite expression of the Deutero-Isaiah, cf. in this chapter verse 23, also xli. 29, xliv. 9, xlv. 18, 19, xlix. 9.

[2] It is frequently found with the defin. art. prefixed or compounded with another form as *Ēl 'elyôn* ('God Most High,' Gen. xiv. 18–20) or *El Shaddai.* We also find this general Semitic name for God in the Senjirli inscriptions as an appellative name alongside of the god Hadad, Reshef, Shamash (the Sun) and others. The Aramaic proper name Sassariel = Sarsarîel = 'El is King of Kings,' points to the fact that El designates a *supreme* deity. See Baentsch, *Altorientalischer u. Israelitischer Monotheismus,* p. 39 foll., and also Jeremias in *Chantepie de la Saussaye*[3], i, p. 360.

image, a workman melted *it*, and the goldsmith spreadeth
it over with gold, and casteth *for it* silver chains. He 20
that is too impoverished for *such* an oblation chooseth a
tree that will not rot; he seeketh unto him a cunning
workman to set up a graven image, that shall not be

A workman casts the image and a smith plates it with gold and chains of silver he forges (?).

The last clause is difficult in point of construction. In the LXX we find in place of it the rendering of what must have been a totally different text: 'He hath fashioned it as a likeness.' It is quite possible that the text at this point became obliterated through the loss of the two verses, which may be recovered in xli. 6, 7 and obviously fit into this connexion.[1]

> 'One aids the other, and to his comrade says: "Set-to" [*lit.* "be strong"], and the workman encourages the forger—he who beats smooth with the hammer him who strikes the anvil, saying of the soldering "'tis good"—and fixes it with nails that it shift not.'

20. But there are many who are too poor to afford the expense of a metal-plated image. These have recourse to wood, and a workman to set up the image. Translate :—

'He that is too poor [2] (to erect) a dedication-offering chooses un-

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[1] The first to suggest the transposition of these verses into this their true place appears to have been Lagarde, who perceived the true relevance of xli. 7; Oort places them after verse 20, but in this verse the writer proceeds to speak of a *wooden* image, whereas xli. 7 obviously deals with a metal-plated image. Its due place is evidently before verse 20, and follows naturally on verse 19.

[2] It must be confessed that the word so rendered in the original is extremely doubtful. The LXX in their text appear to have had nothing to correspond either to it or to the word 'dedication-offering' (*t*^{e}*rûmah*) which follows. They translate: 'A workman chooses undecaying timber, and will cleverly seek how he shall place his image and that it shall not totter.' On the other hand, it is possible that Duhm is right in supposing that the omitted words in the LXX correspond to the words 'he hath fashioned it as a likeness' [*ὁμοίωμα* (= תְּמוּנָה) *κατεσκεύασεν αὐτόν*], which stand in the LXX at the close of the immediately preceding verse 19 and occupy the place of the clause 'chains of silver he forges,' for which there is nothing equivalent in their version. Duhm endeavours to reconstruct the Hebrew text, which is rendered 'He that is too poor to erect a dedi-

21 moved. Have ye not known? have ye not heard? hath it not been told you from the beginning? have ye not
22 understood from the foundations of the earth? *It is* he that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers; that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in:

> decaying timber, seeks out for himself a skilled workman—to erect a carved image that does not totter.'

The same theme is handled in greater detail in chap. xliv. 9-20.

Verses 21-26 resume the thread of the same topic as verses 12-16 above, and portray God's supreme place and power over the world and its inhabitants.

21. For **Have ye not known,** &c., substitute the present tenses which correspond to the Hebrew imperf. 'know ye not—hear ye not . . . No further emendation in the translation of the R. V. is necessary. It is quite true that our Hebrew text, which is here sustained by the ancient versions LXX, Pesh., and Vulg., requires us to render with R. V. marg. 'Have ye not understood the foundation of the earth' (i. e. its creation by Yahweh), but this rendering, though modern scholars (Gesenius, Hitzig, and Delitzsch) have supported it, is hardly probable, since (*a*) it spoils the parallelism of the verse: 'from the beginning . . . from the foundation of the earth'; (*b*) the omission of the Hebrew preposition (= 'from') is shown to be exceedingly likely when we observe the close collocation of the same consonants in the original text.

22. The character of the supreme God is described in a series of participles, a mode of expression to which the Deutero-Isaiah is partial (also in Job).

> ''Tis He who sits enthroned (partic.) above the circle of the earth—while its inhabitants are as locusts (or grasshoppers) who stretches out like fine gauze the heavens—and has extended them as a tent to dwell in.'

This conception of the world as a circle or disc appears to be late (cf. Job xxii. 14; Prov. viii. 27, in which we have the conceptions of the two discs corresponding to one another as counterparts, the circle of the earth and that of the vaulted sky).

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cation offering,' and translates his emended text, '*He who carves an image* chooses undecaying timber'; but it is useless to weary the reader with the unending discussions about this doubtful passage, which have gone on ever since the days of Michaelis and even reach back to the time of Jerome.

that bringeth princes to nothing; he maketh the judges 23
of the earth as vanity. Yea, they have not been planted; 24
yea, they have not been sown; yea, their stock hath not
taken root in the earth: moreover he bloweth upon them,
and they wither, and the whirlwind taketh them away as
stubble. To whom then will ye liken me, that I should 25
be equal *to him*? saith the Holy One. Lift up your eyes 26
on high, and see who hath created these, that bringeth out
their host by number: he calleth them all by name; by

See art. 'Cosmogony' in Hastings' *D.B.*, p. 503, right-hand col., where it will be seen from the appended diagram how naturally to the ancient Semite such a conception arose. To God, enthroned far above the earth, the crowds of human inhabitants seemed to move on the earth's surface like swarms of locusts (or grasshoppers). The simile was no unfamiliar one to the Hebrew; cf. Num. xiii. 33. The locust or grasshopper was used to express the conception of insignificance and feebleness.

23. 'Who makes potentates into nought.' The downfall of such rulers as Astyages king of Media and Croesus king of Lydia before the irresistible power of God's chosen instrument, the Persian Cyrus king of the province of Anshan (or Anzan), were events that were vividly present to the mind of the writer of these words. They were catastrophes of his recent experience. They furnish a subtle and subsidiary confirmation of the theory that assigns the composition of these chapters to some date between 550 and 538 B.C.

24. The R. V. (marg.) brings out more clearly the idiomatic significance:—'Scarce are they planted, scarce are they sown . . . when He bloweth on them, and they dry up, and a whirlwind carrieth them off like stubble.'

25. The word for **Holy One** here in Hebrew is the adjective *ḳādôsh* without a definite article. As an adjective it occurs in Isa. vi in the cry of the Seraphim, and also in the favourite expression 'Holy one of Israel.' But here it seems to have hardened into a kind of proper name somewhat like Hebrew *El* or Greek *θεός* without the article. We have a similar use of *ḳādôsh* in Job vi. 10; Hab. iii. 3.

26. Look to the stars on high and ask who made them. Then the utter futility of images and image-worship becomes evident.

The Hebrew word *bārâ* for God's creative activity, which is employed here ('hath created') and elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah, begins about this time to be employed as a current term in the greatness of his might, and for that he is strong in power, not one is lacking.

27 Why sayest thou, O Jacob, and speakest, O Israel, My

Hebrew literature.[1] It is used in the post-exilian creation-story of Gen. chap. i (Priestercodex), and also in the late non-Isaianic conclusion of Isa. chap. iv. 5, 6. In the pre-exilian or Yahwistic creation-account in Gen. ii. 4*b* foll. God's formative activity in the creation of the world is expressed by other words.

The conception of the stars as a heavenly martial retinue—an army which in some mysterious way fought in Yahweh's (i. e. Israel's) wars—was familiar to the Hebrews in the old pre-exilian days. Hence Yahweh was called God of Hosts (*Ṣebāôth*). Cf. Judges v. 4, 20 and see note in vol. i on Isa. i. 10 (p. 92). These stars are marshalled and led forth at their rising 'according to number.' As though each member stood upon a muster-roll, each one is summoned by name.

The construction of the closing part of this verse is obscure. If we follow the versions (including LXX) we shall render: 'Owing to great power and strong might (*lit.* might of strength) not one falls behind.' This involves a slightly different punctuation from that of our Hebrew text (*ōmeṣ*, 'might,' being read in place of *ammîṣ*, 'mighty,' in our text). Yahweh's mighty power controls each member of the host so that none fails to be in his place and perform his part. We prefer this to the rendering of Duhm, which is based on an insignificant change in the Hebrew text: 'To[2] (*lit.* "from") Him who is great in power and mighty in strength none is missing,' as though they were revolting from His authority.

27-31 are the poet's reassuring answer to a possible objection.

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[1] We find it also in Deut. iv. 32. It should be noted that it occurs also in Amos iv. 13, which Nowack, as might be expected, regards as a later addition to the oracles of the prophet. It is, however, very doubtful whether we are justified in refusing to ascribe to the prophet these and other passages expressing cosmic conceptions, e. g. viii. 8 and ix. 5, 6. These universal cosmic conceptions respecting Yahweh certainly prevailed in the time of Amos: cf. the earlier Yahwistic creation account in Gen. ii. 4*b* foll. We have also parallels in the monotheistic tendencies of Babylonian and Egyptian religion: cf. Jeremias, *Monotheistische Strömungen innerhalb der Babyl. Religion*, and Baentsch, *Monotheismus*.

[2] Or we might render '*owing* to him who is great, &c.,' i. e. owing to the influence He exerts or the awe felt for Him, which is a more satisfactory translation of Duhm's slightly amended text (*rabh*, adj. 'great,' in place of *rōbh*, 'greatness').

way is hid from the LORD, and my judgement is passed
away from my God? Hast thou not known? hast thou not 28
heard? the everlasting God, the LORD, the Creator of the
ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary; there is
no searching of his understanding. He giveth power to 29
the faint; and to him that hath no might he increaseth
strength. Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and 30
the young men shall utterly fall: but they that wait upon the 31

If God be so vast, the Maker of the great vault of stars, and I am one of the crowd of human grasshoppers beneath Him, how can my individual existence be observed or cared for by Him? The thought is analogous to that of Ps. viii. 3, 4, but the answer here breathes a deeper note of Divine tenderness.

27. My way is hid, i. e. My course of life and all its interests pass unnoticed by Yahweh. The latter clause should be translated, 'My right passes by unheeded by my God.' Yahweh is conceived as an august potentate who judges causes. Israel comes as a poverty-stricken suitor, but is too insignificant for notice. Israel's sorrows, his blighted national hopes, his exile and oppression, render such a mood of doubt and despair only too natural.

28. The prophet expostulates with these doubts. This entire series of oracles in the Deutero-Isaiah is intended to rouse the Jews from their mood of despair to one of faith in Yahweh and confidence in His sustaining love and saving might. The expostulation assumes the interrogative form as in verse 21 above.

Translate, with R. V. marg., 'Yahweh is an everlasting God—Creator of the ends of the earth.' The last clause is idiomatically translated, 'His understanding is unsearchable.' He is not too weary to attend to your need. His all-penetrating intelligence takes cognizance of your case. The following verses show that this is the real drift of the prophet's words in this verse.

29. This verse begins with a participial form to which the writer is evidently partial. This changes at the end of the verse to the finite verb. 'Giving to the weary strength and to the powerless increases might' would be a literal rendering. See Davidson's *Syntax*, § 100 (e) and rem. 4. The subject is Yahweh, who not only possesses boundless strength Himself, but endows the weak with it. This theme is unfolded in the following verses.

30. The Hebrew imperfects in this verse should be treated as *concessive*. Render :—

> 'Though (even) youths are weary and faint, and (even) young
> men actually stumble,

LORD shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; they shall walk, and not faint.

41 Keep silence before me, O islands; and let the peoples

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31. Yet those who hope in Yahweh shall acquire fresh strength—they shall put forth fresh pinions like eagles.'

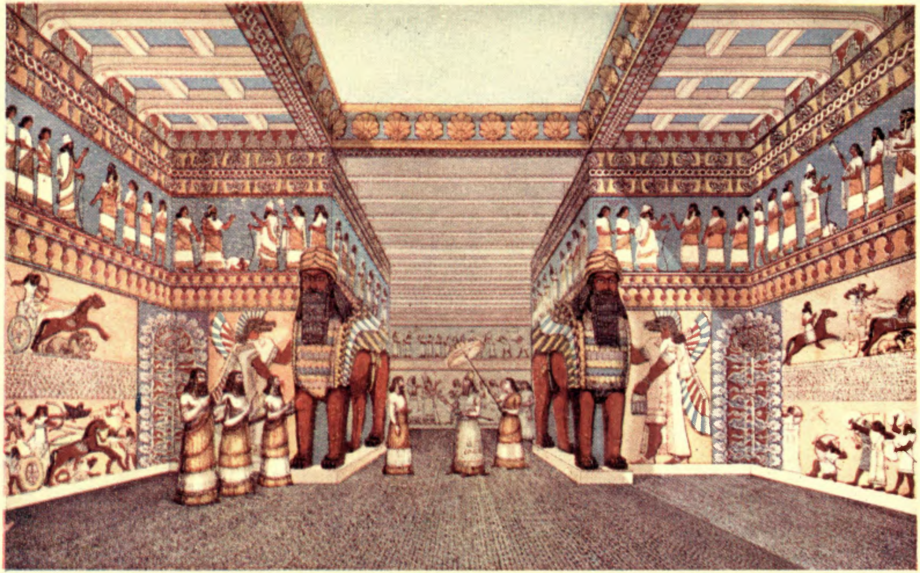
The rendering of A. V. and R. V. **mount up with wings** (properly 'wing-feathers,' 'pinions,') involves the construction of the instrumental accusative in the Hebrew (viz. 'wings,' which has no preposition before it in the original) after the verb 'mount.' This is not so probable as the interpretation which regards the *verb* as a *causative* in Hebrew (i. e. *Hif'îl*) and 'wings' as the accusative governed by it. We may then either render (*a*) 'They will lift up the pinions as eagles,' i. e. in flight, the interpretation of the Targ., Gesenius, Hitzig, and Delitzsch; or (*b*) 'cause new pinions to grow (or put forth new pinions) like the eagle.' This is the translation of the LXX (πτεροφυήσουσι) and Vulg., and has been followed by Lowth, Eichhorn, Ewald, Duhm, and most recent commentators. The simple or *ḳal* form of the Hebrew verb frequently bears the meaning 'grow,' chap. lv. 13; Gen. xl. 10, xli. 22; Deut. xxix. 22, &c. Consequently the causative would have the meaning here assigned to it.

CHAPTER XLI

is a continuation of the theme of the preceding chapter. It is an argument to show Yahweh's supremacy and the vanity of other gods. His providential care for His people is signalized by his summons to the conqueror Cyrus, who is to be Israel's deliverer.

Verses 1–5 describe the summons of the nations to a controversy between them and Yahweh whether it is they or He who has called Cyrus forth on his career of conquest.

1. Keep silence before me is scarcely correct. The original is properly 'Be silent unto me,' which is a pregnant form of expression, and means 'Turn yourselves in silence to me,' or 'Be silent and listen to me' (Duhm). For 'islands' we should substitute the more generic term 'coastlands' (in which islands are included). The LXX had a slightly different text before them, and in place of 'keep silence' rendered their variant 'be ye renewed' [?]. Lowth and Oort follow them, but it is hard to extract a satisfactory meaning. Apparently the thought is that the coastlands are to renew their strength for another meeting with



From Layard's "Nineveh"

ASSYRIAN PALACE

renew their strength: let them come near; then let them speak: let us come near together to judgement. Who 2 hath raised up one from the east, whom he calleth in righteousness to his foot? he giveth nations before him, and maketh him rule over kings; he giveth them as the

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Yahweh after that to which xl. 15 refers. But this is a far-fetched conception, though it seems to harmonize with the following parallel clause, 'let the peoples renew their strength.' But this expression 'renew their strength' looks as though taken over by a copyist into this verse from the preceding (the closing verse of the previous chapter). *There* the expression is appropriate as applied to the pious Jews of the exile, who were weary and depressed and needed a word of comfort; here the same expression when applied to foreign peoples is not so easily intelligible. Various emendations have been proposed. Duhm suggests another reading in the second edition of his commentary, 'And ye peoples wait before me,' which is in accord with the parallelism of the following line: 'Let them approach, then speak; let us come near together to judgment.' The word **judgment** here is used in the same sense that it bears in other passages, viz. a suit or process at law before a tribunal: Judges iv. 5; Mal. iii. 5.

2. Though Cyrus is not mentioned here by name as in xliv. 28 and chap. xlv, it is obvious that he is the man whom God 'has awakened (or roused up) from the east.' The translation of the following clause should be amended as in R. V. (marg.): 'whom right encounters in his steps.' The word 'right' here, when used in connexion with war, means in reality *victory*, whereby a man secures his right; cf. the remarks in the Introduction, p. 37. The verse refers to the victory which attended the onward career of Cyrus. His conquests may indeed have already begun. For we know that between the years 553 and 550 he conquered Astyages (Ishtuvegu or Ishtumegu), king of Media, and in the years that followed extended his conquests to Lydia. It is, therefore, almost certain that some time subsequent to the year 550 marks the date when this prophecy of comfort (chaps. xl, xli) was composed in which it is announced in general terms that God had stirred up in the east (in Media) a victorious warrior. The Targum fails in historic insight when it identifies this personage with Abraham. This view of the passage, however, was adopted by the mediaeval Jewish expositors Rashi, Kimhi, and others. Cyril and Jerome fail even worse in identifying him with Jesus Christ. The subject is discussed at length and with sound results by Rosenmüller in his *Scholia*.

3 dust to his sword, as the driven stubble to his bow. He
pursueth them, and passeth on safely; even by a way that
4 he had not gone with his feet. Who hath wrought and

The question should be continued in the lines that follow :—

> 'surrenders nations to him [*lit.* before him]—brings monarchs low[1] ;
> whose sword makes them[2] as dust—his bow like driven chaff ?'

The 'driven chaff' means the chaff driven by the wind in the process of winnowing the corn, a metaphor derived from agricultural operations frequently occurring in the O. T. Cf. Jer. xiii. 24; Ps. lxxxiii. 13 (14 Heb.), and *Primer of Hebrew Antiquities*, p. 92 foll. There is no reason whatever for making the interrogative cease with the clause 'brings monarchs low.' It is continued in the following line, which is a relative sentence descriptive of Cyrus.

3. The description still continues. 'He pursues them, passes on in security.' The words 'in security' are the rendering of the Hebrew word *shālôm*, 'well-being,' 'security,' 'peace,' which stands here as an adverbial accusat. (Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*^{26}, § 118. 5 ; Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 204 b). The clause that follows may be rendered *either* 'by a track which he doth not enter (usually) with his feet' (i. e. the conqueror in his march ignores the usual beaten tracks), *or* 'a path with his feet he doth not tread,' i. e. so rapidly does he pass on his way that he scarcely seems to touch the ground with his feet, but seems to fly over it. Cf. Dan. viii. 5. Either rendering is possible. Assyrian conquerors took a pride in describing their marches through mountains or difficult country. In Sennacherib's prism-inscription, col. i, 66 foll., he describes how he rode on horseback through lofty mountain regions and 'climbed on foot a steep place like a wild ox'; and in col. iv. 70 foll. he describes an expedition against a city Ḳana which is compared to the 'nest of an eagle, the king of birds,' on the summit of a steep mountain; in line 77 foll. he states that he 'descended from his palanquin in spots which were too steep and mounted the lofty peaks on foot like a gazelle.'

4. The preceding interrogation is resumed in the final question : 'Who hath wrought it and done it' ? i. e. has summoned forth this

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[1] Reading the Hebrew text as *yôrîd* with Hitzig instead of the Massoretic punctuation.

[2] Reading *tittnēm* in place of *yitten* in our text which hardly gives a satisfactory sense. The same verbal form (*tittnēm*) 'makes them' must be understood in the second clause of the line with *ḳashtô*, 'his bow.'

done it, calling the generations from the beginning? I the
Lord, the first, and with the last, I am he. The isles saw, 5
and feared; the ends of the earth trembled: they drew

conqueror to his great world-subduing career. The answer immediately follows:—'He who summons the generations from the beginning, I, Yahweh, the first and with the last, I am the same[1].' The rendering supplied above by the R. V. should be abandoned for that which is here given, since it fails to distinguish aright between question and answer. We have here the reiteration of the eternity of Yahweh contained in xl. 28. Much the same conception in somewhat similar form occurs in xliii. 10. The idea of Divine permanence which underlies the momentous interpretation of the name contained in the significant passage Exod. iii. 14 (E) was probably known to the writer of these chapters.

5. This verse is regarded by Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti as a later insertion. Duhm considers that it was intended to link verses 6 and 7 to verses 1-4. But as a matter of fact this verse forms no such link. The following verses come in most unnatural sequence. On the other hand, Marti's assertion that there is no connexion between verse 5 and the preceding verses is untrue. The 'coastlands' or islands of verse 1 reappear in this closing verse after the address of Yahweh. They have witnessed with awe the wonderful career of the conqueror whom Yahweh has summoned from the east. They are told in verse 1 to come to the judgment-seat. In verse 5 the command is executed. Lastly, the metric form is the same, viz. two long lines each consisting of two members. In the second line the second member has probably been lost and is conjecturally restored by Duhm:—

> 'The coast-lands have seen (it) and feared—the ends of the earth trembled.
> They drew near and came—[together to contend in judgment].'

The latter portion of the second line seems to have been partially if not wholly preserved in the Hebrew copies used by the LXX[2].

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[1] So the Heb. pronoun (= 'he') should be idiomatically rendered; see Ewald, *Syntax of the Heb. Lang.* (T. & T. Clark), § 314 b. The pronoun 'expresses the Divine consciousness of Himself' (Davidson, *Heb. Syntax*, § 106 d, rem. 2), as the permanent underlying personality. Comp. xliii. 10, 13; xlvi. 4, xlviii. 12; Ps. cii. 27 (28 Heb.).

[2] *ἅμα κρίνων*, the latter word standing at the beginning of verse 6. The LXX evidently read the Hebrew word for foreign *nations* instead of the word for 'coastlands' (or 'isles') in our text. This was not improbably the original reading, and is an echo of the 'peoples' of verse 1. A significant parallel occurs in Isa. lx. 9 (comp. Jer. iii. 17).

6 near, and came. They helped every one his neighbour; and *every one* said to his brother, Be of good courage.
7 So the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, *and* he that smootheth with the hammer him that smiteth the anvil, saying of the soldering, It is good: and he fastened it with nails, that it should not be moved.
8 But thou, Israel, my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen,

When the text is thus completely restored as Duhm ingeniously proposes, verse 5 becomes an exact counterpart to verse 1 and comes appropriately after the address of Yahweh respecting Cyrus. The defective text at the close seems to indicate a serious gap in the manuscript.

6-7. This gap is evidently filled up by two misplaced verses which have been restored to their true position after xl. 19, where they have been already treated in the commentary. How they came to be separated from their actual context we need not pause to inquire. Hebrew documents were written on very rough and rude materials, whether skins or papyrus, detached portions of which might easily go astray. We have already had occasion to notice (see vol. i) how the conclusion of the beautiful poem, Isa. ix. 8 (7 Heb.) foll., is to be found at the end of chap. v. Similarly, Ps. xix consists of two quite distinct poems pieced together, and Ps. x has a great gap in its alphabetic arrangement of verses which is filled up from another source by a later hand. These are but a few examples out of many which warn the reader not to expect modern literary conditions or continuity in ancient Hebrew documents that have passed through many historic vicissitudes and repeated redactional treatment. Very arbitrary reasons—such as the occurrence of a chance phrase—sometimes determined the succession of the various fragments which the Hebrew editor arranged together. Here the determining cause appears to have been the 'dread' of which verse 5 speaks, and the help which one extends to the other, and the exhortation 'Be of good courage' ('set-to'). But these are very superficial and arbitrary points of contact. Cf. remarks on xlii. 10-13 below.

Verses 8-20, which certainly fall into distinct parts, viz. (*a*) verses 8-10, (*b*) verses 11-16, and (*c*) verses 17-20, may be regarded as forming collectively a message of comfort and encouragement to Israel. Verses 11-16 form a special group which will be separately considered.

8. But thou stands in opposition to the foreign peoples to whom reference is made in verses 1 and 5. Accordingly there seems to be a link of connexion with 1-5, though, as already indicated,

the seed of Abraham my friend; thou whom I have taken 9
hold of from the ends of the earth, and called thee from
the corners thereof, and said unto thee, Thou art my

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there appears to be a gap in the original filled up by the intruded verses 6 and 7. Israel is here for the first time in the Deutero-Isaianic section called *Yahweh's servant.* The term is also applied to Israel, in the sense in which it is employed here, in Jer. xxx. 10 (om. by LXX. Both it and xlvi. 27 are recognized by critics as written by a later hand). Probably its distinctive application to Israel (Jacob) was due to Ezekiel (xxviii. 25, xxxvii. 25). The mention of Abraham here (cf. li. 2) is characteristic of the exile and subsequent periods of Jewish history which became reminiscent of the national past and treasured the names of the patriarchs (see note on Isa. xxix. 22 in vol. i). This epithet bestowed on Abraham as Yahweh's 'lover' or 'friend' is re-echoed in later literature (2 Chron. xx. 7; James ii. 23), and in the Ḳorân, iv. 124, where Muḥammad exalts the faith of Abraham, the Ḥanîf, whom 'God took as friend' (*Ḥalil*). From this passage in the Ḳorân, as well as the general tradition, Abraham obtains in Islâm at the present day the title 'friend of God' (Ḥalil' Ullahi) or 'the friend' (al Ḥalilu). The references in the Deutero-Isaiah to the patriarchs (cf. li. 2), as well as those contained in Ezekiel (xiv. 14, &c.), render it probable that the earlier pre-exilian narratives contained in the Yahwistic and Elohist documents (JE) were read and pondered by the more thoughtful minds in Israel.

The balance of clauses would require a parallel clause to follow 'Seed of Abraham my friend' corresponding to the parallel clauses respecting 'Israel . . . Jacob.' In all probability the parallel clause respecting Abraham has been lost.

9. The call of Abraham from Haran (cf. Gen. xii. 1-5) is evidently the reference of the words **ends of the earth.** We might compare the same poetic expression in Isa. v. 26, 'end of the earth[1].' Even in the days of the exile the geographical horizon of an inhabitant of Babylonia or Palestine would be a very limited one, and relative distances were not nicely discriminated. Gesenius and Hitzig, and recently Orelli, supposed that the reference of the phrase was to Egypt, but nearly all the best recent authorities (Cheyne, Duhm, Marti, &c.) sustain the opinion of Rosenmüller, Ewald, and Delitzsch that the call of Abraham from Haran is the event to which allusion is here made. We have a similar reference to ancient Hebrew origins in Deut. xxvi. 5.

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[1] Similarly 'distant parts of the earth,' in Isa. viii. 9.

10 servant, I have chosen thee and not cast thee away; fear thou not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed, for I am thy God: I will strengthen thee; yea, I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness.

The word rendered **corners** here is certainly obscure. In Hebrew it is the plural of *ăṣîl*, and must not be confused with a word of exactly the same form meaning 'nobles' used in Exod. xxiv. 11. Here the word seems to mean 'extremities[1],' i. e. distant portions.

10. Owing to God's definite choice of Israel there is no room for fear. The old *Immanuel* message delivered nearly two centuries ago (Isa. vii, viii) is now re-echoed—**I am with thee.** The rendering 'be not dismayed' is based on the usually accepted explanation of the reflexive (Hithpael) form in the original 'look on one another' (in amazed wonder or dread)[2]. The same form occurs again in verse 23 (in the 1st pers. plur.) in the sense which it bears here, 'be amazed' or dumbfounded (LXX sustain this rendering).

The Perfects in the original express the absolute certainty of what Yahweh declares, 'I strengthen thee, yea, help thee.' The R. V. expresses the declaration in future tenses. On this use of the Perfect in Hebrew the student of the original text is referred to Gesenius-Kautzsch's *Grammar*^{26}, § 106, 3. Delitzsch renders by 'I have fixed my choice on thee,' and appeals to xliv. 14, and Ps. lxxx. 16, 18 (*E. V.* 15, 17), but in all these passages the meaning of the Hebrew verb is 'to cause to grow up strong' (in ref. to a tree). Cheyne, who followed Delitzsch formerly, now gives the rendering 'I strengthen thee' (*SBOT.*). Instead of **with the right hand of my righteousness** the original is more idiomatically rendered: 'with my victorious right hand.' On the use of *ṣedeḳ* (properly 'right') in the sense of 'victory,' see note on verse 2 above.

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[1] The root means to bind or connect [in Arab. *wṣl*]. Parallel to the Hebrew word we have in Syriac (Aramaic) *yaṣîlô*, meaning 'joint' or 'arm.' We have a similar word *aṣṣîl* in Heb., Ezek. xiii. 18, Jer. xxxviii. 12. Thus Symmachus renders it by ἀγκῶνες. On the other hand, the LXX ἐκ τῶν σκοπιῶν αὐτῆς, 'from its outposts' or 'watch-towers,' suggests the existence of another and perhaps better reading: מִמְּצַפֶּיהָ; comp. Isa. xxi. 8; 2 Chr. xx. 24. Though the form be rare, the sense is more appropriate and intelligible.

[2] LXX 'do not stray' suggests an altogether different reading, אל תֵּתַע.

Behold, all they that are incensed against thee shall be 11
ashamed and confounded: they that strive with thee shall
be as nothing, and shall perish. Thou shalt seek them, 12
and shalt not find them, even them that contend with
thee: they that war against thee shall be as nothing, and
as a thing of nought. For I the LORD thy God will hold 13
thy right hand, saying unto thee, Fear not; I will help
thee. Fear not, thou worm Jacob, and ye men of Israel; 14

11-16. We now come to a poem in three stanzas of four long lines each, each line being in the well-known Kinah or elegiac measure explained in the introductory notes to Isaiah, chap. xiii, in vol. i, pp. 182-3. Marti is disposed to separate these three stanzas (comprised in verses 11-16) from the rest of the chapter as a later poem. The concluding stanza (verses 25, 26) certainly forms a close parallel to Mic. iv. 13. But this resemblance ought not to mislead us. Mic. iv. 11-14, which Marti cites as a parallel, presupposes the siege of Zion by many nations who are her bitter and unrelenting foes. But here there is no specific reference to Zion, and those who are enraged against Yahweh's servant Israel, to which verse 11 refers, may well be identified with those who are described in xlvii. 6 as showing Israel no mercy and laying upon God's people a heavy yoke, viz. the Babylonians. Accordingly, though the metric form of this section separates it from the passages which precede and follow, it may be regarded as belonging to the close of the exile period.

11, 12. Israel's foes shall disappear and perish. This conception is expressed in a variety of phraseology which is a literary characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah.

13. The destruction of Israel's foes is due to the fact that behind Israel stands Yahweh. This verse expresses the same thought as verse 10 expressed in other words: 'I, Yahweh, take hold of thy right hand who say unto thee, "fear not."' This phrase 'take hold of the hand,' equivalent to 'sustain,' 'help,' meets us repeatedly in the Deutero-Isaiah (xlii. 6, xlv. 1, li. 18), and may have been due to the Babylonian environment. For the Assyrians and Babylonians used precisely the same expression 'take hold of the hand' (*kâta ṣabâtu*) in the sense of 'sustain,' 'help[1].'

14. The worm that crawls upon the ground, exposed to the

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[1] See Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 25, where numerous citations are given, as well as in Delitzsch's *Assyr. Handwörterbuch* sub voce *ṣabâtu*.

I will help thee, saith the LORD, and thy redeemer is the
15 Holy One of Israel. Behold, I will make thee a new

crushing foot of every traveller, is the symbol in the Hebrew speech of abject humiliation. Cf. Ps. xxii. 7.

ye men of Israel forms a very ineffective parallelism to **worm Jacob.** Ewald made a very brilliant emendation, which probably restores to us the true text, '*worm* (or grub) of Israel.' This is followed by Oort, Grätz, and Duhm[1]. This reading is supported by the fact that these two words, almost synonymous in Hebrew for 'worm' and 'grub,' are employed in conjunction in Isa. xiv. 11 and Job xxv. 6.

I will help thee is expressed in the original with the emphasis of assured certainty by means of a *prophetic perfect.* See Davidson's *Heb. Syntax*, § 41 a and rem. 1.

The word **redeemer** here is in Hebrew *gôēl*, a word of very special signification. It means in the first place, one who purchases back or redeems a person or thing. This term is specially applied to an avenger of blood, because upon him devolved the duty of slaying the murderer of his nearest kinsman, i. e. of vindicating the blood of the clan which has been unjustly shed at the price of the blood of the murderer who shed it. See *Enc. Bibl.*, art. 'Goel,' and Robertson Smith, *RS*^{2}., pp. 272, 420. As this duty of redemption or purchasing back (or in the case of murder, vindicating the right of the clan) belongs to the nearest kinsman (cf. Ruth iii. 13; 2 Sam. xiv. 11; 1 Kings xvi. 11), the nearest kinsman was called by this name *Gôēl.* This word *Gôēl* is a favourite designation of Yahweh in His capacity of Redeemer of His people Israel in the literature of the Deutero-Isaiah (xliii. 14, xliv. 6, 24, xlvii. 4, xlviii. 17, xlix. 7, 26, liv. 5, 8), and it occurs several times in the Trito-Isaiah as well.

15. God's help to weak insignificant Israel effects a marvellous

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[1] The Vulg. rendering *mortui* is based on the same text as our Hebrew version, but with a different punctuation (*mēthê* in place of *m^ethê*). The LXX certainly seem to indicate an attempt to avoid the use of terms considered to be derogatory to the national dignity (another clear indication of divergence of mental standpoint of post-exilian Judaism from that of the exilian Deutero-Isaiah: cf. the Targ. of Jon. on Isa. liii). They render Μὴ φοβοῦ, Ιακώβ, ὀλιγοστὸς Ισραήλ, 'fear not, Jacob, puny Israel.' 'Ολιγοστὸς seems to indicate the reading מְעַט (Ps. cv. 12; Isa. xvi. 14), or it may be an attempt to reduce the severity of the original Hebrew epithet. The Hebrew *rimmah*, 'worm' (grub), properly means a rotting mass breeding worms or maggots.

sharp threshing instrument having teeth: thou shalt thresh the mountains, and beat them small, and shalt make the hills as chaff. Thou shalt fan them, and the wind shall 16
carry them away, and the whirlwind shall scatter them: and thou shalt rejoice in the LORD, thou shalt glory in the

result. The nation is now compared to a sharp threshing-sledge or *môrag*. This was an agricultural instrument, like the Italian *trībulum*[1], consisting of a plank filled with sharp pointed stones, fixed into holes in the bottom. It was drawn by the oxen over the corn (cf. Isa. xxviii. 27 and note), the driver sitting on the sledge to increase the weight. In modern Egypt we have the *noreg* (which is apparently a variation of the same word), which fulfils the same function. See the figure in Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 408 (cf. vol. ii, p. 420 foll.).

The Hebrew word rendered **sharp** (*ḥārûṣ*) is sometimes employed as a substantive in the sense of 'threshing-sledge' (cf. xxviii. 27). This has led Duhm and Marti to regard it as a gloss inserted by a scribe, since it lengthens the line unduly. Considerations of text and a comparison with the LXX make it probable that this word *ḥārûṣ* originated from dittography[2] and ought to be eliminated from the text. Render, therefore: 'See, I make thee into a new threshing-sledge—full of points.' The metaphor is a bold one. The threshing-sledge with its sharp points is not simply for the humble service of threshing corn, but it is to thresh the mountains. Mountains and hills are to be ground down and dispersed like flying chaff.

16. The metaphor is continued: 'Thou shalt winnow (*lit.* scatter) them, and a wind shall carry them away.' This was the next stage in the agricultural operations. After the threshing of the corn, by the threshing-sledge driven over it, came the winnowing process. 'The bruised corn-ears were thrown up on wooden shovels when a moderate wind was blowing. The wind carried

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[1] *Hebrew Antiquities* (Rel. Tract Soc.), p. 92. See also ibid. figures of modern threshing-sledges. Probably the *plostellum Poenicum* presented a closer resemblance to the Hebrew *môrag* than the Roman *trībulum*. See art. 'Agriculture' in *Enc. Bibl.*

[2] The LXX probably read in their corrupted copy (perhaps a conflate reading)—לְאוֹפַן עֲגָלָה דָשׁ חָדָשׁ, which indicates that their text had already become confused by dittography. The חָרֻץ of our Hebrew text obviously arose from the first חָדָשׁ. In the earlier form of Hebrew characters צ and שׁ are by no means dissimilar.

17 Holy One of Israel. The poor and needy seek water and
there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst; I the
Lord will answer them, I the God of Israel will not
18 forsake them. I will open rivers on the bare heights, and
fountains in the midst of the valleys: I will make the
wilderness a pool of water, and the dry land springs of
19 water. I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the acacia
tree, and the myrtle, and the oil tree; I will set in the

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away the chaff from the threshing-floor while the heavier grains remained behind' (*Hebrew Antiquities*, p. 92). This metaphor of the bruising and the scattering describes Yahweh's treatment of the enemies of Israel. We have a similar use of this agricultural metaphor in Jer. xv. 7.

In verses 17-20 we return once more to the long-lined distichs in verses 8-10. They are a message of comfort to the afflicted Israel in exile. It takes the form of a Divine promise expressed under the metaphor of a transformed desert. It is not necessary to suppose that the writer is thinking of the returning exiles as they cross the desert, as Kimḥi (followed by Ewald, Hitzig, and recently Marti) supposed, though such a view is certainly possible (cf. xl. 3 foll.).

17. For **seek** the more exact and picturesque rendering would be 'are seeking'; also for **faileth for thirst** substitute the rendering 'is parched with thirst.'

18. The words **springs of water** in the last clause of this verse are a doubtful rendering of the Hebrew. We should translate more accurately 'water-courses,' *rivi aquarum*, which is obviously the meaning of the LXX, ὑδραγωγοί, which here places us on the right track. The Hebrew word is *môṣâ*, which means 'water-channel' or 'water-course' (the Assyrian *mûṣû*). It is the same word that occurs in the description of the water-channel or tunnel in the Siloam inscription, and also in 2 Chron. xxxii. 20 (where the correct rendering is 'the upper water-channel of the Giḥôn'). The facts were stated by the present writer in 1888 in Schrader's *COT.*, ii. pp. 311-313 (cf. *Expositor*, Dec. 1886, p. 479, foll. and Stanley Cook's art. 'Conduits,' in *Enc. Bibl.* col. 883). Echoes of this passage occur in Ps. cvii. 33 foll. and in Isa. xxxv. 7 (with variations). In Babylonia, where a vast system of irrigation was carried out, canals and water-courses abounded.

19. The names of the trees here mentioned, some of which meet us again in lx. 13, are by no means definitely identified. Several of the names are to be found in other Semitic languages,

desert the fir tree, the pine, and the box tree together:
that they may see, and know, and consider, and understand 20
together, that the hand of the LORD hath done this, and
the Holy One of Israel hath created it.

Produce your cause, saith the LORD; bring forth your 21
strong reasons, saith the King of Jacob. Let them bring 22
them forth, and declare unto us what shall happen: declare

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notably in the ancient Assyrian. The word *berôsh*, which is rendered 'fir-tree,' occurs in Assyrian in the form *burâšu*, which is interpreted by Fried. Delitzsch to mean the 'sweet-pine.' Others regard it as the 'cypress'; cf. xiv. 8 (note) and Schrader, *COT.*, ii. p. 78. On the other hand, the tree that follows, which the R.V. calls 'pine,' should be more probably named 'plane-tree,' with the marg. (R.V.) and Cheyne. [We may note that Jerome renders by 'elm,' which is less suitable, since it does not belong to the trees special to Mount Lebanon; see lx. 13.] It is by no means clear whether the last-mentioned tree in this verse was the 'box-tree' or 'cypress' (with R.V. marg.).

20. The end of these gracious transformations worked by Divine power in Israel's desolate surroundings is that His people may realize that He is the source of all good.

Verses 21-29. We now turn from Israel, whom God in their distress consoles with words of comfort and hope, to the deities of foreign nations. The passage portrays Yahweh as uttering a challenge to the powerless deities of foreign races (in the main those of Babylonia). They are wholly unable to foretell the events that are to come. It is Yahweh who has summoned from the north-east the invincible conqueror who is to trample the world's rulers in the dust.

21. Yahweh challenges the foreign deities to come to the bar of judgment. 'Bring forward your suit, advance your proofs.' By an inconsiderable change of the word for 'proofs' (*'aṣûmoth*) into the word for 'gods,' 'idols' (*'aṣabbîm*) Grätz, Cheyne, and Marti appear to consider that something is gained in sense. But this is quite an unnecessary alteration, and spoils both parallelism and sense. The challenge to the bar of judgment would then not be addressed to the deities (who could hardly be requested to bring their own images!), but to the foreign peoples. Moreover the LXX lend no support to the proposed change. Cf. also verse 23.

22. The 'proofs' in this case consist not in the manifestation of power in foreign conquest, but in the capacity of understanding past events and foretelling the future. This was, in reality, the

ye the former things, what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them ; or shew us things
23 for to come. Declare the things that are to come hereafter,

prophet's function, which was essentially one of interpretation and prediction. The prophet's utterance was the 'word of Yahweh that came to him' ; thus prediction in Israel was a manifestation of Yahweh's power. Now the god of prophecy among the Babylonians was *Nabû* (or Nebo), the tutelary deity of Borsippa, whose name signifies 'utterance' and is connected with the verbal root of the Hebrew word *nābhi^a*, 'prophet.' One of his epithets was 'bearer of the tablet of destiny' of the gods. The influence of this deity in Babylonia is shown by the fact that several of the kings of the New Babylonian empire contain the name of Nebo, viz. Nabopolassar, Nebuchadrezzar, Nabunâid (Nabonidus). The reign of the last king of Babylonia, Nabunâid (Nabonidus), seems to show how little that king or his subjects had any clear prevision of the menace to their security which the onward career of Cyrus portended. Nabonidus appears to have been too much absorbed in the work of restoring the old temples of the gods in Ur, Larsa and Sippar[1] to pay due heed to the progress in arms of Cyrus, his Persian contemporary, or to take the precautions of a thorough system of national defence. While this attitude of *insouciance* characterized the mind of Babylonia during the reign of Nabonidus (555-539 B.C.), the prophets of Yahweh, represented by the Deutero-Isaiah, clearly discerned the signs of the times and the advent of the future conqueror not only of Media but also of Babylonia, Cyrus.

Probably, with Duhm, we should invert the order of the last two clauses : 'Or let us hear the events that are to come, that we may perceive their issue.' This makes the entire verse harmonize in order and parallelism.

23. The more literal rendering is 'Declare (announce) the things that are coming in the future.' The latter part of the verse should be rendered 'Yea, do things fair or ill that we may look at one another in amaze and *fear*.' We here adopt the punctuation of the Kethîb in the original Hebrew suggested by Oort, viz. *nîrâ* in place of that of the Kerê, *nîr'êh.* Oort's proposal is deemed incompatible with the high dignity and position of Yahweh in the Deutero-Isaiah. But this argument ignores the subtle irony of the passage.

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[1] See the large and small inscriptions of Ur and the great cylinder-inscription from Abu Habba, as well as the cylinder-inscription (v. Rawl. 63) transcribed and translated in Schrader, *KIB.*, vol. iii, second half, pp. 80-119. Comp. Hommel, *Gesch. Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, p. 778.

that we may know that ye are gods: yea, do good, or do evil, that we may be dismayed, and behold it together.

The interesting question, moreover, arises whether the monotheism of the Deutero-Isaiah had proceeded so far as to involve a belief in the absolute non-existence of foreign deities. In other words, are we to regard this passage as purely rhetorical. Here the clear evidence afforded by a study of ancient Hebrew demonology leads us to a negative reply. The progress of the ancient Hebrews from *Henotheism* to pure *Monotheism* was in reality far slower than some theologians and critics appear to imagine. *Henotheism* expresses the condition of the ordinary Hebrew mind represented by David in pre-exilian Israel[1]. It consisted in the recognition, as well as worship, of one God by the Hebrew, viz. Yahweh, as the national God of Israel and Israel's land, but it was accompanied by a belief that the gods of other nations and their lands existed (e. g. Chemosh, of Moab, and in Moab). Monotheism, on the other hand, consists in the recognition, as well as worship, of one universal and all-powerful God of the entire universe accompanied by a *disbelief* in the existence of any other deity. Now Amos, as we have already seen (vol. i, Introduction, p. 51), had expounded the great truth of the universality of Yahweh's rule which was implicit in Israel's old religion, and this belief the Deutero-Isaiah sets forth in the sublime language of the preceding chapter (xl. 15-26) two centuries after the prophetic career of Amos. Yet though a great step had been taken in the direction of Monotheism, the stage hitherto reached was in reality an *incomplete* Monotheism. Yahweh was the absolute ruler of all the world, and the gods of other nations were mere 'nothings' or 'vanity,' but they were ***not regarded as non-existent***[2]. They now assumed the degraded rank of *demons*. Even the Assyrians had conceptions somewhat

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[1] e. g. in 1 Sam. xxvi. 19; cf. also Judges xi. 23, 24; Ruth i. 16. Henotheism is unfortunately not uniformly defined as above; see Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 16 foll.

[2] On this subject cf. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der Israel.-jüd. Eschatologie*, p. 309. On p. 310, however, the writer yields to an exaggerated tendency to see Babylonian mythic survivals in the O. T. The first person plur. both in xli. 22 foll. and xliii. 8 foll. is not to be regarded as a 'stylistic survival' of Babylonian polytheistic phraseology such as Marduk and his party of great gods might address to their opponents (see creation-epic). Gen. i. 26 ('let *us* make') should rather be compared with Isa. vi. 8 ('for us') and Job xxxviii. 6, 7. Cf. also Gen. xi. 7.

24 Behold, ye are of nothing, and your work of nought: an abomination is he that chooseth you.

25 I have raised up one from the north, and he is come; from the rising of the sun one that calleth upon my name:

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analogous Thus Sargon in his Triumphal Insc. (line 122) describes Merodach-Baladan, the foe whom he defeated, as being under the influence of an evil demon (*gallu limnu*) who was no other than the tutelary deity whom Merodach-Baladan invoked. By the same process of reasoning the Hebrews, while recognizing the absolute supremacy of Yahweh, called the deities of foreign peoples 'demons' (*shēdîm*) in the exilian period and later, as Deut. xxxii. 17 and Ps. cvi. 37 clearly testify. This condition of a not quite complete *Monotheism* survived for centuries. For in much later Judaism we find the old Philistine deity of Ekron, Baalzebûb, has become the chief among demons, in fact identified with Satan (Matt. xii. 26, 27; cf. x. 25); and Resheph, the flame-deity of the ancient Canaanites, has been transformed into the demon Reshpâ. Many other examples might be given[1]. We are, therefore, justified in concluding that the language here used is *not* mere rhetoric.

24. The R.V. correctly regards the Hebrew word *epha'* in the second clause as a scribal error for *ephes*, 'nought.' But the LXX apparently read the same word *ain* in both first and second clauses, which they mistranslated as an interrogative.

Verses 25–29. The argument clinched. It is made to converge on Yahweh's definite mandate to Cyrus.

25. The fact that Persia, the land from which Cyrus came, lay to the north-east of Babylonia is expressed in two clauses, one of which gives the direction as north and the other as east.

calleth upon my name is the ordinary Hebrew phrase for 'invoke'; cf. Gen. iv. 26. There is no necessary contradiction between the Hebrew text 'he shall call upon my name' and the statement in xlv. 4, 'I have called thee by thy name . . . though thou hast not known me,' applied to Cyrus. For it is certainly probable that Cyrus subsequently became favourably disposed to the Jewish

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[1] See Hastings' *DB.*, art. 'Demon,' p. 591 right-hand column and footnote. Though St. Paul declared 'that no idol is anything in the world' (1 Cor. viii. 4), he nevertheless warned his Gentile converts against the table of demons: 'The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons and not to God, and I would not that ye should have communion with demons. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons' (1 Cor. x. 20).

and he shall come upon rulers as upon mortar, and as the
potter treadeth clay. Who hath declared it from the 26
beginning, that we may know? and beforetime, that we
may say, *He is* righteous? yea, there is none that declareth,
yea, there is none that sheweth, yea, there is none that
heareth your words. *I* first *will say* unto Zion, Behold, 27

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exiles (Ezra i), and would also sympathize with their worship. Apart from the question of the historicity of Ezra, chap. i, which critics like Kosters (see *Enc. Bibl.* art. 'Cyrus') deny, we know from the testimony of the cylinder-inscription of Cyrus that he was sympathetic and tolerant towards the cults of the Babylonians, restored the gods to their sanctuaries, rebuilt the latter, and regarded himself as called by the Babylonian god of light, Marduk, to be the deliverer of oppressed nationalities. Now, as Duhm points out, there is far more affinity between Yahweh and the Persian Ahura-mazda than between the latter and Marduk (Merodach) or Nebo; and it might, therefore, be reasonably argued that the Persian Cyrus would come to know Yahweh as a deity to be invoked.

On the other hand, the difficulty presented by our Hebrew text would be avoided if with Oort we were to read 'I will call him by his name.' The change is not very great in the Hebrew text, and it (1) restores the parallelism with the preceding clause, and (2) exactly accords with the phrase 'and I called thee by thy name' in xlv. 4. In the following part of the verse it is generally agreed that parallelism and construction require the change of the text from *yābô* to *yābûs.* The whole line then will read 'that he may trample down rulers like clay, and, as a potter, tread down the mire.' The LXX sustain our Heb. text, but with different punctuation, and hardly intelligible meaning. The word for rulers is a Babylonian loan-word (*sāgān*, 'ruler,' is in reality the Babylonian *šaknu*). The same word is employed in Ezek. xxiii and Jer. li. In all probability it is the *Babylonian* rulers whom the writer intends here as the objects of the conquest[1].

26. For **he is righteous** render 'it is right.' The word *ṣaddîḳ* here preserves the meaning which belongs to this root *ṣ d ḳ* in Arabic, viz. that of rightness or truth in the sense of faithfulness to the pledged word and power to effect it. See Introduction on *Theology of Isaiah*, p. 37. If the gods of the Babylonian had any truth to proclaim, there was no seer or prophet in Babylonia to proclaim it, and they were powerless to give it effect.

27. The text is evidently in disorder. Following the sugges-

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[1] In chap. xxii. 15 the form is *sōkēn*; see note on the passage.

behold them; and I will give to Jerusalem one that
28 bringeth good tidings. And when I look, there is no
man; even among them there is no counsellor, that, when
29 I ask of them, can answer a word. Behold, all of them,
their works are vanity *and* nought: their molten images
are wind and confusion.

42 [S.—Behold my servant, whom I uphold; my chosen, in

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tions of Cheyne, Kittel, and Marti, we had better reconstruct the opening of the verse and render thus: 'I have proclaimed it first unto Zion, and give to Jerusalem a messenger-of-good-tidings.' The proclamation is of course that of deliverance by Cyrus.

28. Again a difficult verse. The LXX indicate a different text. Though our own Hebrew text is certainly doubtful, our only resource is to abide by it and render: 'And, if I look, there is no one; and among these there is none to give counsel, that, if I ask them, they may return answer.' The pronoun 'these' here refers to the gods who give their replies through diviners or prophets.

29. The result of the challenge is to show the utter impotence and hollowness of the deities of Babylonia. 'Lo, all of them are nought—nothingness their deeds, wind and emptiness their molten images.'

B. Chap. xlii. 1—xliv. 23 constitute a separate section of the prophecies of the Deutero-Isaiah which specially describe the high destiny and noble future of the Servant of Yahweh, viz. Israel or (in xlii. 1–4) an elect portion thereof.

CHAPTER XLII.

Verses 1–4 constitute the first of the four special Servant-Songs. On this subject the reader is referred to the Introduction.

We are here introduced to the person and office of Yahweh's servant, which are portrayed in general terms. His exalted mission as God's messenger to foreign peoples is announced. The poem is brief, consisting of three stanzas of four lines each.

1. uphold, i.e. sustain, hold firm. This servant, in whom Yahweh's 'soul takes pleasure,' is described in the character of a prophet. 'I have put my spirit upon him.' The same word is used here for 'hold firm' or fast as in xli. 10 ('uphold thee') but in the latter passage it is intended to express the idea of Divine support amid weakness and surrounding peril; here, on the other hand, the parallelism shows that it is meant to express Divine affection.

We now for the first time become acquainted with the noble

whom my soul delighteth: I have put my spirit upon him;
he shall bring forth judgement to the Gentiles. He shall 2
not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the
street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smok- 3
ing flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judge-
ment in truth. He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till 4
he have set judgement in the earth; and the isles shall
wait for his law.] Thus saith God the LORD, he that 5

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destiny of Israel's elect as God's personified servant. The suffering servant is to make known God's true religion to foreign peoples (cf. xlix. 6). The word 'judgment' here in the singular (*mishpāṭ*) is employed to express the entirety of 'judgments' or customs (usages) of Yahweh's religion. Similarly the singular 'law' (Heb. *tôrah*) means the sum total of laws (*tôrôth*). Marti compares the Arabic *dîn* used in the Korân to mean 'custom,' 'religion,' hence 'true faith.' Now for the first time the high ideal is set forth for the Jewish race to be God's missionaries to make known His true religion to the peoples of the world. Subsequent history shows how far the Jews fulfilled the ideal in all its breadth as it is announced here and in xlix. 6. On this subject see above, the Introduction, § 5, and the remarks of the present writer in the art. 'Hebrew Religion,' in the new edition of the *Encycl. Britt.* and also 'Messiah' in Hastings' *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels* (which should be supplemented by Introd., p. 40 f. above). The LXX insert 'Jacob' and 'Israel' at the beginning of the opening parallel clauses of this verse (cf. Matt. xii. 18 foll.), but these names are evidently added by a gloss-writer.

2–3. The chastened, gentle, undemonstrative character of the messenger is here graphically portrayed under the metaphors: 'A cracked reed he doth not break to pieces, the flax with its dying flame (lit. becoming extinguished) he doth not quench.' It is the function of Yahweh's servant to sustain and restore the weak and broken, whether foreigner or Jew.

3–4. The same phrase occurs at the close of verse 3 as at the close of verse 1. We might accordingly render, 'He shall faithfully proclaim the true religion.' Here the word *tôrah*, rendered 'law,' means properly instruction in the true religion given by Yahweh's servant.

4. Translate the first clause: 'He shall not be exhausted (burn dimly) nor broken,' i. e. He shall unweariedly and with unbroken fortitude proclaim Yahweh's true religion to foreign nations until his task is accomplished.

Verses 5–9 appear to belong to a different metrical scheme from

created the heavens, and stretched them forth ; he that
spread abroad the earth and that which cometh out of it;
he that giveth breath unto the people upon it, and spirit
6 to them that walk therein : I the LORD have called thee

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that of verses 8, 9, and 14 foll., as Cheyne and more recently Duhm (in the second edition of his commentary) have recognized. This saves the latter from the assumption of lost lines or gaps (see his first edition). The theme is very similar to that of verses 1–4.

5. It is characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah to superimpose upon one another descriptive clauses of Yahweh when He speaks (cf. xlii. 1, 14, 15, 16 foll., xliv. 2, 6, 24, 26, xlv. 7, xlix. 7). On the word for **god** (*ēl*), employed here for the one true universal God of the Hebrews, see note on xl. 18. According to the LXX it occurs also in verses 6 and 8 in connexion with Yahweh ; but it is quite possible that in both these latter cases they have been inserted by a scribe in order to make them harmonize with verse 5.

The word for 'create' here is the same as that in the post-exilian document (Creation-story) Gen. i. 1. It was during the exile and afterwards that this Hebrew verb *bārâ* came to be specially used of the Divine creative activity. The word used for 'spread abroad' is from the root *r-ḳ-ʿ*, meaning to extend by beating or hammering (e. g. a plate of metal). The word for 'firmament' in Hebrew in Gen. i is derived from this same root. One can readily conceive of the broad solid plains of the earth being regarded as a beaten-out or extended surface ; but we cannot say the same thing of 'that which cometh out of it' (its productions). Duhm and Marti are probably right in supposing that some verb has dropped out which governed this latter object.

6. It is quite uncertain whether we should regard the original as signifying 'keep (or preserve) thee' or 'form (fashion) thee.' This will depend on the verb from which the original word is derived (viz. *nāṣar*, 'keep,' 'preserve,' or *yāṣar*, 'form,' 'fashion'). Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti follow the latter view : 'I form thee.' On the other hand, Rosenmüller, Delitzsch, and Dillmann-Kittel the former : 'I keep thee,' which is apparently sustained by the LXX. The latter interpretation (form or fashion thee) is supported by a comparison with xliv. 21, xlix. 5.

By the expression 'in righteousness' we should understand 'in my righteous purpose.' There has been considerable difference of opinion as to the meaning of the Hebrew phrase *b*^{e}*rîth ʿām*, rendered 'a covenant of the people.' Ewald in his great work on Hebrew Grammar (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*^{8}, § 287 g, translated in the latter or syntactical part in *Hebrew Syntax*, T. & T. Clark) in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a

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regards this combination of construct substantive with following substantive as parallel to the similar combination 'wondrous counsellor' in ix. 6 (see the translation given in the notes). We should therefore amend the rendering of R. V. given above and translate: 'and will appoint thee a covenant-people.' To this view of Ewald the objection has been brought that it does not harmonize with the phrase in the following parallel clause, 'light of the Gentiles.' Accordingly it is supposed that 'covenant of a people' is the true rendering. The word for 'people' here (*'am*) is held to mean the whole human race; in other words, it exactly corresponds to the word 'gentiles' (*gôyîm*) in the parallel clause. Duhm[1] cites good analogies for this application of the

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[1] Duhm's explanation of the composite expression *b*^{e}*rîth, 'ām* in the *first* edition of his commentary was not clear. He appeared to hesitate between Ewald's explanation, which makes the word for 'people' an appositional genitive (cf. 'daughter of Jerusalem,' chap. i. 8 and note), and the view which makes it a subjective genit. While he rightly prefers the former view, he refused to adjust the relation of this passage to the 'Servant-passage' which precedes on any other footing than that of contrast. So also in xlix. 7 foll., in reference to verses 1–6. Both in xlix. 7 foll. and in the present passage it is not God's servant but Israel, now a scattered race, that is addressed, according to Duhm's view. In the opinion of the present writer this presses the contrast between the 'Servant-passages' and the rest of the Deutero-Isaiah too far. The conceptions in both, though far from identical, are analogous.

The modifications in Duhm's *second* edition (1902) can hardly be regarded as an improvement. (*a*) He follows Schian and Cheyne in regarding verses 5–7 as belonging to a distinct author whom he conjectures to have been the same person as the editor who inserted the 'Servant-passages' and added those lines of his own as well as l. 10, 11. His style is, however, different from that of the Servant-passages that he inserts, and imitates that of the Deutero-Isaiah [certainly a very remarkable imitation]. (*b*) The metrical arrangement of these verses is altered, and it no longer has gaps. (*c*) After the same laboured explanation of the phrase *b*^{e}*rîth 'ām*, with the fortunate omission of the gratuitous attack on Dillmann, Duhm ends by getting rid of the phrase altogether by the sovereign remedy of emendation. He would be disposed to read 'blessing of peoples' (*birkath 'ammîm*), but ends by preferring 'redemption of the people' (*p*^{e}*dûth 'ām*), 'people' being 'God's people,' used here, as verse 5 indicates, in the sense of 'humanity.' Cf. Jer. i. 4-9. Chap.

7 light of the Gentiles; to open the blind eyes, to bring out
the prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in
8 darkness out of the prison house. I am the LORD; that

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term 'covenant' to the people Israel. It is as easy to make a man or a race 'a covenant' as to make him a 'blessing,' 'a peace,' 'a salvation' (cf. Gen. xii. 2). The individual or race may be considered to incorporate the conception named. This is certainly a fair argument. On the other hand, it is extremely doubtful whether the word *'am* in the singular could ever be employed in O. T. language for the entire human race. The proper word to express this would be *ādām.* The word *'am* is the proper term to use for the *Hebrew* race. Moreover, the argument from parallelism may be pressed too far. Accordingly we see no sufficient reason for abandoning the natural explanation of the combination *b^erîth 'ām* proposed by Ewald, which is rendered above '*covenant-people.*'

The question arises what the term *covenant* in this composite phrase means. The answer to this question is found in the *locus classicus* Jer. xxxi. 30-3. The covenant which is in the mind of the writer, both here and in the similar passage, Isa. xlix. 8, is the new covenant of a renewed spirit which Divine grace is to put into the heart of God's people Israel. This spiritually-renewed race is therefore aptly called a 'covenant-people' destined to become a light to the Gentiles. The use of the term in xlix. 8 stands in close connexion with the Servant-passage xlix. 1-6 (cf. verse 6 with xlii. 1, 3).

7. The great function of this covenant-race in the world is now more clearly defined: 'opening blind eyes, bringing forth from the prison the captive.' We have a similar construction here to that in xlix. 9, in which we have like metaphors[1]. Cf. lxi. 1, 3 foll.

8. The ultimate guarantee for the validity of Yahweh's call to

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xlix. 8 b is held to be a gloss derived from the present passages. It may here be noted that in this last passage LXX render *εἰ διαθήκην ἐθνῶν* (*'ammîm* or perhaps *gôyîm*), while in xlii. 6 we have *εἰς δ. γένους.*

Respecting the numerous indications of Deutero-Isaianic style as well as underlying ideas of verses 5-7, see Giesebrecht's careful investigation, *Der Knecht Jahves des Deuterojesaia,* pp. 171-3, and, regarding the dependence of these verses on the preceding (1-4), see ibid. p. 142 foll.

[1] The reference here is to the same construction of the original Hebrew, in both cases, of a constructive infinitive with the preposition 'to' prefixed. This we have rendered by present participles. Cf. Davidson, *Heb. Syntax,* § 93.

is my name: and my glory will I not give to another,
neither my praise unto graven images. Behold, the 9
former things are come to pass, and new things do I
declare: before they spring forth I tell you of them.

Sing unto the LORD a new song, and his praise from 10
the end of the earth; ye that go down to the sea, and all
that is therein, the isles, and the inhabitants thereof. Let 11
the wilderness and the cities thereof lift up *their voice*, the

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His covenant-people to proclaim the true religion to the world consists in the supreme and inalienable majesty of Yahweh Himself. That majesty cannot be possessed by mere carved images.

9. This supreme majesty of Yahweh reveals itself in the certain knowledge of coming events which He communicates to His prophets. Former things have taken place as His prophets foretold. Now he once more announces a fresh event before even the germs of that event reveal their existence. What this future event is to be may be gathered from the preceding verses. It is to be the redemption of Israel and the other races of the world from affliction and misery by God's own servant.

Verses 10-13 is a 'new song' which the editor attaches at the close of verse 9, owing to the mention there of the 'new things[1].' This poetic passage consisted originally of four stanzas of four lines each, one of which is apparently defective. It is an ascription of glory to Yahweh, whose march as a warrior-hero through the desert is here celebrated.

10. Echoes of this opening verse are to be found in later Psalm-literature, e. g. Pss. xxxiii. 3, xcvi. 1, xcviii. 1, cxlix. 1. The proposed emendation of Lowth in the Hebrew text *yir'am* instead of *yôrdê* has much to commend it, since it (1) strengthens the parallelism and gives added power to the passage, (2) is supported by the closely parallel passages (probably echoes of this), viz. Ps. xcvi. 11, xcviii. 7. This probable emendation is supported by Oort, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, and other recent critics. Therefore render: 'Let the sea roar and its fulness, the coastlands and their inhabitants.'

11. 'Let the wilderness and its towns give utterance' (lift up their voice) is the rendering of our Hebrew text. But the LXX had another text (*yāsûsû* instead of *yiss'û*), 'Let the wilderness, &c. . . . rejoice' (so Cheyne, Grätz, and Klostermann).

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[1] On this principle of arrangement through key-words, see vol. i, p. 18 (on chap. i). Cf. the remarks on xli. 6-7 above, p. 68.

villages that Kedar doth inhabit; let the inhabitants of
Sela sing, let them shout from the top of the mountains.
12 Let them give glory unto the LORD, and declare his praise
13 in the islands. The LORD shall go forth as a mighty
man; he shall stir up jealousy like a man of war: he
shall cry, yea, he shall shout aloud; he shall do mightily
14 against his enemies. I have long time holden my peace;

The **villages** here are properly the fixed settlements of nomadic tribes as opposed to the movable encampments. The former were surrounded with stones in order to obtain security from attack. Kedar was an Arabian tribe of the Syrian desert not easy to locate, see vol. i, p. 248 foll., note on xxi. 16 foll.

For **sing** a more accurate rendering would be 'utter a ringing cry,' which is not only more descriptive but accords better with the parallel 'shout.' The Heb. word *Sela'* may either be taken as the proper name of the chief town of Nabataean Edom or as merely generic 'rock,' 'cliff,' 'crag.' The latter is the interpretation of the Peshiṭto, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ewald, and, among recent expositors, Marti. The former is the interpretation of R. V.[1] If we are to be guided by parallelism our choice would incline to the latter signification. Cliff-like rocks are to be found in the Hauran as well as in Edom.

13. Yahweh prepares Himself like a warrior for martial deeds. 'Like a combatant He shall awaken zeal—he shall shout, yea, raise a battle-cry; against his enemies shall show Himself a doughty warrior[2].' The under-current of thought seems to be that Yahweh will assume the character of war-god against Israel's foes, the Babylonians, with Cyrus as His earthly instrument.

Verses 14–17 continue the strain of thought suggested at the close of the preceding 'new song.' Yahweh speaks. His attitude of

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[1] Also supported by Vulg. and by Vitringa, Lowth, Hitzig, Delitzsch, Cheyne, and Duhm.

[2] The LXX render the last clause, 'shall shout against His enemies *with strength*.' The last two words of this rendering are obtained by dividing the last word of the Hebrew text so as to make it *eth g^{e}bhûrah*, i.e. אֶת־גְּבֻרָה. The final ה may be due to dittography through the presence of this character in the opening of the following verse; or it is possible that the first word of that verse was read as a *Kal*. Such a modal use of the preposition *ēth* in Hebrew is not in accordance with usage.

I have been still, and refrained myself: *now* will I cry out
like a travailing woman; I will gasp and pant together.
I will make waste mountains and hills, and dry up all 15
their herbs; and I will make the rivers islands, and will
dry up the pools. And I will bring the blind by a way 16
[that they know not]; in paths that they know not will I
lead them: I will make darkness light before them, and
crooked places straight. These things will I do, and I
will not forsake them. They shall be turned back, they 17

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self-imposed passivity shall no longer be maintained. The metrical form is that which the Deutero-Isaiah so commonly adopts, the long-lined distichs, which we have already seen in verses 8 and 9.

14. 'I have kept silence from old time, keeping still, restraining myself. Like one that gives birth will I moan, pant, and gasp together.' How long is the retrospect in the poet's mind when he speaks of 'old time'? The term *'ôlam*, which here expresses in Hebrew 'old time,' may indeed denote an unlimited vista. In the present case we can extend the retrospect to the beginning of the seventh century, but not earlier. This interval of 150 years, since Isaiah's faith was rewarded by the preservation of Jerusalem from capture by Sennacherib, might well come under this category of 'old time.'

15. I will make the rivers islands (or coast-lands) is hardly intelligible, since the Heb. *iyyîm* (islands, coast-lands), like its English equivalents, presupposes the existence of an open sea; but this is obviously quite out of place. Accordingly Oort's suggestion to read *ṣiyyah* or *ṣiyyôth*, 'dry land,' has much to commend it, though the LXX have translated from the same Hebrew text as our own ('islands').

16. The phrase **they know not,** occurring in both the opening clauses, is an obstacle to the proper metric length of the first. Accordingly Duhm, Marti, and Cheyne omit it in the first place where it occurs:—'And I will guide the blind in the way, in paths they have not known will I direct them.'

For **crooked places straight** substitute 'uneven places a level plain.' The word *mîshôr* means not 'straight' but a level surface. Translate: 'These are the things which I shall do.' The sentence really contains a relative clause.

17. We suddenly pass to a scornful reference to the idolaters. The connexion with the preceding verses is not clear. Duhm places in our hands the right key to the explanation. It is the expression of the angry impatience at the prolonged subjection of shall be greatly ashamed, that trust in graven images, that say unto molten images, Ye are our gods.

18 Hear, ye deaf; and look, ye blind, that ye may see.
19 Who is blind, but my servant? or deaf, as my messenger that I send? who is blind as he that is at peace *with me*,
20 and blind as the LORD's servant? Thou seest many things, but thou observest not; his ears are open, but he

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the Hebrew race to the idolatrous Babylonians which is the under-current of the preceding verses 14 foll. Now that deliverance is to come at last from Yahweh, the idol-worshipping rulers of the Jews shall be brought to feel bitter shame at the impotence of their tutelary gods[1].

Verses 18-25 contain an exhortation and lament combined over deaf and blind Israel, forsaken and oppressed, whom God has punished for his sin, and who have been blind to the fact. It is easy to see here the link which connects this passage addressed to blind and deaf Israel with the preceding. It is the reference to the 'blind' in verse 16.

19. 'He that is at peace with me' (R. V.), 'made perfect' (R. V. marg.), are unsatisfactory renderings, the former being unwarranted and the latter scarcely intelligible. The only feasible interpretation of the Heb. original *m^eshullām* is 'rewarded,' 'paid' (as a servant). But even this introduces a very forced conception. The only reasonable course appears to be to read the Hebrew characters as *moshlām*, 'devoted one,' i. e. devoted to God's service. Compare the kindred Arabic word *muslim*[2] or devoted (follower of Muḥammad: cf. Islâm, which literally means 'devotion'). This appears to the present writer a better solution of the difficulty than any attempted reconstruction of the text on the basis of what certainly appears to have been the very corrupted version of the Hebrew on which the LXX based their rendering. It will not, therefore, be necessary to follow the proposals of Duhm in this direction (in the second edition of his commentary).

20. Instead of **his ears are open** translate: 'hast the ears

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[1] Reifmann's ingenious emendation (*yilb^eshû* for *yēbôshu*), 'shall be *clothed with* shame' is in reality quite unnecessary. The LXX presuppose here our Hebrew text.

[2] In reality the *active* partic. of the iv form corresponding to the Heb. *Hif'îl* or causative. On the other hand the Heb. *moshlām* is the passive or *Hof'al*. The root of the verb is *sh-l-m* (*s-l-m*), 'to be whole' or complete. Thus the *Hif'îl* means to give oneself wholly, devote oneself, obey.

heareth not. It pleased the LORD, for his righteousness' 21
sake, to magnify the law, and make it honourable. But 22
this is a people robbed and spoiled; they are all of them
snared in holes, and they are hid in prison houses: they
are for a prey, and none delivereth; for a spoil, and none
saith, Restore. Who is there among you that will give 23
ear to this? that will hearken and hear for the time to

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open, yet hearest not,' reading in this last clause the 2nd pers. sing. (instead of the 3rd of our Hebrew text), in accordance with the indications of the LXX. We seem here to have a reflexion of Isa. vi. 9 foll. Israel has heard the instructions and warnings of the prophets, but has failed to apprehend them.

21. The idiom of the loosely-appended imperfects[1] is correctly rendered above as a clause expressive of purpose dependent on the principal sentence: 'Yahweh resolved' ('it pleased the Lord'). The 'law' here is not to be identified with the legislation of the Book of Deuteronomy promulgated in the reign of Josiah (621 B.C.), since this restricted use of the original Hebrew word *tôrah* belongs to post-exilian times. While *tôrah* may include the instruction or replies given by the priests, its prevailing significance is the instruction or 'word of Yahweh' delivered by the prophets. We might here identify it with the true religion embodied in the term *mishpāṭ* in verses 1, 3 and 4 of the 'Servant-passage' with which this chapter opens. See note on chap. i. 10.

22 portrays the tragic contrast between the message of the Servant of Yahweh to His people and the abject condition and want of receptivity which the people displays.

We prefer to adopt the slight emendation of the verbal form proposed by Lowth[2], which seems to underlie the rendering of the R.V. For **are for** it is more idiomatic to translate 'have become.'

23. It is better to translate throughout by present instead of future tenses: 'gives ear to this, . . . hearkens.' The question here is the usual rhetorical form of the O.T. which anticipates a negative answer. Cf. Job xl. 8, 9, 24, xli. 1–7 (xl. 24–31, Heb.). The writer portrays the *present* dull unintelligent condition of his countrymen, who are incapable of understanding the significance of recent history and of God's dealings with His people.

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[1] Gesenius-Kautzsch^{26}, § 120. 1 b; Ewald, § 285 c.

[2] viz. *hupaḥû* (Hof'al, perf. plur.), 'they are (or have been), snared.'

24 come? Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the
robbers? [did not the LORD? he against whom we have
sinned, and in whose ways they would not walk, neither
25 were they obedient unto his law]. Therefore he poured
upon him the fury of his anger, and the strength of
battle; and it set him on fire round about, yet he knew
not; and it burned him, yet he laid it not to heart.

24. The question here obviously requires the answer: 'Yahweh, who had inflicted on the Jews the chastisement of the Babylonian conquest and spoliation on account of their past sins.' Babylonia had been to the Jew of the sixth century what Assyria had been to Israel as well as Judah in the eighth, 'the rod of Divine wrath' (x. 5).

The sentence that follows in the form of a question gives the answer to the preceding query: 'Was it not Yahweh against whom we have sinned, and in whose ways they did not choose to go, and to whose law they refused to hearken?' Now there are several reasons for regarding this as a later gloss which a scribe added with the object of making the meaning quite clear—(1) one of the forms employed (*zû* rendered as a relative in the first clause) as well as two of the constructions are foreign to the Deutero-Isaiah; (2) it interrupts the sequence between the opening of verse 24 and verse 25. 'Therefore' is quite unnecessary in the following verse.

25. Render simply as an immediate sequence to the question which opens verse 24. The whole passage thus becomes quite natural.

24. 'Who gave Jacob to the plunderer—and Israel to the robbers . . .
25. And poured upon him his indignant wrath—and the might of war,
And it wrapped him in flames around without his perceiving it—and it burned him without his laying it to heart?'

The reading and rendering 'plunderer' (Poel partic. *m^{e}shôseh*[2]) is that of our Hebrew text (*K^{e}thîb*) as opposed to the

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[1] Reading here the *construct* in Heb. instead of the absol. form (so also LXX and some MSS.). If we adhere to the text as it stands we should have to render: 'poured out indignation as His wrath' (very awkward).

[2] As a Poel participial form it is quite anomalous, and looks like a blending of forms belonging to two distinct verbal forms, *m^{e}shasseh*

43 But now thus saith the LORD that created thee, O Jacob, and he that formed thee, O Israel: Fear not, for I have redeemed thee; I have called thee by thy name,

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traditional reading in the Synagogue (*Ḳ*^{e}*rê*) 'plunder,' R.V. 'spoil' (*m*^{e}*shissah*). The latter or *Ḳ*^{e}*rê* reading is sustained by the LXX, while the former gives a harmonious parallelism and has the support of recent critics, Cheyne, Duhm, and Marti.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Verses 1–7 are a continuation of the poem of the preceding chapter, but a wondrous change in Israel's condition is disclosed. In the final verses of the preceding chapter a vivid description is given of the sharp discipline of humiliation and suffering to which Israel, Yahweh's blind and deaf servant, has been subjected. Now the poet sings of deliverance. Let not Israel fear. Amid the waters that threaten to overwhelm, and the fire that burns, Yahweh is close at hand to deliver. And Israel's scattered race shall not be lost, but gathered together.

1. But now correctly expresses the contrast. This phrase in the original is often employed at the beginning of a new strophe. The verbs 'create' and 'form' (fashion) are those which are employed in the first (Gen. i, Priestercodex and post-exilian) and second (Gen. ii. 4*b* foll., Yahwistic and pre-exilian) cosmogony respectively. 'Create' (*bārā*), however, which is employed in the first creation-story, is simply used to express *God's* work in constructing the universe. The assumption that it signifies to create *out of nothing* is wholly gratuitous, and has been the unfortunate cause of many difficulties, and is obviously an impossible meaning here. The word for 'create' no more expresses this than the word for 'form.' The latter verb is really the term used to describe the work of a *potter* in Hebrew[1]. Both these characteristic verbs of Gen. i and ii recur frequently throughout this and the following chapter, viz. xlii. 7, 15, 21, xliv. 2, 21, 24, &c.

I have redeemed . . . called. The perfect tenses are employed here in the original to express the certainty of the future event, which is for the moment treated as though already realized.

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and *m*^{e}*shôsēs*. We have, however, a parallel anomaly with the same verbal form in Isa. x. 13. Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch^{26}, § 75, rem. 9 (z).

[1] The word for 'form' in Hebrew is *yāṣar*, which means to fashion, to mould. A 'potter' is *yōṣēr* (*lit.* moulder—partic. of the verb), the very term that occurs in this verse.

2 thou art mine. When thou passest through the waters, I
will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not
overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou
shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon
3 thee. For I am the LORD thy God, the Holy One of
Israel, thy saviour; I have given Egypt as thy ransom,
4 Ethiopia and Seba for thee. Since thou hast been

Cf. xli. 10, 14. The LXX had in their text, 'I have called *thee* by thy name,' whereas in our own the personal object of the verb is omitted. The expression here denotes the confidential and intimate relation between Yahweh and Israel, and also the fact that Israel as His servant is set apart for a special service; cf. Exod. xxxi. 2 foll.; Isa. xlv. 3, 4. 'Thou art mine' clearly sets forth this very unique relationship, 'God has many servants, but the foreign nations are for Him unnamed' (Duhm).

2. Fire and **waters** are material metaphors intended to convey the idea of human calamity and suffering, as in Ps. lxvi. 12 (Rosenmüller). Translate: 'when thou passest through fire thou shalt not be branded.' The verb in Hebrew rendered 'burn' is more correctly interpreted 'brand' (Prov. vi. 28, R. V. 'scorched,' where the same Hebrew form is used). A derivative of the same verb occurs in Exod. xxi. 25 (properly 'brand for brand'). On the other hand, the last clause should be translated 'and flame shall not burn thee.'

3. The ground of Israel's safety is here stated. 'I, Yahweh, am thy God.'

Seba here is not to be confused with *Sheba* (or the Sabaeans in Southern Arabia). Both are mentioned together as distinct in Ps. lxxii. 10[1] and Gen. x. 7. Seba, as distinguished from Sheba, is connected in Gen. x. 7 with Cush or Ethiopia. According to Dillmann's careful note on that passage Seba was a branch of the Ethiopian race which was probably situated on the African side of the Red Sea. But the subject is certainly obscure. The LXX read here in their Hebrew text, instead of Saba (as in Ps. lxxii. 10), Soēne, i. e. Syene or Assuan[2], unless we are to regard Soēne as their identification of the Hebrew Seba. Cf. Driver's *Genesis, ad loc.*

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[1] *Sheba* was evidently well known to the Greek translator, as it was to the ancient Assyrians in the days of Tiglath-Pileser III (see Schrader, *COT.*, i, p. 131 foll.), and Sargon. Hence he renders in LXX by 'Arabians.' But it seems to have been otherwise with *Seba*, which is reproduced as Saba.

[2] In Heb. סונה, cf. Ezek. xxix. 10.

precious in my sight, *and* honourable, and I have loved
thee; therefore will I give men for thee, and peoples for
thy life. Fear not; for I am with thee: I will bring thy 5
seed from the east, and gather thee from the west; I will 6
say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not
back; bring my sons from far, and my daughters from
the end of the earth; every one that is called by my 7
name, and whom I have created for my glory; I have
formed him; yea, I have made him. Bring forth the 8

What is meant by the expression 'I give Egypt as thy ransom'? Obviously Yahweh's universal sovereignty is presupposed. Egypt, Ethiopia, and Seba are at His disposal as payment for Israel's emancipation. To whom is such payment to be made? At this time Israel was subject to Babylonia. But now Babylonia was no longer as powerful as it was in the days of Nebuchadrezzar. The conquest of Egypt in the degenerate age of the last king of Babylonia, Nabonidus, would not have been conceivable by the Deutero-Isaiah. The prophet is evidently thinking of Cyrus, Yahweh's anointed, who was to emancipate the exiled Jews and was to receive the territories on the Nile as an equivalent. The actual conquest of Egypt was accomplished by his successor, Cambyses, in 525 B.C., after the battle of Pelusium.

4. men (or mankind) forms a natural analogue to **peoples** in the parallel clause that follows. There is no need to alter the Hebrew text for 'men' into the similar word for 'land' or 'soil' with Duhm, Cheyne, and Oort. The LXX version supports the Hebrew text before us[1]. The outcome of God's special love for Israel is exhibited in the verses that follow.

Verses 5–7 describe the reassembling of the scattered Hebrews (the Dispersion), cf. xlix. 12.

7. The clauses at the end of the verse 'I have formed him; yea, I have made him,' should be connected with the relative clause that precedes, thus: 'whom I have created for my glory, have formed, yea, have made.'

Verses 8–13. Here we have another judgment-scene before Yahweh. The heathen nations are assembled, and Yahweh demands that His people Israel, which is blind and deaf, yet has seen and heard, should be brought forward as a witness. For Israel at least knows, blind and deaf though he be, that there is no

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[1] In the LXX ἄρχοντας, stands as the rendering of the Hebrew word for 'peoples,' just as in xxxiv. 1, xli. 1.

blind people that have eyes, and the deaf that have ears.
9 Let all the nations be gathered together, and let the peoples be assembled: who among them can declare this, and shew us former things? let them bring their witnesses, that they may be justified: or let them hear,

other God but Yahweh, and that beside Him there is none that can save.

8. Perhaps the more idiomatic rendering (following the true reading, which is here an absol. infin. and not an imperative[1]) should be 'Let them bring forth the blind people that has eyes . . . Though the people be blind and deaf, it has eyes to see and ears to hear the plain fact and testify to it among the assembled nations, viz. that Yahweh is God alone.'

9. R. V. here is not in accordance with our Hebrew text, which can hardly be taken as an imperative, but as an indicative (as the LXX interpret). By a slight change in the vowel-points of the second verb[2] (translated 'assembled') we obtain a consistent meaning. Translate: 'All the nations have been gathered together and the peoples have been assembled.' These assembled nations through their representatives (the divinely inspired soothsayers, as we may assume) are to be put to the test. What have they to declare?

This is a favourite conception of the prophet. Cf. above xli. 1 foll., 21 foll. Translate: 'Who among them will announce this or make known to us former[3] things.' The word 'this' refers to the reassuring message of the preceding verses that God in His unceasing love will gather the scattered Israel together and restore His people, and that there is no other power that can save. The nations are challenged to produce their witnesses. In the closing lines of this verse it would be best to adopt Duhm's suggested punctuation of the text (*yaṣdîḳû*) and render: 'Let them produce their witnesses so as to justify them, and say: it is truth.' The foreign nations are to support the statements which their witnesses make on their behalf.

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[1] *Hôṣê* instead of *hôṣî*.

[2] Proposed by Oort, and supported by Duhm and Marti.

[3] 'Declare (or make known) former things' is a favourite expression of the Deutero-Isaiah: cf. xli. 22, xlii. 9. The meaning is fairly clear. Prophecy from the days of Ezekiel onwards had begun to be more retrospective. The 'former things' refer to the manifestation of Divine power in Israel's past history. There is no reason to modify the text as Cheyne and Marti suggest, and render: 'and *as the first one* declare it unto us.'

and say, It is truth. Ye are my witnesses, saith the 10
Lord, and my servant whom I have chosen: that ye
may know and believe me, and understand that I am
he; before me there was no God formed, neither shall
there be after me. I, even I, am the Lord; and beside 11
me there is no saviour. I have declared, and I have 12
saved, and I have shewed, and there was no strange *god*
among you: therefore ye are my witnesses, saith the
Lord, and I am God. Yea, since the day was I am he; 13
and there is none that can deliver out of my hand: I will
work, and who shall let it?

Thus saith the Lord, your redeemer, the Holy One of 14

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10. The nations meet the challenge with silence. Yahweh therefore turns to His own people, blind and deaf though they be, and addresses them with the words '*ye* are my witnesses.' Yahweh is declared to be, both in the past, present, and future, exclusive Divine potentate, solitary in His sway.

It is possible that we may see here with Gunkel (*Schöpfung u. Chaos*, p. 137) a polemic against Babylonian mythology, which represented that Marduk (whose unique position in the Babylonian pantheon was a later development) obtained rule by command of 'the gods, his fathers' and created the world by the help of others. The considerations already adduced in the notes on xli. 21-23 would lead us to regard this view of Gunkel as by no means improbable. Cf. Creation-epic (Delitzsch), i. lines 9 foll., ii. lines 129 foll.

12. 'There was no strange (or foreign) god among you,' i. e. potent and effective. In the original there is no word 'god,' but only 'strange (one).'

13. Instead of **since the day was**[1] translate: 'from henceforth' (similarly R. V. margin).

who shall let it: i. e. arrest it, is a correct interpretation of the Hebrew original, which strictly means 'turn it back'; see note in vol. i on Isa. ix. 12. The LXX give the strict and literal rendering.

Verses 14-21. God's mighty works in the past, when Israel was

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[1] The LXX render: 'ever since the beginning' (similarly other verses), literally, 'ever since a day was,' a rendering approved by Rosenmüller, Gesenius, and Hitzig, but more than doubtful, as a translation of the Hebrew.

Israel: For your sake I have sent to Babylon, and I will bring down all of them as fugitives, even the Chaldeans,

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led forth from Egypt, are not to be compared with the impending overthrow of Babylon and Israel's return, verses 14 foll. For Israel's sake God will overthrow the Babylonian empire (Chaldees) and set up a way through the wilderness.

In verse 14 the perfect form of the Hebrew verb rendered 'I have sent' should be taken as Ewald, Orelli, and others have correctly understood it, viz. as a prophetic perfect. Accordingly translate: 'I will send to Babylon and bring down . . .' We are not to suppose with Hitzig that a battle had already been lost by the Chaldaeans. In our opinion the difficulties of this verse have been somewhat exaggerated, and there is no necessity, as Duhm imagines, for rejecting almost the whole of our traditional Hebrew text which the LXX support nearly in its integrity. The R. V. adheres to the Massoretic punctuation and rightly renders the Hebrew *bārîḥîm* by 'fugitives' (so also LXX), whereas the A. V. have 'nobles' (*lit.* 'bars'), which involves the reading of the text as *beríḥîm* (from *beríaḥ*)[1]. There is no other example of this special metaphorical use of the word, though parallels can easily be found (e. g. 'tent-peg' for leader of the state, Zech. x. 4; 'shield,' Ps. xlvii. 10 (*A.V.* 9), usually a designation of God, Gen. xv. 1; Ps. iii. 4 (*A.V.* 3), xviii. 3, 31 (*A.V.* 2, 30), cxliv. 2, 7, 11; 'foundation,' Ps. xi. 3). Accordingly there is no sufficient reason for departing from the text and interpretation upon which the LXX mainly based their rendering. Dillmann's translation, 'and I will drive them all as fugitives down the stream,' though ridiculed in Duhm's characteristic manner, is open to no serious objection. The conception of the passage is that Babylon will be overwhelmed with panic on hearing of the advancing foe, and will take to flight on their vessels that plied on the Euphrates stream, much in the same way as Merodach-Baladan after his defeat by Sennacherib. Cf. cylind. insc., col. iii, lines 55-7, quoted in Schrader, *COT.*, vol. ii, p. 36. Respecting the navy possessed by the Babylonians see Herod. i. 194; Strabo, xvi. 1, 9 foll.; and xxxiii. 21, 23 (see vol. i).

As might be expected, the emendators are busy with their proposed remedies. Of these the most ingenious is that of Ewald, who would amend the text of the whole passage, which he translates: 'I send to Babylon and plunge in moans their lyres and

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[1] Vulg. Ibn Ezra; Clericus and Lowth would render: 'I break down all the bars (i. e. of the gates). The barriers are broken down before the advancing enemy.' But this does not harmonize with the next clause.

in the ships of their rejoicing. I am the LORD, your 15
Holy One, the Creator of Israel, your King. Thus saith 16
the LORD, which maketh a way in the sea, and a path in
the mighty waters; which bringeth forth the chariot and 17
horse, the army and the power; they lie down together,
they shall not rise; they are extinct, they are quenched
as flax: Remember ye not the former things, neither 18

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the exultation of the Chaldaeans in sighs.' This certainly makes good parallelism, but the word which is rendered 'moans' is a clever invention by Ewald himself based on the verbal form found in Zech. i. 14.

It is undoubtedly the last clause which constitutes the difficulty. While our A. V. takes it as relative, 'and the Chaldaeans whose cry is in the ships,' the R.V. given above (so also the late Franz Delitzsch) presents a more natural interpretation. **The ships of their rejoicing** is a Hebraism for 'the ships in which they exult.'

15 characterizes the Divine author of this mighty overthrow. It is indeed possible that this verse should be united closely with the preceding so as to form one sentence. Verse 15 then forms an effective appositional clause to the subject of the verbs, 'I will send to Babylon and bring down . . .' (in verse 14). We should then omit the word 'am,' which does not stand in the Hebrew text[1], and render, 'I, Yahweh, your Holy One . . .' Duhm, while admitting the reasonableness of this construction, considers that the distance from the verb in the preceding verse is a serious objection. On the other hand, prolonged sentences, with appositional clauses characterizing the greatness of Yahweh, are not infrequent in the Deutero-Isaiah (xl. 22 foll., xlii. 5 foll., &c.).

16 is based on the reminiscence of the great deliverance from Egypt that constituted Israel a nation. The link between this verse and verse 14 (which refers to the future) is the phrase in verse 15, 'the Creator of Israel.'

17. The language of this verse suggests the possibility that the author was familiar with the J and E portions of Exod. xiv, xv. R. V. marg. correctly interprets 'flax' by 'a wick.'

18. But these mighty acts of deliverance whereby Yahweh created Israel as a nation are not to be compared with the

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[1] In a Hebrew clause which is predicative the copula is omitted. Accordingly an alternative rendering is possible, either 'I *am* the Lord, your Holy One, &c.,' as given above, or 'I, the Lord, your Holy One, &c.,' as suggested above in the note.

19 consider the things of old. Behold, I will do a new
thing; now shall it spring forth; shall ye not know it? I
will even make a way in the wilderness, and rivers in the
20 desert. The beasts of the field shall honour me, the
jackals and the ostriches: because I give waters in the
wilderness, and rivers in the desert, to give drink to my
21 people, my chosen: the people which I formed for my-

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wonders that are to be accomplished not only in the overthrow of Babylon but in Israel's restoration.

19. The creation of waters in the desert, where dry land was, is regarded as more marvellous than the creation of dry land where waters were. Translate: 'Behold! I am doing (or 'am about to do') a new thing. Now it is sprouting (i. e. coming to be realized), do ye not perceive it? Indeed, I will make a way in the wilderness': cf. xlii. 16, also xl. 4, xli. 18.

20. Even wild animals, jackals and ostriches, are to pay their homage to Yahweh. This conception, so strange to modern man, reflects the spirit of a primitive age when man stood nearer to the animal world, and sympathy between man and animals was a real feeling and not an artificial sentiment. On this feeling in primitive tribes, see Robertson Smith, *RS.*[2] pp. 296-300. It is also reflected in Isa. xi. 6-9. Cf. Num. xxii. 22, 33 (J); Isa. xxxiv. 13-17, and the Arabic story of Queen Bilḳîs (in Brünnow's *Chrestomathy*).

The latter part of this verse, 'For I give waters in the wilderness, &c.,' as well as verse **21**, are regarded by Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti as a later addendum on what appear to the present writer insufficient reasons. Duhm refers to the repetitions of the ideas and phraseology of verse 19 in the latter part of verse 20, but himself acknowledges that such repetitions in Deutero-Isaiah are not infrequent, and appears to hesitate on the subject of the genuineness, but concludes by saying: 'Nevertheless the opinion that Deutero-Isaiah did not write beyond the earlier part of verse 20 appears to me more probable.' The only ground for rejecting the genuineness of the passage and referring it to a later date is the use of the relative *zû* (employed in 'the people *which* I formed'), which occurs in the interpolated passage xlii. 24 (see note). Marti calls attention to the 3rd person used here, whereas in verses 18 and 19 God's people is directly addressed in the 2nd person. But in prophetic address uniformity in style is not to be expected or desiderated. Is the solitary trait of language, the relative *zû*, a sufficient reason for rejecting the genuineness of the passage? The R. V. rightly regards the last clause as relative. Translate: 'The people which I fashioned for

self, that they might set forth my praise. Yet thou hast 22
not called upon me, O Jacob; but thou hast been weary
of me, O Israel. Thou hast not brought me the small 23
cattle of thy burnt offerings; neither hast thou honoured
me with thy sacrifices. I have not made thee to serve

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myself, which is to recount my praise,' the verse being appositional to the clause which precedes in verse 20 (cf. verse 15).

Verses 22—xliv. 5 are an impassioned pleading by Yahweh with Israel over his indifference and neglect. The appeal ends with a promise of spiritual quickening.

22. The R. V. fails to express the emphasis of the personal pronoun which is made prominent in the original. Render: 'Yet not upon me hast thou called, O Jacob, nor about me hast thou wearied thyself, O Israel.' So Cheyne (with Duhm and Marti). In the latter clause the Hebrew text has become hopelessly confused owing to the mistake of a single character[1] and the omission of the negative which both the LXX and considerations of metre require us to replace at the beginning of the second clause. The Hebrew word for 'wearied (or troubled) thyself' is characteristic of the exilian and post-exilian period: cf. Job ix. 29; Prov. xxiii. 4.

23 develops the idea still further in terms of ceremonial worship. For **small cattle** substitute the more specific rendering 'lamb.' In the parallel clauses we have the contrast between the 'burnt-offerings' and the 'slaughtered-offerings' or bloody sacrifices. The translation of A. V. and R. V., 'sacrifices,' is too vague, and does not express this contrast in the two forms of animal sacrifices. Instead of **sacrifices** read 'slaughtered offerings.'

Since Babylonia, the land of exile, being a foreign land, was regarded in the religious conceptions that prevailed at that time as *unclean*, because God's presence and power were not manifested there, but in Palestine, the old seat of Divine worship[2], no offerings were possible to the exiled Jews (cf. Hos. ix. 4 foll.; Ps. li. 18 foll; Deut. xii. 13 foll.). Consequently the older critics, as Hengstenberg, employed this verse as an argument for the pre-exilian, i. e. Isaianic, authorship of these later chapters of the Book of Isaiah. But the conclusion of this as well as the following verse shows

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[1] *bî* misread as *kî*. The difference in the square Hebrew character is very slight. The result is an unnecessary repetition of *bî* after the verb.

[2] In the later times of the Jewish monarchy, i. e. since the promulgation of the Deuteronomic code 621 B. C., Jerusalem only was the recognized seat of God's worship.

24 with offerings, nor wearied thee with frankincense. Thou hast bought me no sweet cane with money, neither hast

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that such literalism is out of place here. It is the attitude of mind which outer ceremonial ought to express that the prophet desiderates, and it is the absence of it which he rebukes: 'The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit' (Ps. li. 17). But this 'sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart' Israel at this time did not offer. It was wholly impossible for Isaiah himself, who declared that God had no pleasure in burnt offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts, or in the blood of bullocks or lambs, and that incense was an abomination to Him (i. 11–14), to lay stress upon the punctilious fulfilment of these and similar ritual obligations. Still more was this impossible for a true disciple of the school of Jeremiah, the prophet of the New Covenant (Jer. xxxi. 31–4, cf. vii. 21–23), such as we have already seen the Deutero-Isaiah, together with the author of the 'Servant-songs,' to have been (xlii. 6; see also notes).

The concluding words of this verse clearly show that during the exile no burdens of ritual fulfilment were expected. 'I have not made thee to serve (me) with meal offerings, nor put thee to trouble with frankincense.' The very ritual terms here employed belong to a later period than that of pre-exilian cultus. It is true that the word (*minḥah*), which our R. V. renders 'offerings,' was employed in pre-exilian times, but its use in earlier days was general and not specific. Gen. iv. 4, 5 (J) applies the term equally to the slaughtered offering of Abel and the vegetable offering of Cain. The word properly means gift or tribute, and is occasionally used in the latter sense (Judges iii. 15; 2 Sam. viii. 2, 6; 1 Kings v. 1; 2 Kings xvii. 4; Ps. lxxii. 10). But as a ritual term in pre-exilian times its application fluctuates [?]. Thus in Judges xiii. 19 (according to Budde from the J source), Amos v. 25, and Isa. xix. 21 (see note in vol. i) it means a vegetable (i. e. meal) offering as opposed to a bloody offering. On the other hand, in post-exilian times, and especially in P (Lev. ii. 1, 4–6, vi. 7 foll., &c.), it *exclusively* refers as a ritual term to the *meal*-offering, as it unquestionably does here. The word for **frankincense** (*l^ebhônah*)[1] belongs (with the exception of Jer. vi. 20) to the exilian and post-exilian period (e. g. Exod. xxx. 34).

24. There is an alliterative play of expression in the Hebrew thou filled me with the fat of thy sacrifices: but thou hast made me to serve with thy sins, thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities. I, even I, am he that blotteth 25

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[1] Arabic *lubân*, Greek λιβανωτός. From Ezek. xxvii. 22; Isa. lx. 6 (cf. Jer. vi. 20) we learn that this frankincense was exported from Arabia. This is confirmed by Pliny, who tells us that it was exported from Sabota, capital of Haḍramaut, to Gaza; cf. *Hebrew Antiquities*, p. 107 foll., and Sachau, *Three Aramaic Papyri* (German), i, line 25.

word for **bought** and for **sweet-cane** (or calamus), which can hardly be reproduced in English unless we were to adopt such a rendering as 'In my honour hast thou not for money *catered* for sweet-*cane*' in order to express the assonance. Here again the ritual expression points to a later period. In the pre-exilian prophets, e. g. Isaiah, 'incense' (*ḳ^e^tōreth*) means simply the smoke of the burnt fat in sacrifices (Isa. i. 13, on which compare note in vol. i), whereas contact with Babylonia, where elaborate rituals were practised and the incense offered to the gods was compounded of the varied ingredients of cedar-wood, cypress-wood, meal, and sweet cane[1] (*ḳanû*: cf. the Heb. *ḳāneh*), furnished the exiled Jews with new models for their worship. Hence the elaborate prescriptions for the compounding of incense in Exod. xxx. 34 foll. (P); cf. 2 Chron. ii. 4 (3 Heb.), xiii. 11. There can be little doubt that post-exilian Judaism ultimately derived these more highly-developed traditions of worship from Babylonia, just as they borrowed their ecclesiastical calendar, beginning with Nisan, as well as the names of its months[2], from the same source. An excellent instance of the Babylonian use of fragrant spices as ingredients of their sacrifices is furnished by the Flood-legend, forming the eleventh tablet of the Gilgamesh-epic, lines 158 foll.:

> 'Twice seven sacrificial vessels I erected;
> Under them scattered calamus (sweet cane), cedar-wood, and myrrh.
> The gods smelt the scent.
> The gods smelt the fragrance.
> The gods gathered like flies over the sacrifices.'

(See Jensen in *KIB*. vi, erste Hälfte, p. 240.)

For **filled** read with R. V. marg. 'satiated.'

Owing to the very conditions of their exile in a foreign land Yahweh has imposed on His people no burden of sacrificial homage. On the contrary, the burden (as though of bondage) and trouble have been imposed on Yahweh by the sins of His faithless and erring children.

25. The personal pronoun is by a characteristic trait of the Deutero-Isaiah twice repeated, and thus rendered specially emphatic. Despite Israel's sins, it is I, Yahweh, against whom he

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[1] See Zimmern in *KAT.*^{3}, p. 600.

[2] See A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alter Orients* (2nd ed.), p. 531; Schrader, *COT*. ii, p. 68 foll.

out thy transgressions for mine own sake; and I will not
26 remember thy sins. Put me in remembrance; let us
plead together: set thou forth *thy cause,* that thou mayest
27 be justified. Thy first father sinned, and thine interpre-

has transgressed, who, unsolicited, spontaneously forgive. In this expression of God's free forgiveness the Deutero-Isaiah, as Duhm points out, goes beyond Isaiah, Jeremiah, and even the tender-hearted Hosea. With reference to *Isaiah*, chap. i. 18 should probably be construed as indicated in the note on that passage and in accordance with the verses that follow as well as the general drift of the chapter. In *Jeremiah* forgiveness is conditioned by the renewal and quickening of the soul which is the subject of it, though even this is the gift of Divine grace, Jer. xxxi. 32-34 (esp. verse 34); xxxii. 39-41. In xxxi. 17-20 Yahweh relents when He hears Ephraim 'bemoaning himself,' and with this we may compare Hos. xi. 7-11 and xiv, where God's compassions are kindled at the spectacle of Ephraim's backsliding and impending doom, and a final earnest appeal is made to Israel to return to Yahweh (xiv. 1; Heb. verse 2). But here in the *Deutero-Isaiah* the subjective ground of repentance in the individual or in the nation is passed over. God's ground of forgiveness lies in Himself ('for my own sake'). But on this expression 'for my own sake' too much stress should not be laid, as the original Hebrew word seems to overload the metre, and Duhm therefore rejects it[1], holding that it has been introduced here through the influence of xlviii. 9, 11. It must be acknowledged, however, that it harmonizes with verse 26 foll.

26 enforces the conception that God's forgiveness is based on his own initiative and on no claim of merit that Israel can bring forward. A challenge is addressed to Israel in terms resembling i. 18: 'Call to my remembrance, let us urge together our pleas against one another; reckon up (your pleas) to show that you are in the right.'

27. 'My first ancestor' (*lit.* 'father') does not mean Adam; xli. 8 might lead us to identify him with Abraham, the 'friend' of God, and this seems to be confirmed by li. 2. This view is supported by the Jewish commentator Rashi as well as by Delitzsch, Nägelsbach, and Diestel. But throughout these oracles it is predominantly Jacob or Israel who is regarded as the *national* ancestor; see xlviii. 1-4 and cf. Hos. xii. 4. It is Jacob who

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[1] LXX (ℵ A Q Γ) omit the word, B (Vatican) retains it. There are therefore adequate grounds, critical as well as metric, for dropping the word from our text.

ters have transgressed against me. Therefore I will 28
profane the princes of the sanctuary, and I will make

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appears in patriarchal story as the crafty supplanter. The LXX, influenced probably by the plural form in the parallel clause 'thine interpreters,' render here 'your first fathers,' and are followed by Gesenius and Hengstenberg. But this plural meaning is never expressed by a singular noun in this case of the Hebrew word for 'father.' The plural form would certainly have been employed (as so frequently in Deuteronomy).

The **interpreters** or 'intermediaries' are here the prophets, who are the interpreters of God's will to men. The reference is to the false prophets such as Isaiah denounced (xxix. 9, 10) and whom Micaiah confronted (1 Kings xxii. 11 foll., 22 foll.) in the ninth century (853 B. C.), and in more recent times Jeremiah (xxiii. 11-18, xxvi. 8-15, xxvii. 9-18, xxviii. 10-17, &c.). No doubt priests are also included.

28. We might with good reason follow Oort and other critics, and, by changing the punctuation of the Hebrew copula with both verbs[1], translate them as past tenses (so R.V. marg.). We should then render: 'So I desecrated the holy princes and gave up Jacob to a curse (or ban) and Israel to scorning.' Here the first clause might be explained by reference to the closing tragic scenes of the Hebrew monarchy in 587-6 B. C., when the priests and other officials were carried off into captivity to Babylon by Nebuzaradan and doubtless subjected to terrible humiliations and killed (2 Kings xxv. 18-22). This may perhaps be the true text and explanation, but two considerations make us suspicious. Duhm is undoubtedly right in regarding the first distich as mutilated. We miss the parallel clause. Moreover, when we turn to the LXX we can clearly see that they had a somewhat different text. This Houbigant, Klostermann, and Cheyne would reconstruct mainly in accordance with the Greek rendering. We should then read (with a gap for the lost parallel clause):

'And thy princes desecrated my sanctuary . . .
So I delivered Jacob to the ban—and Israel to scorning.'

The first line, which is imperfect through the loss of the parallel clause, continues the recital of Israel's sins against Yahweh (begun in the preceding verse) which have brought about Divine chastisement. The desecration of the sanctuary by the princes will refer to the idolatrous practices described in 2 Kings xxi. 3-5, 7; Ezek. viii. 3-17. When summoned to the bar of Divine judgment God's people have no merits to plead in their justification.

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[1] i. e. so as to make them both 'Waw consecutive.'

44 Jacob a curse, and Israel a reviling. Yet now hear, O
Jacob my servant; and Israel, whom I have chosen:
2 thus saith the LORD that made thee, and formed thee
from the womb, who will help thee: Fear not, O Jacob
my servant; and thou, Jeshurun, whom I have chosen.
3 For I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and
streams upon the dry ground: I will pour my spirit upon

God's forgiveness and mercy are based on His own gracious initiative.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Verses 1-5. After the recital of Israel's sins and the Divine chastisement that followed comes the gracious Divine promise of revival. We hardly see Yahweh any longer in the forbidding rôle of legal adversary urging his pleas (cf. xliii. 26). In place of the dark past there unfolds the bright future in which God's spirit descends in showers upon the parched tendrils in the thirsty soil. The contrast reminds us of the transition between the close of chap. xlii and the opening of chap. xliii. Hebrew prophecy is full of these striking contrasts.

1. Yet now. The Hebrew word rendered 'now' possesses in combination with the imperative a hortatory force. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 13; Isa. xxx. 8; Mic. v. 1 [iv. 14 Heb.]. The opening of this chapter (verses 1, 2) is very analogous to that of xliii.

2. The name *Jeshurûn* for Israel is apparently borrowed from here in Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 26, parallel in formation to the tribal word Zebulûn. It is not found in any other passage. It is evidently based in its form upon the Hebrew adjective *jāshār* (pronounced *yāshār*), meaning 'brave,' 'upright.' In all probability we must combine this designation of Israel with the immediately preceding depreciatory reference to this patriarch as the crafty supplanter (Jacob) in xliii. 27 (cf. Hos. xii. 4). See Bacher in *ZATW.*, 1885, p. 161, whose view is supported by Duhm. Formerly the 'supplanter,' he is now the noble and upright (Jeshurûn).

3. The parallelism indicates that we should render with R. V. (marg.), 'I will pour water on the thirsty *land*.' Here again we note contrast. In xliii. 28 we read that Yahweh had delivered Jacob up to a curse (ban). Now a land that is cursed is devoid of rain (2 Sam. i. 21). The rivulets of water, that God's forgiving mercy pours forth, betokens here the removal of the ban.

The word which is here rendered **offspring**, like the word 'seed' in the preceding parallel clause, is primarily applied to vegetation. Thus in Isa. xxxiv. 1, xlii. 5; Job xxxi. 8 it is used

thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring: and they 4
shall spring up among the grass, as willows by the water-
courses. One shall say, I am the LORD'S; and another shall 5
call *himself* by the name of Jacob; and another shall sub-

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generally of the products of the earth. It is doubtful whether the word belongs to pre-exilian literature (Isa. xxii. 24 is the only possible exception).

4. The **watercourses** are the artificially constructed canals for irrigation (*rivi aquarum*) characteristic of Babylonia. The **willow** is the species known as *Populus Euphratica.* Translate: 'They shall sprout (R.V. spring up) as between waters grass[1]'; a vivid picture of the grass meads intersected by watercourses (so Lowth, Ewald, Cheyne, Houbigant, Duhm, and Marti).

5. Here comes the full fruition of the Divine blessing. Israel is to realize his Divine vocation as 'Yahweh's servant,' the 'Covenant race' (xlii. 6). He is to be a light to the Gentiles (cf. xlix. 6). We are to understand by **one** and **another** (*lit.* 'this' in Hebrew[2]) foreigners who are attracted by the revived and quickened Israel and become proselytes to Israel's faith. A slight change in the punctuation of the Hebrew text is necessary, whereby two of the verbs are pronounced as reflexive and passive rather than active. Accordingly render: 'One says I am Yahweh's—and another names himself with the name of Jacob and another inscribes his hand (with) "Yahweh's own"—and is honoured by the title "Israel."' Marti sees here an allusion to the custom whereby the slave inscribed his skin with the name of his master. More probably we have here an old rite of self-dedication. See W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 213 foll. In Lev. xix. 28 such 'cuttings in the flesh' are forbidden, which shows how widely the custom prevailed. This, moreover, indicates that in the post-exilian period of legislative reconstruction this custom was regarded with disfavour, but during the exile period the Deutero-Isaiah had no such feeling.

The Hebrew verb, which we have rendered above in its passive form 'is honoured by the title,' means 'to bestow an honourable surname or title' upon a person[3]. The Arabic substantive scribe with his hand unto the LORD, and surname *himself* by the name of Israel.

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[1] LXX *ὡσεὶ χόρτος ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος* points the way to the right text. Evidently the word for 'water' has dropped out of the Hebrew and should be restored. For בְּבֵין read כְּבֵין.

[2] A similar idiomatic use of 'this' is found in chap. vi. 3 (where 'this' . . . 'this' stands in the original for 'one'. . . 'another').

[3] i. e. the Piel, *kinnah* (the active form).

6 Thus saith the LORD, the King of Israel, and his redeemer the LORD of hosts: I am the first, and I am
7 the last; and beside me there is no God. And who, as I, shall call, and shall declare it, and set it in order for

derived from the same Semitic root is *kunya*[1], which usually signifies the honourable surname which a man assumes when he calls himself father of some specially named son, e. g. Abu Omar. Here the verb is used of honouring by surname of any kind.

Verses 6-23. The greatness of Yahweh, Israel's Redeemer, is beyond challenge or comparison. Future events are known to Him alone. So Israel may rest secure. In connexion with this assertion of God's supremacy beside whom no gods exist, there follows in an entirely different measure a satire on idols and idol-makers (verses 9-20). It is not necessary, however, to assume that this is a later insertion with Duhm and Marti. The former compares the attack on image-worship in the Book of Daniel (e. g. iv. 34 LXX) and Baruch vi. (Ep. of Jeremy) 3-73, and similar productions of a later time, cold and laboured. On the other hand, the mode in which this digression is introduced presents a certain analogy to the similar passage on the manufacture of idols, xl. 18, 19, xli. 6, 7, xl. 20, which is introduced in like manner after a sublime ascription of praise to Yahweh and the assertion of His incomparable greatness. But in that case the metrical form remains the same; in the passage before us there is clearly marked difference. Certainly its style is more prosaic and laboured than that of the genuine writings of the Deutero-Isaiah[2].

6. Some of the epithets that describe the supreme exaltation of Yahweh in chap. xli recur here. He is king of Israel as in xli. 21, as well as Israel's Redeemer (xli. 14). The old epithet 'Yahweh (God) of Hosts,' applied to Him in pre-exilian prophecy, (i. 9) recurs here. Above all He stands alone in His cosmic pre-eminence. In fact His pre-eminence in time is even more impressive, as Duhm remarks, than His pre-eminence in space. The significant expression 'the first and the last' passed into apocalyptic, and, in the final utterance of the Book of Revelation, is assumed by Jesus as one of His own Divine titles (Rev. xxii. 13).

7. The traditional Hebrew text has evidently fallen into con-

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[1] On this see also Skinner's useful note, who cites from Seetzen, *Reisen*, ii. p. 327.

[2] See the further discussion of this critical problem in the notes on xlvi. 3 and 6 below.

me, since I appointed the ancient people? and the things
that are coming, and that shall come to pass, let them
declare. Fear ye not, neither be afraid: have I not 8
declared unto thee of old, and shewed it? and ye are
my witnesses. Is there a God beside me? yea, there is
no Rock; I know not any. They that fashion a graven 9

fusion, and reconstruction is necessary. The LXX again point us to the right path. Oort, Duhm, Cheyne, Kittel, and Marti conduct us to the following restoration of the original: 'And who is like me? Let him take his stand so as to cry aloud, proclaim it and set it in order for me. Who hath made known from old time future things? And those things that shall come to pass let them announce to us[1].'

8. In the Hebrew word of our text rendered **be afraid** it is best to desert the strange and doubtful form presented to us in our copies of the original (whatever justification the Arabic may seem to afford us), and to read the normal Hebrew form suggested by Ewald (*tir'û* instead of *tirhû*). For **unto thee** read 'unto you' (plural) with LXX. Probably the interrogative clause 'Is there a God beside me?' ought to be linked to the preceding sentence. It would be better therefore to translate: 'Ye are my witnesses whether there is a God beside me.' The poet anticipates the answer by saying, 'Yea, there is no rock, I know of none.' On the word 'rock' as epithet of Yahweh see xvii. 10 and note.

Verses 9–20. The last clause of the preceding verse suggests a comparison with heathen deities, for it is probably more than a mere coincidence that the Assyrians and Babylonians called their deities by the epithet 'mountain' (*šadû*), as proper names testify, e.g. Bêl-šadua, Marduk-šadua (= 'Bêl is my mountain,' 'Merodach is my mountain'), analogous to the Hebrew proper names Ṣûrîēl,

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[1] The LXX only help us at the beginning of the verse: *τίς ὥσπερ ἐγώ; στήτω καλεσάτω καὶ ἑτοιμασάτω μοι.* After this their Hebrew copy is evidently based upon a partially similar textual tradition to our own, *ἀφ οὗ ἐποίησα ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ τὰ ἐπερχόμενα πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἀναγγειλάτωσαν ὑμῖν.* Apparently they read in their Heb. text: מִשּׂוּמִי אָדָם וְעַד עוֹלָם וְאֹתִיּוֹת בְּטֶרֶם תָּבֹאנָה יַגִּידוּ לָכֶם—'since I made man even for evermore, and future things, before they come to pass, let them proclaim to you.' For the benefit of the Hebrew student, we subjoin the reconstructed Hebrew text corresponding to the translation given above: וּמִי כָמוֹנִי יַעֲמֹד וְיִקְרָא וְיַגִּידֶהָ וְיַעַרְכֶהָ לִי מִי הִשְׁמִיעַ מֵעוֹלָם אֹתִיּוֹת וַאֲשֶׁר תָּבֹאנָה יַגִּידוּ לָנוּ.

image are all of them vanity; and their delectable things
shall not profit: and their own witnesses see not, nor
10 know; that they may be ashamed. Who hath fashioned
a god, or molten a graven image that is profitable for
11 nothing? Behold, all his fellows shall be ashamed; and

Ṣûrî Shaddai (= 'God is my rock'). The presence of these satires against idolatry in chaps. xl, xli, as well as in the present chapter (cf. xlvi. 1), points to the conclusion that to the exiled Jews, amid the destruction of their national kingdom and prestige and the adverse conditions of foreign life, the august worship of the Babylonian deities, Marduk (Merodach) or Bêl, god of light, and Nebo, god of prophecy, was dangerously seductive. To many among them the prestige of Yahweh seemed to have sunk beyond recovery after the destruction of His temple and the deportation of His people, and they would be only too prone to worship the victorious gods of their conquerors. After the significant and necessary reminder to his exiled countrymen that Yahweh was the only 'rock'—not Nebo nor Merodach—the prophet lashes idolatry with satire in which there is a subtle mixture of ridicule and argument. Probably this was the psychological moment when such satire would be most effective, for the ascendant star of Cyrus, 'Yahweh's anointed,' was at that time a definite prognostic that Babylonia's day was soon to set and that the prestige and power of her gods would vanish (xlvi. 1 foll.).

9. For **their delectable things** read 'their favourites,' viz. the gods whom the idol-makers love to fashion. These shall 'avail not,' i.e. have no power. The following sentence, 'Their witnesses see not nor perceive so that they come to shame,' is very obscure. The **witnesses** might be understood to mean the worshippers of the gods, but a comparison with the shorter version in the LXX strongly suggests a corrupted text and its extension by dittography. We suspect that the Hebrew word for 'worshippers' (*'ōbhdîm*) stood in place of the word for 'witnesses' (*'ēdîm*).

10. R.V. in the translation given above regards this question as a rhetorical expression of surprise that any one should be so senseless as to fashion a useless and impotent image. But the Hebrew interrogative *mî*, 'who,' means also 'whoever.' We might therefore render (with Duhm and Marti): 'Whoever fashions a god, hath cast a profitless image.' (Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*^{26}, § 143 d). The LXX apparently support this interpretation.

11. The **fellows** or companions of which this verse speaks are understood by Kittel to mean the adherents of the deity, and the workmen, they are of men: let them all be gathered together, let them stand up; they shall fear, they shall be ashamed together. The smith *maketh* an axe, and 12 worketh in the coals, and fashioneth it with hammers, and worketh it with his strong arm: yea, he is hungry, and his strength faileth; he drinketh no water, and is

Hos. iv. 17 is cited in support of this conception. But this reference hardly amounts to a real parallel. Lowth and Gesenius followed the Jewish commentator Rashi in assuming that the comrades of the idol-maker are meant to whom the previous verse directly refers. This conception harmonizes with the earlier reference to idol-makers in xli. 6, 7, where the 'companion'[1] means the fellow in the craft. In the following clause we learn that these workmen are mere men.

Duhm most ingeniously extracts quite another and plausible interpretation by altering the vowel-points of two substantives. Accordingly he renders, 'see all his spells turn to shame and the enchantments are of man.' This refers to the all-prevalent magic practices for which Babylonia was famous and to which we have a graphic reference in xlvii. 9, 12, 13 as well as in Ezek. xiii. 18, 19 (in reference to sorceresses). Cheyne somewhat modifies Duhm's interpretation by making a slight change in the punctuation, and renders in *SBOT.* 'all his charmers will be put to shame and his enchanters will be confounded'—the last three words being based on an alteration of the text which restores the parallelism. The LXX, however, at this point support the traditional Hebrew text.

It is hardly safe to accept Duhm's reading or that of Cheyne, since this allusion to sorcery interrupts the course of the denunciation which is throughout verses 9, 10, 12–17 directed against the idol-manufacturer and idol-worship, not against the practice of magic. It is intrinsically far more probable that verse 11 maintains this sequence of thought.

12. The earlier portion of this verse is in textual confusion, and the LXX rendering clearly shows this, which runs thus: 'For the smith has sharpened the iron, with an axe hath wrought it and with a boring instrument bored it.' It is evident that this translation arises from a duplication of the last word (rendered 'together') of the previous verse of the original Hebrew, which is rendered in *this* verse by the LXX 'has sharpened.' Two courses are open to us: either to follow the clue afforded to us by the LXX

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[1] In R.V. (and A.V.), 'neighbour' . . . 'brother.'

13 faint. The carpenter stretcheth out a line; he marketh it out with a pencil; he shapeth it with planes, and he marketh it out with the compasses, and shapeth it after

and remove the word rendered 'together' in the previous verse 11 and punctuate it as an imperfect form and translate as a present ('sharpens'). The verse will then run as follows: 'The iron-worker ["smith"] sharpens a cutting-tool[1] and works in the (glowing) coals and with hammers fashions it.' Or, we might with Duhm omit the word for 'cutting-tool' ['axe,' R. V.] as a gloss to the word 'iron,' and, by a slight change in the following word, rendered in R. V. by 'and worketh' (so as to make it a Hebrew imperfect), translate the opening part of the verse thus: 'The smith worketh in the (glowing) coals.' On the whole the former interpretation, based on the LXX, is to be preferred. The pers. pron. 'it' refers to the graven image (*pesel*) of verse 9.

13. The idol-image consists of two portions: metal and wood. In the previous verse (cf. xl. 19, xli. 6, 7) we have read how the *metal* part was forged in the furnace and cut by the sharpened cutting-tool and beaten with hammers. The present verse describes the preparation of the *wooden* portion of the idol. It was this woodwork, fashioned, as xl. 20 informs us, of undecaying timber, that formed the inner portion or core of the idol-image. See G. F. Moore, art. 'Idol' in *Enc. Bibl.*, vol. ii, col. 2151 foll., who infers from Exod. xxxii. 20 (which describes the procedure of Moses in the destruction of the golden calf) that the bull-images of the Northern Kingdom had a wooden core. Plates of gold were then hammered and soldered on it by the goldsmith (xli. 7). That the *Ephod* was a plated image of analogous nature (though much rougher, probably, in workmanship) is fairly clear from Judges viii. 24-27. That its core was of wood, and therefore the weight of the Ephod-image was not excessive, may be readily inferred from the fact that it was constantly carried about by the priest-soothsayer who accompanied the king or his general to the field of battle (1 and 2 Sam. passim).

The 'worker in wood' (R. V. 'carpenter') here stands contrasted with the 'worker in iron' (R. V. 'smith') in the preceding verse. The successive steps in his work are precisely set forth: he first 'stretches the line' (or cord), then he 'marks its outline with red ochre' (R. V. marg.). Here, again, the person. pron. 'it' refers of course to the 'graven image.' Its final destination is a 'house,' but whether this means a spacious temple, a private

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[1] The Hebrew *ma'ṣād* here means a cutting-tool for metals, but in Jer. x. 3 it is a cutting-tool for wood, and hence rendered 'axe.'

the figure of a man, according to the beauty of a man, to
dwell in the house. He heweth him down cedars, and 14
taketh the holm tree and the oak, and strengtheneth for
himself one among the trees of the forest: he planteth a
fir tree, and the rain doth nourish it. Then shall it be 15
for a man to burn; and he taketh thereof, and warmeth
himself; yea, he kindleth it, and baketh bread: yea, he
maketh a god, and worshippeth it; he maketh it a graven
image, and falleth down thereto. He burneth part thereof 16

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dwelling, or a chapel sanctuary, we do not know. Duhm suggests that the writer may have been thinking of one of the small tent-sanctuaries woven by the women (2 Kings xxiii. 7).

14. We suddenly pass from the work of the idol-maker to the very beginning of things—the tree growing in the forest which supplies the wood for the image. The curious and abrupt commencement of this verse in the Hebrew text suggests that several words, or perhaps even whole lines, have dropped out. The sentence may have actually begun: '[The woodman has gone forth] to cut down for himself cedars.' The Hebrew text actually begins with a preposition prefixed to an infinitive, and critics are usually content with changing this into a 3rd sing., masc. form. Hence the R. V. 'He heweth him down cedars.'

For **and strengtheneth for himself . . .** substitute the rendering 'and caused it to grow strong for himself among the forest trees.' The verse describes the particular care that is bestowed on the culture of the tree, whether cedar or pine, from the wood of which the image is to be made.

We have here a genuine Babylonian trait. Both the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs were lovers of tree-cultivation, and stocked their parks with the finest trees, which they did not scruple to bring from the lands which they had conquered. See art. 'Garden' in *Enc. Bibl.* The word *ōren* of the Massoretic text, rendered 'fir,' is the Assyrian *erinu,* meaning 'pine' or 'larch-fir.' The LXX here have a much shorter text.

Verses 15 foll. The writer with remorseless satire unveils the absurdity. Part of the tree becomes domestic fuel and another part becomes the material of the image.

15. In the words for 'kindle' and 'fall down' we have in the original forms that are Aramaic rather than Hebrew.

16. The LXX are once more a warning to us that the traditional Massoretic text before us is not the original one. Their

in the fire; with part thereof he eateth flesh; he roasteth roast, and is satisfied: yea, he warmeth himself, and saith,
17 Aha, I am warm, I have seen the fire: and the residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image: he falleth down unto it and worshippeth, and prayeth unto it, and
18 saith, Deliver me; for thou art my god. They know not, neither do they consider: for he hath shut their eyes, that they cannot see; and their hearts, that they cannot under-

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version runs: 'The half of it he has consumed in fire, and, having consumed it, they have baked loaves on them, and, having roasted flesh upon it, one has eaten and been filled.' There are two features in our traditional Hebrew text which are evidently suspicious. (1) After reading of the two halves of the wood in this verse we read of a still remaining portion in the following verse! (2) The order of roasting flesh, and eating it, which is correctly preserved in the LXX, is strangely inverted in the Hebrew text before us. Duhm's attempted restoration (similarly Oort, Klostermann, Kittel), based on verse 19, is only partial and speculative, and all that one can plead in its justification is that it removes these difficulties with which our Hebrew text is encumbered, and is somewhat nearer to the original. This is his rendering:

'The half of it he has burnt in fire.
Over its coals he roasts flesh, eats roast, and is satiated.'

17. The remaining half is here called the **residue** (as the original text evidently intended). The Hebrew tenses should be strictly followed. Accordingly for **maketh** substitute 'hath made.' The following present tenses are correct, as they correspond to the Hebrew imperfects of the original. It would, however, be more idiomatic to continue the rendering: [He falleth down unto it] 'to worship and pray unto it and say . . .'[1]

18. Instead of **shut** R. V. marg. correctly renders 'daubed'; for 'smear' 'daub' is the actual meaning of the original. There may be a reminiscence here of the words of Isaiah two centuries before, contained in his consecration vision (vi. 10). There, however, a different word is used for smearing the eyes (see note ad loc. in vol. i).

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[1] The act of prostration involves a mental state of desire, or expectancy, and so this example comes under Davidson, *Heb. Syntax*, § 65 (b). Note his example Job xvi. 20, 21.

stand. And none calleth to mind, neither is there 19
knowledge nor understanding to say, I have burned part
of it in the fire; yea, also I have baked bread upon the
coals thereof; I have roasted flesh and eaten it: and
shall I make the residue thereof an abomination? shall
I fall down to the stock of a tree? He feedeth on ashes: 20
a deceived heart hath turned him aside, that he cannot
deliver his soul, nor say, Is there not a lie in my right
hand?

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19. calleth to mind: more literally, '*re*calleth.' The same expression in the original Hebrew occurs in 1 Kings viii. 47; Deut. iv. 39, and also in Isa. xlvi. 8. It is probably more emphatic and purposive than the ordinary Hebrew expression 'lay to heart' ('pay heed to,' 'think of'), which occurs in slightly varying forms in 1 Sam. ix. 20, xxi. 13; 2 Sam. xiii. 33, and Isa. lvii. 1, 11.

For **part** read 'half,' as before in verse 16. This verse, however, is free from the confusions that there encumber the traditional Hebrew text. Here again the Hebrew tenses are more accurately represented by rendering: 'I have baked bread upon its coals, am roasting flesh to eat it.' The present tenses here correspond (as in verse 17 above) to the imperfect in Hebrew. The word **abomination** (cf. Gen. xliii. 32, and xlvi. 34—J) is used in pre-exilian Hebrew for anything unclean the use of which involves violation of religious taboos or restrictions (so also of food in Deut. xiv. 3). After the Deuteronomic legislation (621 B.C.) it is a term constantly applied to idol-images or idol-worship (Ezek. xvi. 2; 1 Kings xiv. 24; 2 Kings xvi. 3, xxi. 2, xxiii. 13; Ezra ix. 1).

20 begins with a *casus pendens*, a not infrequent construction in Hebrew to secure emphasis (Davidson's *Hebrew Syntax*, § 106). We should therefore render: 'As for one who feeds on ashes, a heart that is perverted has turned him aside so that he fails to deliver himself, nor thinks "Is there not a lie in my right hand?"' This concluding utterance has the character of a *māshāl* or proverbial saying. The word **ashes** is employed to describe anything that is vain or worthless. Thus Job, in response to Zophar and his other friends, says: 'Your memorable words are ash-sayings,' i. e. worthless (Job xiii. 12). The religion of an idolater is an empty support for a soul's life. It fails to save. The idol which he handles is a delusion and fraud. It is to be noted that the word **soul** (*néfesh*) means frequently 'life,' and is often employed

21 Remember these things, O Jacob; and Israel, for thou
art my servant: I have formed thee; thou art my
22 servant: O Israel, thou shalt not be forgotten of me. I
have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions,
and, as a cloud, thy sins: return unto me; for I have
23 redeemed thee. Sing, O ye heavens, for the LORD hath
done it; shout, ye lower parts of the earth; break forth
into singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree

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to express the English 'self' in Hebrew, and yet more frequently in Arabic. Cf. Hos. ix. 4; Isa. xlvi. 2, and Job ix. 21. Another idiom to be observed is the use of the verb **say** in Hebrew (*āmar*) in the sense of 'think.' The full form of expression is 'say in one's heart.' Of this use we have examples in Gen. xliv. 28; 1 Sam. xx. 4; 2 Sam. xxi. 16; Exod. ii. 14, and of the fuller form of expression Gen. xvii. 17; Ps. x. 6, 11, xiv. 1, &c.

Verses 21 and 22 resume the thread of thought contained in verses 6-8; Jacob is exhorted not to forget Yahweh, Israel's deliverer.

21. The construction of the last clause of this verse has been a matter of dispute. The punctuation of our Hebrew text involves the rendering given above, but though such a grammatical laxity as a personal object to a passive seems to be supported by sporadic examples in later Hebrew (Gesen.-Kautzsch, § 117, 4, rem. 3), it is safer to follow the LXX and other ancient versions and take the form as *active* and render 'thou wilt not forget me' (cf. R.V. marg., and so Rashi, Lowth, and Hitzig).

The expression **these things** means God's unrivalled supremacy and perfect knowledge of the future to which verses 6-8 refer.

22. The appeal is continued. There is no obstacle to Israel's conversion. Israel's sins are completely forgiven. The conception of Divine pardon presented above in xliii. 25 here recurs.

23 is a jubilant close to this passage in the style of a psalm of a metrical form distinct from the preceding, and consisting of a single strophe of six short lines.

The **lower parts** or depths of the earth here stand contrasted with the **heavens** of the previous line. Both together make up the universe as known to the Jew in the days of the exile. The 'lower parts' will naturally include Sheôl or Hades (comp. Ps. lxiii. 9 [10 Heb.], cxxxix. 15). Duhm hesitates to assert that Sheôl is included, apparently influenced by such a passage as Ps. lxxxviii. 11, 12 (12, 13 Heb.). But it is obvious that the Deutero-Isaiah in this lyrical passage is making no exception. Even Hades unites in the jubilant strain.

therein: for the LORD hath redeemed Jacob, and will glorify himself in Israel.

Thus saith the LORD, thy redeemer, and he that formed 24 thee from the womb: I am the LORD, that maketh all things; that stretcheth forth the heavens alone; that spreadeth abroad the earth; who is with me? that 25

CHAPS. XLIV. 24—XLVIII. 22. Cyrus, the anointed ruler and agent of Yahweh in effecting the overthrow of Babylon and the deliverance of Israel.

CHAPTERS XLIV. 24—XLV. 25.

We have here a fresh poem, whose connexion, however, with the passage which precedes is fairly clear. We there read that it was God's great purpose to redeem Israel, and here it is announced that He has designated Cyrus as His anointed ruler to carry out this Divine purpose (xliv. 24—xlv. 7). On the ground of God's absolute sovereignty over man this procedure is justified against all gainsayers (xlv. 8–13). We have now an ideal sketch of the vast results which shall accrue to Israel both economic and spiritual. Heathendom shall bring its wealth to Israel and idolatry shall be renounced. Confession shall be made that God dwells in Israel and there is none other (verses 14–17). Finally, the lesson of Yahweh's universal and absolute sovereignty is once more enforced as well as the folly of idolatry. Only in Yahweh dwell righteousness and strength. To him every knee shall bow (verses 18–25).

Verses xliv. 24—xlv. 7 is a poem in itself, arranged in five strophes each of five long verses, while each long verse is made up of two short lines, thus:—

24, 25. 'Thus saith Yahweh thy redeemer—and thy fashioner from the womb:
I am Yahweh who made all—stretched out the heavens.
I alone that founded the earth—who was with me?
Bringing the omens of liars to nought—make the soothsayers fools.
Make wise men turn backward—turn their knowledge to folly.'

Here we have once more the familiar elegiac (or *ḳînah*) measure (cf. xli. 11–16). The reading of the R.V., 'who is (or was) with me,' is sustained by LXX and Vulg., as well as by numerous Heb. MSS., and is undoubtedly to be preferred to the Massoretic reading and punctuation translated in A. V. 'by myself.'

frustrateth the tokens of the liars, and maketh diviners
mad; that turneth wise men backward, and maketh their
26 knowledge foolish: that confirmeth the word of his
servant, and performeth the counsel of his messengers;
that saith of Jerusalem, She shall be inhabited; and of
the cities of Judah, They shall be built, and I will raise
27 up the waste places thereof: that saith to the deep, Be
28 dry, and I will dry up thy rivers: that saith of Cyrus,
He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure:

The soothsaying of the Babylonians, whether by omen or dream, was of a most elaborate character. Examples may be found in art. 'Soothsaying' in Hastings' *DB.*, vol. iv, p. 599, and in Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, chaps. xix, xx. Those omens ('signs' or 'portents'), on which the Babylonian diviners relied, are to be frustrated by the non-occurrence of the event in the way that the diviners prognosticated.

26. The second strophe of five lines begins with this verse. It is probable that we ought to follow the LXX and recent critics in reading 'servants' (plur.) instead of 'servant.' The plural corresponds to the 'messengers' in the following parallel clause, by whom Yahweh's prophets are meant.

27. The older commentators (Vitringa, Lowth, and Delitzsch) considered that this drying up of the **deep** or of the 'streams' was a prophecy of the diversion of the Euphrates by Cyrus prior to the capture of Babylon, whereby his army was enabled to enter the city. But this story, recorded in Herod. i. 191, is now regarded with considerable suspicion, since we have no intimation of this in the clay cylinder of Cyrus nor in the Cyrus-Nabonidus Chronicle (Schrader, *KIB.*, vol. iii, second part, pp. 122 foll., 130). The reference in this passage is evidently to the wonders wrought by God in the deliverance of Israel on the banks of the Red Sea; cf. xliii. 16; li. 10.

28. The actual name of God's anointed, Cyrus, is wholly unprecedented in a prophecy of coming events belonging to a future age beyond the environment of the present. The only resource open to those who advocate the traditional view of the integrity of the Book of Isaiah would be to regard the words 'to Cyrus' both in this and the following verse (xlv. 1) as a marginal gloss: cf. vii. 17. But even this would not be admissible to those critics, now increasing in number, who adhere to an accentual-metric theory of prophetic composition. That the passage here is metric can admit of no reasonable doubt, and even saying of Jerusalem, She shall be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid.

Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose 45

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the elimination of the words 'to Cyrus' will seriously disturb the metrical arrangement. We can only conclude that we have here the language of a contemporary of Cyrus who watched his career with absorbing interest. The occurrence of this name in an oracle more than 150 years before he lived would be wholly unintelligible and purposeless[1].

Omit the words **He is** and render 'My shepherd'! The term 'shepherd' is constantly employed in the O.T. as a descriptive designation of a king. Comp. 2 Sam. v. 2, vii. 7; Jer. iii. 15; Mic. v. 3 foll.; Nah. iii. 18, and is frequent in Assyrian (*ri'û*, also *ri'ût*, 'rule,' Sennach. *Tayl. Cyl.* vi. 65). See Schrader, *COT.*, ii, p. 153. But another attractive suggestion, first proposed by Kuenen, that we should slightly alter the pronunciation of the Hebrew characters so that we have another word, 'my friend,' is worthy of consideration and not improbable. The expression 'friend of the king' was a special title of dignity in the Hebrew court of the regal period, 2 Sam. xv. 37, xvi. 16 (2 Sam. xiii. 3, xvi. 17; 1 Chron. xxvii. 33); 1 Kings iv. 5[2].

The concluding portion of this verse, 'even saying of Jerusalem,' &c., is in reality a repetition of the latter part of verse 26, and is therefore regarded by Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, and Kittel as a later addendum unskilfully appended.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. The prophetic oracle now gives Yahweh's direct address to Cyrus His anointed. For **subdue** or 'tread down' other readings are substituted by some critics: Marti 'to terrify,' Wellhausen (*Sadduc. u. Pharisäer*, p. 133), 'to overthrow' (lit. to

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[1] The form of the name in Hebrew (punctuated *Koresh*, but probably to be pronounced *Kûrush*) approximates with fair closeness to the original nominative *Kurush* in the Persian. The form Cyrus is the Greek form of the name as reproduced in Latin.

[2] It is argued in Gesenius, *Lex.*^{12}, *sub voce*, רֵעֶה, that the expression even existed in the Canaanite towns in 1400 B. C. on the basis of the expression *ruḫi šarri*, in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (Schrader, *KIB.*, v, letter 181, line 11), which is rendered 'friend of the king.' But here we should expect the form *riḫi*, rather than *ruḫi*. According to Winckler the latter form represents Heb. *rōʿeh*, 'shepherd.' But it is not clear how this meaning is to be adapted to the context unless we give it the general signification 'officer.'

right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him, and I will loose the loins of kings; to open the doors
2 before him, and the gates shall not be shut; I will go before thee, and make the rugged places plain: I will break in pieces the doors of brass, and cut in sunder the

bring down). The rendering of the LXX throws doubt on the accuracy of our text, though the general sense is preserved.

And I will loose (or ungird) **the loins of kings** continues, by a change of construction, the expression of purpose by the infinitive in the previous clause. This change of construction is not infrequent in Hebrew. The ungirt loins express inactivity and hence powerlessness. The 'girding of the loins' was the natural preliminary to activity (1 Kings xviii. 46). This seems to give us an extra short line, and because it fits in badly with the following line through its final word for 'unloose,' Duhm removes it. But the LXX appear to have read it in the form in which it stands in their text, though it is freely translated.

After the word for **Lord** (i. e. Yahweh) at the beginning of this verse the LXX read in their text 'the God,' and this should probably be retained. Its presence in order to express the contrast with the false deities of Babylonia has a special significance. According to the cylinder of Cyrus these Babylonian deities also claimed to be the patrons and helpers of Cyrus[1].

2. The actual words of Yahweh's address to Cyrus are now given. For **rugged places** (lit. places swollen high), an unusual expression, the LXX apparently read the closely resembling word in the original for 'mountains.' Grätz, Cheyne, and Duhm adopt this reading, which is certainly more probable. The conception of levelling mountains to a plain for a monarch's triumphal progress has already met us in xl. 4.

The 'gates of bronze' (**doors of brass**), which Yahweh's might is to shatter to pieces before the triumphal progress of His anointed servant Cyrus, are usually compared by commentators with the hundred 'gates of bronze' in Babylon to which

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[1] e. g. clay-cylinder of Cyrus, lines 11 foll., (Marduk) 'looked upon him, and was concerned about the righteous king whom he bore in his heart, whose hand he grasped, about Cyrus King of Anšan, whose name he proclaimed.' Line 15: 'His march to his (i. e. Marduk's) city Babylon he commanded, caused him to take the way to Tintir (= Babylon); like a friend and helper, he marched by his side.' Bel and Nebo (*Nabû*) are also patrons of Cyrus, 'whose rule Bel and Nebo love' (line 22).

bars of iron: and I will give thee the treasures of dark- 3
ness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest
know that I am the LORD, which call thee by thy name,
even the God of Israel. For Jacob my servant's sake, 4
and Israel my chosen, I have called thee by thy name:
I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.

Herodotus (i. 179) refers. A more satisfactory and concrete comparison is to the bronze gates of Balawat, of which some plates have been preserved in the British Museum, upon which are figured representations of besieged cities, bowmen, and battering-rams. See the illustration in Jeremias, *Das Alte Test. im Lichte des alten Orients*, 2nd ed. (1906), p. 574.

Verses 3-5 form the fourth strophe of five lines or verses of the character described above at the beginning of the poem (xliv. 24). The concealed treasures, or 'treasures kept in darkness,' which Cyrus acquired in his victorious campaigns must have been enormous. It is probable that the Deutero-Isaiah had heard something of the conquest by the Persian king of Croesus king of Lydia (Herod. i. 84), and of the vast wealth which he possessed. But Lydia stood at some distance from the Jewish prophet's normal range of vision. He was thinking of the immediate future in Babylonia ('and I will give thee'). The reference is evidently to the treasures of Babylon[1]. The concluding line of this third verse appears to have outrun its true metric length. Accordingly Duhm (followed by Marti) omits the words in Hebrew 'that thou mayest know' and renders what follows: 'For I, Yahweh, am He that called thee by thy name...' The LXX sustain our Hebrew text, i. e. include the words that Duhm omits. As a matter of fact the Cyrus-cylinder shows that Cyrus, from motives of policy, accommodated himself to the polytheism of Babylonia and regarded himself as the favourite of the Babylonian deities.

4. Cyrus is not chosen for his own sake, but for the sake of Israel, since Yahweh is the God of Israel and Cyrus is the human instrument selected for the accomplishment of Yahweh's gracious purposes which have Israel as their object. On the Hebrew verb translated **'surnamed thee'** (i. e. with a title of honour) see note on xliv. 5 above.

The remarkable parallels which subsist between the phraseology of xliv. 28—xlv. 4 and the language of the clay-cylinder of Cyrus (Schrader, *KIB.* iii. 2te Hälfte, p. 120 foll.) have formed the

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[1] Cf. Jer. l. 37, li. 13, and Xenoph. *Cyrop.* v. 2, 8.

5 I am the Lord, and there is none else; beside me there is no God: I will gird thee, though thou hast not known

subject of an interesting essay by Kittel in *ZATW.*, 1898 (Heft 1), p. 149 foll. In the clay-cylinder Marduk (Merodach, god of light) assumes the same relation to Cyrus that Yahweh adopts in xliv. 28—xlv. 4. In this document we read (line 12) that Marduk 'has concerned himself with the righteous king whom he bore in his heart, *whose hand he held*, viz. Cyrus king of Anšan, *whose name he proclaimed*; for kingship over the whole world was his name declared.' This striking resemblance in style between the language of the cuneiform document and that of the Deutero-Isaiah has led Kittel to the conclusion that the Deutero-Isaiah was acquainted with the court-style which prevailed in Babylon and adopted it, since it was the form of expression with which Cyrus would be familiar, and would therefore be likely to predispose him in favour of the Jews. For the attitude of Cyrus to the Jews and their religion corresponded with his general state-policy of clemency and tolerance towards subjugated races. He endeavoured to win the favour of the Babylonians by restoring their temples, just as he gave facilities to the Jews for the restoration of their own shrine in Jerusalem[1]. The gods and priests of Babylonia received large offerings. Cyrus and his son Cambyses took part in religious processions, and styled themselves the servants of Marduk and Nebo.

5. There is no corresponding parallel to the clause 'I gird thee, though thou knowest me not.' It evidently forms one half of a line of which the other half is lost[2]. According to Duhm's

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[1] See Cyrus-cylinder, line 33 foll. (Schrader, *KIB.*, iii. 2te Hälfte, p. 126): 'The gods of Šumer and Akkad, which Nabûnaid (*Nabonidus*), to the indignation of the lord of gods (Marduk), had carried off to Šuanna (i.e. Babylon), I, at the command of Marduk, the great god, caused to take their abode again in peace, in their place as they desired' (*ušêšib šubat tu-ub libbi*).

[2] Duhm makes the last half-line, the first of the entire verse, run thus:

> ['The loins of kings I ungird]—thee I gird, who knewest me not.'

This is hardly a satisfactory translation of the latter clause. For Duhm's reconstruction makes *thee* emphatic. But in the original there is no special emphasis on '*thee*.' Nor do the preceding and following lines lead us to expect an antithetic parallelism. We would therefore suggest: 'I gird thee though thou knowest me not—[take hold of thy hand].' Repetition of phrase (cf. verse 1)

me: that they may know from the rising of the sun, and 6
from the west, that there is none beside me: I am the
LORD, and there is none else. I form the light, and 7

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arrangement, which is exceedingly probable, it is the first line of the fifth strophe which ends with verse 7.

6. they here includes Israelites and foreign nations. The phrase is really impersonal, and is equivalent to saying—'that one may know.' See Gesen.-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*^{26}, § 144, 3*b*.

from the West,' lit. 'from its (i.e. the sun's) setting.' So the Hebrew should be punctuated.

7. Older commentators supposed that this verse, which declares that Yahweh is the universal Creator who formed darkness as well as light, is specially directed against *Persian dualism*, which made the opposition between Ormuzd, the god of light (in the cuneiform Aurmazd = Ahura Mazda), and Ahriman (Angromainyu), the god of darkness and evil, a fundamental factor in the religious conception of the universe. This was the opinion held by Vitringa, Lowth, Umbreit, Delitzsch, and Orelli. But very strong reasons weigh against such a view. (1) It is *a priori* most improbable that the writer of this chapter, whose attitude towards the Persian Cyrus was evidently, on political and national grounds, that of a devoted and enthusiastic supporter, would have made a provocative attack on the conqueror's religion. His polemic is directed against *Babylonian polytheism* (cf. xlvi. 1), which was also strongly tinged with dualism, since Babylonian cosmogony is based on the myth of a conflict between Marduk, god of light and leader of the celestial deities, with Tiamât, the dragon-goddess of the dark ocean chaotic depth and leader of the powers of evil. (2) It is extremely doubtful whether the Deutero-Isaiah had any knowledge of the religious attitude of Cyrus as a *Persian*. Nor are we at the present day better informed. It is quite otherwise with Darius son of Hystaspes, who was a pronounced adherent of Ormuzd, to whose influence he expressly ascribes his conquests [1].

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is quite in the Deutero-Isaianic manner, and would account for the omission of the clause. In his second edition Duhm is apparently conscious that, as forming the *latter* part of the defective line, the portion which has survived in the Hebrew is metrically too long. Accordingly he omits the words 'who knewest me not,' though they appear to be the only part of the line which the LXX (Al.) read in their evidently mutilated copy. The words prefixed in B, *ἐνίσχυσά σε*, are apparently a paraphrase.

[1] See Lehmann, in Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*^{2} (1897), vol. ii, p. 156.

create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I am the Lord, that doeth all these things.

8 Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness: let the earth open, that they may bring forth salvation, and let her cause righteousness to spring up together; I the Lord have created it.

The contrasts **peace** and **evil** are more accurately expressed by the contrasted terms 'happiness' (well-being) and 'misfortune.' The progress of the Jewish mind towards a complete Monotheism is nowhere in the O. T. more eloquently or fully set forth than in the Deutero-Isaiah. Though in post-exilian Judaism Satan (under the influence of the Persian correlate Angromainyu or Ahriman) became elevated into the prince of the hostile evil world ('prince of this world') which was in antagonism to Yahweh, yet the full supremacy of the latter was never impaired, and the Jewish conception of the Universe remained, as it is portrayed in this chapter, essentially monotheistic.

8 is a lyric insertion or intermezzo of a similar character to xlii. 10, 11 and xliv. 23, and of just the same metrical form as the latter [cf. Ps. lxxxv. 11 (12 Heb.)]:

'Drip, ye heavens, from above;
Let clouds with good order flow.
May earth open . . . [? her bosom]
That there may spring forth well-being . . . [? and peace],
And she (i. e. the earth) may cause righteousness to blossom forth together.
I, Yahweh, have created it' ['thee' LXX].

Here the term 'good order' corresponds to the word *ṣedeḳ* in the original, which R. V. renders by righteousness. But the word *ṣedeḳ* is not quite the same thing as *ṣedāḳah* translated 'righteousness' below. The former means the wholesome rules and customs of life which Yahweh's Spirit and word, according to xi. 1 foll., xxxii. 15 foll., create among His faithful servants[1] (so Duhm). We may express it by the general term 'good order.' On the other hand, the word *ṣedāḳah* or 'righteousness' is more specific, and connotes the justice (or righteousness) which prevails as a quality in human personality. The word *yeshaʿ*, which R. V. renders by **salvation**, more properly connotes here security or well-being. Cf. Job v. 4, 11; Ps. cxxxii. 16.

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[1] This is evidently the meaning of the word in this connexion, though its occurrence in this passage, which sets forth the high destiny and calling of Cyrus, might tempt us to regard it as signifying the victory of Cyrus's just cause (as in xli. 2).

Woe unto him that striveth with his Maker! a potsherd 9
among the potsherds of the earth! Shall the clay say to
him that fashioneth it, What makest thou? or thy work,
He hath no hands? Woe unto him that saith unto a 10
father, What begettest thou? or to a woman, With what
travailest thou? Thus saith the LORD, the Holy One of 11
Israel, and his Maker: Ask me of the things that are to
come; concerning my sons, and concerning the work of
my hands, command ye me. I have made the earth, and 12

The third and fourth lines of this brief song are metrically defective. It would not be difficult to conjecture the missing words (as Duhm and Cheyne) to be in the third line 'her bosom' (object) and in the fourth 'and peace' (subject).

Verses 9–13 are a section evidently intended to meet the Jewish objector who perhaps even now clung to the flickering hope of the Messianic descendant (sprout) from David's stock. Chap. lv. 3 shows that the exiles still spoke, though in uncertain tones, of the 'sure mercies of David,' and we know that these hopes revived, though only for a brief respite, in the days of Ḥaggai, and became fixed on the person of Zerubbabel (ii. 4, 20–3). To such exiles and others who strongly objected to a *foreign* Messiah as the chosen instrument of Yahweh for the restoration of His people the prophet addresses the needed admonition of the sovereign power of Yahweh, the Creator with whom man, the created object, argues in vain: 'Woe to him that wrangles with his fashioner, a potsherd among earthen potsherds! Saith the clay to his fashioner (or potter), "What art thou doing?"'

10. There is no sufficient ground for rejecting this verse with Duhm and Marti. It sustains the same line of argument, though the metaphor is changed. It continues the rebuke of man's arrogant presumption in disputing the obvious facts of Divine providence and destiny. This involves the same grotesque inversion of man's relation to the Universe and its Sovereign that Isaiah of Jerusalem characterized in x. 15 under the metaphor of an axe boasting against the man who wields it.

11. The metaphor of verse 9 is here implied in the expression **Maker** (R.V.) or 'Fashioner,' applied to Yahweh in His relation to Israel.

The expression 'Ask me the future' ('of the things that are to come,' R.V.) implies that the future is entirely in the hands of Yahweh, man's Creator.

Verses 12–13. This universal Lord and Creator of man and his created man upon it: I, even my hands, have stretched out the heavens, and all their host have I commanded.

13 I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will make straight all his ways: he shall build my city, and he shall let my exiles go free, not for price nor reward, saith the Lord of hosts.

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destinies has raised up Cyrus and prepared the way for his triumphal progress. He is appointed by Yahweh to build His city Jerusalem and set the exiled captive free. Render, ''Tis my own hands have stretched out, &c.'

13. raised him up (properly, 'roused him up') **in righteousness** is not a clear expression in its English form. The original word is once more the difficult Hebrew term *ṣedeḳ*, which in its proper sense means the right or due privilege which belongs to a man. Here, as in xlii. 6, it is Yahweh's due right or privilege which He exercises in summoning Cyrus to his high task. Kautzsch, in an instructive note in his art. 'Religion of Israel' (Hastings' *DB.*, extra vol., p. 633, footnote), remarks that these terms *ṣedeḳ* and *ṣedāḳah* are often employed in reference to Yahweh to describe 'that aspect of Yahweh's activity which has for its object the *salvation of His people*' (note e.g. the combination of righteousness and salvation in the epithets of Yahweh in verse 21 below). See also above, Introduction, § 4, p. 37.

Cyrus is in distinct terms commissioned to rebuild Yahweh's city Jerusalem. Was this commission ever carried out during the reign of Cyrus? This is extremely doubtful. It is, as we know, expressly asserted in Ezra i that Cyrus in the first year of his reign issued an edict for the rebuilding of the temple and restored the vessels of the Jerusalem temple which Nebuchadrezzar had carried off to Babylon, and we also know that according to Isa. xliv. 28 (genuineness doubtful) this was a part of the divinely-appointed task of Cyrus. Nothing, however, is said in Ezra i respecting the rebuilding of the city. Its walls remained in a ruinous condition and its gateways burnt with fire for nearly a century after this time (Neh. i. 3). Nearly all scholars are agreed (including Meyer[1]) that the historical credibility of Ezra i (especially of verses 7 foll.), composed by the Chronicler in the third century B.C., is extremely precarious. That a restoration, however, of the Babylonian exiles to Jerusalem in the early days of the reign of Cyrus *did* take place is certain, and that Cyrus gave directions for the rebuilding of the temple must, in the light of his general

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[1] *Entstehung des Judenthums*, p. 72 foll.: cf. Wellhausen, *Israel. u. Jüd. Gesch.*^{2}, p. 155 footnote.

Thus saith the LORD, The labour of Egypt, and the 14
merchandise of Ethiopia, and the Sabeans, men of stature,
shall come over unto thee, and they shall be thine; they
shall go after thee; in chains they shall come over: and
they shall fall down unto thee, they shall make supplica-

religious policy (see note on verse 4 above and footnote), be regarded as inherently probable. But the actual building of the temple, as we learn from the oracles of Ḥaggai and Zechariah, was only begun in their day. In the second year of Darius, the sixth month and the first day of the month, i. e. somewhere in September 519 B. C. (nearly twenty years after the accession of Cyrus to the Babylonian kingdom), as we are told in the oracles of Ḥaggai, 'God's house was lying waste' (i. 9); and it was not till the twenty-fourth day of the same month (i. 14, 15) that Zerubbabel and Joshua began the work of rebuilding.

The Dutch scholar Kosters propounded a theory that there was in reality no restoration of the exiles at all until the time of Nehemiah in 445 B. C., but this extreme view has been refuted by Wellhausen, and still more completely by Edward Meyer in his work published in 1896, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*. On this subject see below, the Introduction to the *Trito-Isaiah* (chaps. lvi–lxvi). Comp. also G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. p. 203 f.

Verses 14–17. The promises concerning the future of restored Israel now take an even higher flight. It is Israel who is addressed (verse 14). The captives deported by Cyrus from Egypt, Ethiopia, and Saba shall become Israel's possession and acknowledge the presence and power of Yahweh.

14. Duhm labours to prove that it is necessary to change the personal pronoun from **thee** (i. e. if feminine, Zion; if masculine, Israel) to '*him*' (i. e. Cyrus, the conqueror of Egypt), and from **thine** to 'his' in the opening clauses. Cyrus is to conquer these African regions and make their captive inhabitants slaves to the Jews. But this presupposition clearly underlies the passage and does not need to be made explicit. We may therefore leave the Hebrew text unchanged. But for the sake of metre we should follow the LXX (as Duhm proposes) and read 'Lord of Hosts' in the opening clause of the verse. The word 'labour' is the literal rendering of the Hebrew original, but does not express its actual meaning here. The Hebrew word means here the *product* of labour, viz. 'produce' or 'wealth[1].' Render therefore: 'The

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[1] Comp. the same use of the Heb. word in chap. lv. 2; Jer. iii. 24,

tion unto thee, *saying*, Surely God is in thee; and there
15 is none else, there is no God. Verily thou art a God
16 that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour. They
shall be ashamed, yea, confounded, all of them: they

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wealth of Egypt and the gains of Ethiopia . . . shall pass before thee.' On the Sabaeans or inhabitants of Saba, cf. xliii. 3 and the explanatory note.

15. Is the supplicatory appeal of the African captives continued in this verse? According to Dillmann and Kittel it is not. The present verse is the wondering exclamation of the prophet at this consummation so great and unforeseen. Yahweh is a God who shrouds Himself in mystery (Prov. xxv. 2; Deut. xxix. 29 [28 Heb.]). But Ewald, Hitzig, Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti regard this verse as a continuation of the utterance of the heathen. For it is rather the foreigner, who was unfamiliar with the past history of the Hebrew race and its relation to Yahweh, who would be overawed by the mystery of Yahweh's nature and working. A cult which had no graven image or even a stone symbol of deity, which had survived the disasters of foreign invasion and exile, while other national cults had perished as well as the communities who practised them, could not fail to impress a foreign observer, especially if he had suffered the calamities of conquest and deportation.

We may therefore regard verses 15–17 as a continuation of the address to Israel, as well as to Israel's God, by the captives from Egypt and Ethiopia.

'O God of Israel, the Saviour' in the original makes the latter part of the long verse metrically overweighted by an extra word. Accordingly Duhm would omit the Hebrew words 'of Israel.' So that we should read the concluding part of the line 'a saving God[1].'

16. In this immediately following verse, on the other hand, the shorter conclusion of the line is evidently mutilated and the only word that survives is the word for 'all.' Accordingly Duhm and Cheyne would read: 'all [his foes].' This reconstruction of the full line is strongly supported by the consideration that in our

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xx. 5; Ezek. xxiii. 29; Ps. cix. 11; Job xxxix. 11. On the use of the Heb. verb rendered 'pass before' (with the preposition *'al*), cf. 1 Kings ix. 8; 2 Kings iv. 9.

[1] In the first edition of his commentary Duhm points out what appears to be a possible dittography between the Hebrew word for '*saving*' and the immediately following word in the Hebrew, which begins the next verse, 'are ashamed.' Nevertheless, he is guided by a right instinct in preferring to cancel the word 'Israel' out of the text. In losing the word 'saving' we lose the point.

shall go into confusion together that are makers of idols.
But Israel shall be saved by the LORD with an everlasting 17
salvation: ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded world
without end.

For thus saith the LORD that created the heavens; he 18
is God; that formed the earth and made it; he established it, he created it not a waste, he formed it to be

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present text **they** and **them** are altogether vague. Accordingly the first long line in verse 16 will read thus:

'There have come to shame, yea suffered disgrace—all His foes.'

and this accords with the line that follows:

'Together have they come to disgrace—the makers of idols.'

The 'foes' here are the deities who are the patrons of other nations. The makers of their images are brought to confusion. The Jewish race has survived all disasters through Yahweh's mysterious power, which the prophet here portrays as an impressive spectacle to the captive foreigner.

17 develops this conception. While the foreign races and their cults have gone to destruction, Israel under the protection of Yahweh stands triumphant for ever.

Verses 18–25. We now come to three strophes of seven long lines each. They stand in natural sequence of thought to the immediately preceding confession of the foreign captives. Yahweh, the universal Ruler of the World which He has created for order and not for confusion, now summons the races of the world and declares to them that He is not a God who dwells in darkness, but reveals Himself in truth and uprightness. To all peoples who have escaped the catastrophes of the past Yahweh declares all idolatry to be folly. Yahweh is the only God to whom man can appeal. All shall find salvation who turn to Him and bow the knee. The chapter concludes with this characteristic and noble expression of the universalism of the Deutero-Isaiah.

18. For links the following verses to what immediately precedes. The fourth line in this verse, beginning 'I am Yahweh (the Lord) and there is none else,' is defective, the short conclusion of the long line having dropped out.

The word rendered **waste** (*tōhû*), but more appropriately translated *chaos*, reminds us of Gen. i. 1, 2 (cf. note on Isa. xl. 17). There is no contrast between the conception of chaos in the cosmogony of Gen. i and the conception of the present. Both there and here chaos is the dark and formless condition which preceded the summoning forth of light at God's command which

19 inhabited: I am the LORD; and there is none else. I have not spoken in secret, in a place of the land of darkness; I said not unto the seed of Jacob, Seek ye me in vain: I the LORD speak righteousness, I declare things

heralded the creative activities described in order in the subsequent verses of Gen. i[1]. God dwells in light and order, and not in darkness and chaos.

19. The word **place** should probably be omitted, as it obstructs both metre and sense[2]. Read simply, 'in the land of darkness.' There seems here to be a reference to the dark mysteries of heathendom, to the caves where oracles were delivered and the necromancer spoke with the voices of the dead (1 Sam. xxviii. 6 foll.). These rites of the soothsayer and necromancer had been definitely forbidden in the Deuteronomic legislation, but every votary of a foreign religion sought their aid

'horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae,
Antrum immane, petit.'

But the prophetic word of Yahweh, the word of eternal universal truth and righteousness, was uttered in the broad, clear daylight, and scorned the mysterious double meanings and subterfuges (*ambages*) of the Delphic and other oracles. Egyptian religion, like the Babylonian, was steeped in magic (see Hastings' *DB.*, vol. iii, art. 'Magic,' p. 207 foll.; vol. iv, art. 'Soothsayer,' p. 600). Respecting Babylonian magic, cf. xlvii. 10-13.

It is significant that the word in the original that expresses 'in vain' is the same word that is used above for 'chaos' ('waste,' R. V.), to which the light and order of God's reign of truth and righteousness stand opposed. In Babylonian religion the gods of

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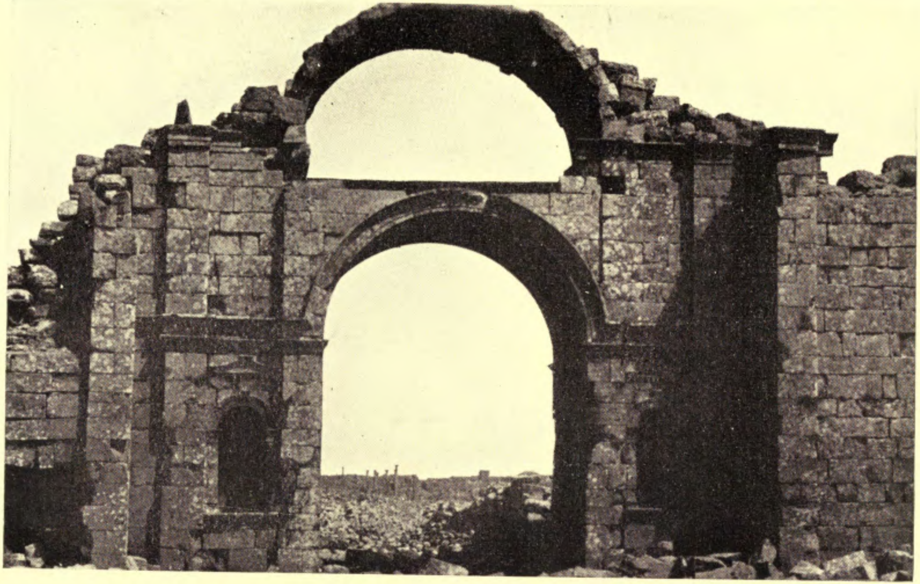
[1] The harmony which subsists between this verse and Gen. i. 1, 2 becomes much more clear when we follow the rendering of Gen. i. 1-3, adopted first by Rashi and Ibn-'Ezra, and recognized by an almost unanimous consensus of scholars (including Ewald, Dillmann, Schrader, and Gunkel) as the most probable. This regards the Hebrew word for 'beginning' as standing in the construct relation to the noun sentence which follows. Verse 2 consists of circumstantial clauses (i. e. is parenthetic), and the apodosis begins with verse 3 (see Bennett's *Genesis*, ad loc.), i. e. 'In the beginning, when God created the heavens and the earth—now the earth was chaos and emptiness, and darkness was over the ocean-depth . . . then God said: 'Let there be light.'

[2] Not improbably we have here a conflate reading of the two variants, 'in the place of darkness' and 'in the land of darkness.'



BOZRAH (BAB-EL-HOWA)

that are right. Assemble yourselves and come; draw 20
near together, ye that are escaped of the nations: they
have no knowledge that carry the wood of their graven
image, and pray unto a god that cannot save. Declare 21
ye, and bring *it* forth; yea, let them take counsel together: who hath shewed this from ancient time? who
hath declared it of old? have not I the LORD? and there
is no God else beside me; a just God and a saviour;
there is none beside me. Look unto me, and be ye 22
saved, all the ends of the earth: for I am God, and there

light, Šamaš, the sun-god, and Marduk, the god of light[1], are the deities of justice and truth, as the Babylonian psalms clearly show. In Egyptian religion we find the same ethical ideas similarly connected (i. e. with Osiris and Ra).

20. Here again, as in xli. 1 and xliii. 9, foreign nations are summoned before Yahweh. But this time it is not for judgment. The catastrophes are over, and it is only those who have escaped them who are invited to God's presence. It is presumed, moreover, that the disciplinary chastisements of the past have opened their eyes to the truth. The folly of idolatry is once more asserted. The wooden idols carried to the field of battle (cf. 2 Sam. v. 21) or in processions have been powerless to save.

21. Nor have the catastrophes been predicted by their gods, who have been powerless to avert them. Both in the first long line of this verse and in the closing one of the preceding the opening portion of the line seems to have been unduly shortened in the original. The argument here is the same as in xli. 21-23, 26, an appeal, namely, to Yahweh's prescience and predetermination of future events. The phraseology at the opening of this verse closely resembles that of xli. 21, and it is probable that we should supply the Hebrew word rendered there 'proofs' (lit. strong grounds) in the metrically defective opening line here:—

'Proclaim and advance [your proofs]—take counsel together.'

22. Respecting the conception of righteousness here ascribed to Yahweh in connexion with salvation, see note on verse 13 above and Introduction, p. 37.

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[1] See, for example, the citation of the hymn to Merodach (Marduk), in Jeremias, *Das A. T. im Lichte des alten Orients,*^{2} p. 124 (cf. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 437 foll.):

'Place truth in my mouth
Let good thoughts be in my heart.'

23 is none else. By myself have I sworn, the word is gone forth from my mouth *in* righteousness, and shall not return, that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue
24 shall swear. Only in the LORD, shall one say unto me, is righteousness and strength: even to him shall men come, and all they that were incensed against him shall
25 be ashamed. In the LORD shall all the seed of Israel be justified, and shall glory.

23. Yahweh's word goes forth and does not return (i. e. cease to operate, become ineffective). On this conception of God's word, as though it were a physical force, and on this idiomatic use of the word 'return' in Hebrew, see note on Isa. ix. 12; cf. also lv. 11. Similarly the salutation of peace of Christ's emissary shall return, i. e. cease to operate if there be no 'son of peace' in the household to receive it, Matt. x. 13 (Luke x. 6).

Compare Paul's employment of the language of this verse in Rom. xiv. 11; Phil. ii. 10, 11. The rendering of R. V. marg. should be substituted for that in the text, 'Righteousness has gone forth from my mouth, a word that shall not return.' **word** here stands in apposition to **righteousness.** God's righteous word shall never cease to have power.

24. There is evident need for textual change in this difficult verse. The rendering then will be: 'Only in Yahweh have I—one will say—justice and might,' i.e. only through Yahweh's power can a man survive all crises and be assured of his right.—The remainder of the verse is somewhat precarious as to text and meaning. Duhm's reconstruction is ingenious, and in translation runs thus:—'Together shall they perish and come to shame—who are incensed with Him[1].' But the LXX in the main support our Hebrew text, and we have no need for such drastic change as Duhm proposes. The only modification needed is the addition of a plural ending to the Hebrew verb 'shall come.' We may then translate (nearly as R. V.) 'unto Him shall come and shall feel shame—all that were incensed against Him.' Even the foreign foe who cherished hostility to the God of Israel shall come to Him in penitent shame; a beautiful conception in full accord with the general teaching of the Deutero-Isaiah.

25 continues the utterance of the preceding verse ('one will say'). In and through Yahweh alone Israel attains his rights

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[1] xli. 11 furnishes a close parallel and a strong support to Duhm's proposed emendations.

Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth; their idols are upon **46** the beasts, and upon the cattle: the things that ye carried

and unique privilege. It is not needful to add to the thought of the writer, for it does not here belong to his message, that Israel's glory is enhanced by the destruction of his foes, as Duhm's emendation of the text in the previous verse would imply.

CHAPS. XLVI–XLVIII.

BABYLON'S FATE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR ISRAEL.

CHAPTER XLVI.

From Cyrus and the great part he played as Yahweh's anointed servant in the fulfilment of the Divine purpose to restore Israel the prophet now turns to Babylon and its deities. It is easy to see the natural sequence of the ideas in this chapter upon those of the preceding one. There are several allusions in this chapter to utterances in chap. xlv, e. g. we shall see in verses 1, 3 foll. and 7 that the conception of xlv. 20 is resumed.

1, 2 are a short poem of exultation over the downfall of Babylon's deities. It appears to be constituted of two strophes of three short lines each.

Bēl (in the Babylonian or Assyrian language *Bêlu*) is another name for Marduk or Merodach, god of light, who was worshipped under the name Bel in the capital of which he was the chief god or patron-deity. It is to be noted that Bel is the Babylonian form of the well-known Canaanite *Ba'al* which, like *Ēl* ('god'), is *appellative*, i. e. is not in reality a proper-name, but is a covering epithet which describes any deity as the *lord* or *owner* of a particular spot. In this case the O. T. writer shows his close connexion and acquaintance with Babylonia by giving the deity the Babylonian form of the name *Bel*.

Nebo, in the Babylonian form *Nabû*, was the patron-deity of Borsippa. As the city of Babylon, of which Merodach (Marduk) was the patron-deity, was superior in importance to Borsippa, Nebo, the patron of the latter, is made subordinate or son to the former. Nebo is represented as the patron of the art of writing. It is he who inscribes the tablets of destiny, and one of his titles is that of 'bearer of the tablets of destiny of the gods[1].' In the

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[1] See Zimmern in *KAT.*^{3}, pp. 399 foll. In place of Nebo the LXX have Dagon. Though Dagon (in cuneiform Dagan) was not infrequently worshipped in Assyria, and was known in early Babylonian history (see Jastrow, *Rel. of Babyl. and Assyria*, pp. 208 foll., cf. p. 51), he is hardly known in the new Babylonian empire. Probably the name in the LXX arose out of the corruption of the name Nebo into Nego (as in the name Abed-nego in Daniel).

about are made a load, a burden to the weary *beast.*
2 They stoop, they bow down together; they could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity.
3 Hearken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the

New Babylonian empire his name and influence become specially prominent as the names of the monarchs Nabo-polassar, Nebuchadrezzar, and Nabonidus (Nabu-naïd) clearly testify.

The sentence which immediately follows the mention of these Babylonian deities is uncertain as to text and rendering. We should probably translate :—'Their images have fallen to the lot of the animal and the beast. Your carried things are borne-as-a-load, a burden to the weary one.' The 'carried things' here mean the images of the national deities carried off on beasts. We might possibly regard them as deported by the conqueror (Cyrus) in order to place them as a trophy in the shrine of his own patron-god (?), as we read in the Stone of Mesha, line 12. Similarly the Philistines carried off the ark of Yahweh and placed it in the shrine of Dagon (1 Sam. v. 1, 2). This was the consummation of a nation's humiliation. They were thus deprived of the protection of their deities. Or we may with far more probability, since Cyrus was known to be tolerant and even friendly to the religious cultus of the conquered populations, assume that the images were carried off by the Babylonians themselves. Similarly in Sennacherib's *Prism-inscription*, col. iii, 55, we read that Merodach-Baladan on the approach of Sennacherib carried off the patron-deities of his land in flight and placed them with their shrines on a ship. But it was the fate of these images to be overtaken and captured. 'They were unable to rescue the load; they themselves have gone into captivity.' The weary overladen beasts were an easy prey to the captor. The *numen* of the god (*néfesh* in the original) was unable to save the image-load from capture and *itself* went into captivity.

Verses 3-11 must, says Duhm, be regarded as a unity. On the other hand, he would separate verses 6-8 (which recur to the familiar theme, the irrationality of idol-worship) as a foreign insertion belonging to another writer, probably the same as the author of xliv. 9-20. The grounds for this view are by no means cogent. We have already indicated in the notes introductory to xliv. 6-23 that verses 9-20 stand contrasted with what precedes and follows. They do not possess the same metric form, and also bear a somewhat distinct character from the compositions recognized as genuine belonging to the Deutero-Isaiah. They may, however, have come from a contemporary source, since the standpoint of the Deutero-Isaiah towards idolatry was identical in

remnant of the house of Israel, which have been borne
by me from the belly, which have been carried from the
womb: and even to old age I am he, and even to hoar 4
hairs will I carry *you*: I have made, and I will bear;
yea, I will carry, and will deliver. To whom will ye liken 5
me, and make me equal, and compare me, that we may
be like? Such as lavish gold out of the bag, and weigh 6

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character. On the other hand, it should be noted that the transition in xl. 18 to verse 19 is very similar to that of xlvi. 5 to verses 6 foll. But no one denies that xl. 19, xli. 6, 7, xl. 20 are genuine.

3. To whom do the parallel expressions **house of Jacob** and **remnant of the house of Israel** refer? It is quite reasonable to suppose that the Northern Israelites of the Ephraimite kingdom, both those who were deported by Sargon as well as those who still resided in Palestine, are referred to. That they were not forgotten by Hebrew prophets in the sixth century is clearly shown by the beautiful poem of Jer. xxxi. 15–20 (recognized as genuine by Giesebrecht, Duhm, and Cornill) and Ezek. xxxvii. 15–28 (the two sticks united). It is, however, certain that Judah is also included, since 'Israel' (as well as 'Jacob') is constantly used in the Deutero-Isaiah as a designation of the Jewish race (xl. 27, xli. 8, 14, xliii. 1, xliv. 1, &c.). Similarly Yahweh is called 'Holy One of Israel' as the national deity of the entire Hebrew race.

The words **by me** added to the R. V. are undoubtedly implied in the meaning of the text, which does not express them. **From the belly** (or womb) = from birth. From the earliest days Israel has been carried by Yahweh as a child is carried by a parent. We find this conception of tender parental relationship in Exod. xix. 4; Deut. i. 31; Hos. xi. 3; Jer. xxxi. 20, as well as in the Deutero-Isa. xl. 11. Here a subtle contrast seems to be intended. The word **borne** in this verse applied to Israel is the same verb in the original as the expression 'made a load' applied in verse 1 to the images. The impotent idols of foreign nations are carried on beasts by their devotees whom they are powerless to save. Israel's mighty saving God carries His sons in His arms.

4. The **old age** and the 'grey hairs' of Israel do not refer to the present but to the distant future. Cf. Ps. lxxi. 18.

I am he might be more idiomatically rendered 'I am the same' (so Duhm), in accordance with Ewald, *Syntax of the Heb. Lang.* (T. & T. Clark), § 314 b. Cf. xli. 4, xliii. 10, 13.

5. The language is parallel to xl. 18, 25.

6. We are reminded of the transition in xl. 18 to the verses

silver in the balance, they hire a goldsmith, and he maketh it a god; they fall down, yea, they worship.
7 They bear him upon the shoulder, they carry him, and set him in his place, and he standeth; from his place shall he not remove: yea, one shall cry unto him, yet can he not answer, nor save him out of his trouble.

that follow, which also constitute a digression to a satire on the work of an idol-maker. The Deutero-Isaianic authorship of this digression, which is closely parallel to the present one, is not contested. This should give us pause in asserting that the sections xliv. 9-20, and especially verses 6-8 in the present chapter, are foreign insertions. The present writer is constrained to admit that a fairly strong argument for such an assertion may be built upon xliv. 9-20. Yet even in this case it is easy to be led astray by theories of interpolation based upon modern and artificial arguments as to (*a*) uniformity of style, (*b*) logical connexion[1].

6. The **ye** of the preceding verse is here defined: 'Those that pour forth gold out of the purse . . .' The latter portion of the verse should be rendered: 'they hire a metal-caster that he may make it [i. e. the precious metal, whether silver or gold] into a god. They worship, yea, bow down.'

7. 'They lift him on the shoulder, carrying him—and set him down on his seat.
So that he stands without moving from his place—. . .
Yea, one shrieks to him yet he answers not—rescues one not from one's trouble.'

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[1] On this subject we would recall the attention of the student to the seasonable warning of Dr. Driver, *LOT.*^{6}, pp. 306 foll.: 'It may be questioned whether recent criticism has not shown a tendency to limit unduly the spiritual capabilities and imaginative power of the pre-exilic prophets; and whether, the prophets being *poets*, guided often, as is clear, by impulse and feeling, rather than by strict logic, imperfect connexion with the context (except in extreme cases, or when supported by linguistic, or other independent indications) forms a sufficient ground for judging a passage to be a later insertion. It is also not improbable that the discourses of the prophets have been transmitted to us in a condensed form, in which mediating links may have been omitted.' It may be added that these remarks may be applied also to exilian and post-exilian literature, and they receive strong confirmation from a recent able critic, Gressmann, in his stimulating work, *Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie.* See § 22, *Die Echtheit der Zukunftshoffnungen*, pp. 239 foll.

Remember this, and shew yourselves men: bring it 8
again to mind, O ye transgressors. Remember the 9
former things of old: for I am God, and there is none
else; *I am* God, and there is none like me; declaring 10
the end from the beginning, and from ancient times
things that are not *yet* done; saying, My counsel shall
stand, and I will do all my pleasure: calling a ravenous 11
bird from the east, the man of my counsel from a far

Here Duhm is right in surmising that the latter portion of the second long line in this verse with its recurring parallelism has been lost. When we compare the metric form of verses 6-8 with that of verses 3-5 and verses 9 foll. it will be seen that there is hardly a break in rhythmic continuity. Accordingly we have a complete parallel to xl. 19, xli. 6, 7, xl. 20, and the theory that verses 6-8 are a foreign interpolation breaks down, especially when due note is taken of the fact that in the last line of verse 7 there is implied the contrast of the motionless and impotent idol-image that cannot save with Yahweh as the God of saving might. See xlv. 21 (cf. verse 20), xlvi. 4 (cf. verse 2), where this contrast is made explicit.

8. The rendering by the LXX is a warning that the text is by no means certain. The Hebrew reflexive (*Hithpael*) form rendered by the R. V. **shew yourselves men** (or in R. V. marg. 'stand fast'), evidently did not stand in the Hebrew text used by the Greek translators, but some other reflexive form such as 'be ashamed' or 'afflict yourselves' (fast). The latter appears to come nearest to the Greek verb, which literally means 'groan' or 'lament.' Accordingly it would be best to modify the text at the opening of the verse and render: 'Remember this and afflict yourselves . . .' This verse forms quite a natural link of transition to the verse that follows.

9. The 'former things of olden time' are the great events of Israel's early history such as the deliverance from Egypt, cf. xliii. 16. The prophecies of Ezekiel clearly prove that during the exile period the Jews became more attentive students of their past (Ezek. xiv. 14, xvi. 3, xx. 4-13: cf. also Isa. li. 2).

10. things that are not yet done, i. e. things that have not yet taken place.

my counsel, or purpose, stands in parallelism to **my pleasure,** and are different terms to express the same thing.

11. The **ravenous bird** (bird of prey), or, in the parallel clause, the **man of my counsel** (i. e. the man whom God has

country; yea, I have spoken, I will also bring it to pass;
12 I have purposed, I will also do it. Hearken unto me, ye
13 stouthearted, that are far from righteousness: I bring near my righteousness, it shall not be far off, and my salvation shall not tarry; and I will place salvation in Zion for Israel my glory.

47 Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of

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chosen to carry out His great purpose), is Cyrus. He is compared to the bird of prey that swoops down irresistibly on its object (cf. the description in xli. 3).

12. stouthearted (cf. Ps. lxxvi. 5 [6 Heb.]) is the rendering of our Hebrew text, but that text is not well adapted to the general sense of the passage. The LXX evidently point us to the true text and rendering: 'ye who have lost heart,' i.e. are despondent. These are far from 'righteousness,' i.e. in the present context *Yahweh's vindication of Israel's right.* The Hebrew word is *ṣedāḳah.* See regarding the use of this term the note on xlv. 13. In the following verse it is employed in the Deutero-Isaiah's characteristic manner in connexion with the *salvation* which Yahweh is to secure for Israel.

It is probable that those who were 'far' from this 'righteousness' were the Jews in Babylonia who were lapsing into Babylonian idolatry since they had lost belief in Yahweh's might.

CHAPTER XLVII

is a taunt-song in the familiar *ḳinah* measure on Babylon's downfall[1]. It consists of five strophes of seven long lines each. Babylon is reduced to the lowest depth of humiliation, and is compared to the captive slave-girl brought down to the lowest drudgery, though once she lived in proud luxury. This tragic figure of the arrogant, tyrannical sorceress-queen is maintained throughout the entire poem. There is a certain analogy between this poem and Ezek. xxvi and xxxii, as well as Isa. xiv. 4 foll.

1. 'Descend and sit in the dust—virgin daughter of Babel.
Sit on the earth, throneless—daughter of the Chaldaeans.'

'Daughter of Babel,' 'daughter of the Chaldaeans' remind us of the phraseology of Isaiah of Jerusalem. The genitive is what is called an appositional genitive, the city or nation being personified (cf. Isa. i. 8 and note). Conquered and desolated Babylon occupies the same forlorn position as conquered and desolated

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[1] On the elegiac (*ḳînah*) measure in Isaiah, see Budde in *ZATW.*, 1891, pp. 224 foll., and on the present chapter, p. 237.

Babylon; sit on the ground without a throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate. Take the millstones, and grind 2 meal: remove thy veil, strip off the train, uncover the leg, pass through the rivers. Thy nakedness shall be 3 uncovered, yea, thy shame shall be seen: I will take

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Jerusalem in the oracle of the earlier pre-exilian prophet at the close of the eighth century (Isa. iii. 26). It is possible that this image of the earlier seer was present to the mind of the later. As in the model furnished by the earlier poet of the well-dressed lady of fashion that tripped along the Jerusalem streets now degraded to a captive taken in war, so here the contrasts are deeply marked between the delicate and voluptuous imperial lady seated on her throne and the captive seated on the ground.

2-3. Like a common menial slave of all work (*shifḥah*) she is peremptorily ordered to take mill-stones and grind the meal. Respecting the position of the menial slave-girl see *Hebrew Antiquities* (Rel. Tract Soc.), p. 40, and cf. Exod. xi. 5, 1 Sam. xxv. 41. A figure of the handmill will be found on p. 70. In these abject conditions she is commanded to strip off the veil (worn by any lady of distinction, cf. iii. 19, Song of Songs iv. 1) as well as her train. We have already had occasion to note the paraphernalia of a luxurious woman's attire (Isa. iii. 18-23; cf. *Hebrew Antiquities*, pp. 49 foll.). These would be obviously impossible in the stern world of a captive. A long dusty journey in the melancholy train of war-captives lay before her. Rivers had to be crossed. Her outer garment must be drawn up, her bare legs exposed to the sun and the vulgar gaze of the soldiery.

3-4. The close of this verse and the opening of the following is doubtful as to the text. The preceding words **I will take vengeance** may be regarded as textually sound, since they evidently stood in the copies used by the LXX. The R. V. **will accept no man** is obscure, and hardly bears the sense imposed upon it, viz. 'None shall oppose me.' The LXX appear to have combined two readings, the word for 'man' and the word for 'saith.' The former should probably be rejected in favour of the latter. By making the slight change in the vowel-points of the Hebrew verb rendered 'accept' in R. V. (suggested by the Jewish commentators Saadiah, Ibn 'Ezra, and our own Lowth) the following translation of verses 3-4 may be adopted (with Duhm):—

(3) 'I will take vengeance, will not suffer intercession—(4) saith
our Redeemer,
Yahweh of Hosts is His name—Holy one of Israel.'

4 vengeance, and will accept no man. Our redeemer, the
5 LORD of hosts is his name, the Holy One of Israel. Sit
thou silent, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the
Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called The lady
6 of kingdoms. I was wroth with my people, I profaned
mine inheritance, and gave them into thine hand: thou
didst shew them no mercy; upon the aged hast thou

Yahweh is inexorable in inflicting the full measure of just penalty on Babylon. Every expression here is full of significance. The Babylonians worshipped star-gods. Ištar represented the planet Venus, Nebo (Nabû) the planet Mercury, Nergal Saturn, Ninib Mars, Šamaš the Sun (Marduk also the early Sun), Sin the Moon. But Yahweh is here specially designated as lord of the starry hosts. Moreover, as the Holy One of Israel He was the guardian of Israel's interests and would not suffer His people to be destroyed.

5 foll. states the grounds on which the severe penalty on Babylon was exacted. Yahweh has been wrath with Israel, His inheritance, and in disciplinary chastisement has delivered him over to Babylon. But Babylon has used her opportunity not in mercy but in harshness. Proud Babylon, mistress of nations, shall therefore suffer humiliation. We have here a close analogy to the language of Isaiah of Jerusalem (x. 5-14) against Assyria, 'the rod of Yahweh's indignation.'

6. The expression **I profaned mine inheritance** seems to be an echo of Jer. xii. 7. The term 'inheritance' here simply means 'landed possession,' viz. the land in Palestine occupied by Yahweh's people Israel and owned as well as ruled by Him as its Lord. This land has been defiled because it has been captured by the Babylonian foreigner and its sanctuary destroyed (Ezek. ix. 7; Ps. lxxiv. 7: cf. Isa. lii. 1).

The reproach against Babylon for the harsh treatment meted out to the Jewish captives ('Thou didst make thy yoke weigh heavily') is not reflected in the tone of the earlier prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Jeremiah anticipated a time of prosperity in the exile home, and in his letter to the captives exhorts them to 'build houses and dwell therein, plant gardens and eat their fruit': 'Seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to go into exile, and pray unto Yahweh for it, for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace' (xxix. 5-7). This appears to have been also the attitude of the prophet Ezekiel, whose tendency is decisively pro-Babylonian (Ezek. xxvi. 7 foll., xxix. 18, 19). The political sympathies of both prophets, which were at the same time

very heavily laid thy yoke. And thou saidst, I shall be 7
a lady for ever: so that thou didst not lay these things
to thy heart, neither didst remember the latter end
thereof.

Now therefore hear this, thou that art given to pleasures, 8
that dwellest carelessly, that sayest in thine heart, I am,
and there is none else beside me; I shall not sit as a

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anti-Egyptian and directed against the court-party and the false prophets, would lead them to acquiesce in Babylonian rule and even in the deportation of the inhabitants into exile. But more than forty years had now elapsed. Evidently a change in the attitude of the Babylonian conquerors to the Jews had supervened, and exile among foreigners was felt to be a galling yoke.

7. R. V. correctly follows LXX in connecting the word **for ever** with 'mistress' ('lady') which immediately precedes it: 'I shall be mistress for ever.' On the other hand, the Jewish punctuators carry the Hebrew word *'ad* ('for ever') into the next clause.

8. 'Now hear this, thou luxurious—that sittest at ease,
Who thinketh to herself—'Tis I, and nought else!
I shall not sit as a widow—nor know childlessness.'

The earlier part of this verse, 'that sittest at ease . . . and nought else,' recurs in Zeph. ii. 15. Zephaniah composed his oracles nearly 100 years earlier than the Deutero-Isaiah, near the beginning of Josiah's reign; and at that time Assyria was tottering to its fall. In ii. 13, 14 the downfall of Nineveh is evidently predicted. Verse 15, however, is rightly regarded by Nowack and Marti as an interpolation, and the phraseology of our verse has evidently been inserted there. The expression **There is none else**, or 'There is none except me,' is one that can only be employed by Yahweh the supreme God (Isa. xlv. 6, xlvi. 9). The phrase recurs below (verse 10). Here the proud Babylon arrogates it to herself as the eternal mistress of kingdoms. This trait in language shows that the passage is integral to the Deutero-Isaiah. This was perceived long ago by Jahn and Eichhorn. Schwally in *ZATW.* (1890), vol. x, pp. 195 foll., is quite wrong in maintaining the contrary position that it originated with Zephaniah. Schwally, as well as many recent critics, is well aware that the collection of Zephaniah's oracles is full of later insertions.

The 'childlessness' refers to the depopulation caused by the sword, flight of inhabitants, or their captivity. The 'widowhood' is a metaphor descriptive of the forlorn position of the city forsaken by her allies, peoples, and their kings.

9 widow, neither shall I know the loss of children: but these two things shall come to thee in a moment in one day, the loss of children, and widowhood: in their full measure shall they come upon thee, despite of the multitude of thy sorceries, and the great abundance of
10 thine enchantments. For thou hast trusted in thy wickedness; thou hast said, None seeth me; thy wisdom and thy knowledge, it hath perverted thee: and thou hast said in thine heart, I am, and there is none else beside
11 me. Therefore shall evil come upon thee; thou shalt not know the dawning thereof: and mischief shall fall upon thee; thou shalt not be able to put it away: and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou
12 knowest not. Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to

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9 declares the hollowness of the boast. Both these evils, widowhood and childlessness, shall overtake the doomed city. Babylonia was the land of magic—of spell that brought disaster on an enemy—of counterspell that averted ill (see Hastings' *DB.*, vol. iii, art. 'Magic,' pp. 208-10). None of these shall avail Babylon in this hour of her calamity, 'though thy magic arts be many, though thy spells be very potent.'

10. 'Yet thou didst trust in thine evil—didst think: none sees me,' i. e. thought that there was no God who took thought of her evil deeds; cf. Ps. x. 11. These evil deeds, in the view of the writer, mainly consisted in the oppression of the Jewish exiles; but we are not informed in what that oppression consisted (verse 6). The **wisdom** and the **knowledge** refer to the system of magical incantations, which were of an elaborate character, as well as to the 'soothsaying.'

11. The rendering **the dawning thereof** has no definite meaning. R. V. marg. is almost certainly right: 'how to charm it away.' The whole line may be translated thus:

> 'Yet evil shall come upon thee that thou knowest not how to avert by incantation.'

12. This verse is severely ironical, like Elijah's scoffing injunction in 1 Kings xviii. 27: 'Abide by thy spells and thy many incantations whereby thou weariest thyself from thy youth up. Perhaps

profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied 13
in the multitude of thy counsels: let now the astrologers,
the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and
save thee from the things that shall come upon thee.

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thou art able to win advantage, perhaps thou wilt scare away (thy foes).'

13. Irony mingles with a tone of pathetic remonstrance: 'Thou art weary with thy many counsellors[1]. May they stand (by you) and save you, who divide the heavens, the gazers at the stars, making known month by month whence they come upon you.' By 'they' in the last clause is meant the events which are prognosticated.

The allusion in this verse is to the elaborate system of astrology practised by the Babylonian soothsayers. On this subject consult the art. 'Soothsaying' in Hastings' *DB*. The omen-tablets mark the distinctions in the celestial conjunctions with a wearisome excess of detail. We take the following example, cited from Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (see chaps. xix and xx):—

'Sun and moon are seen apart (i. e. at different times);
The king of the country will manifest wisdom.'
'On the 14th day sun and moon are seen together;
There will be loyalty in the land,
The gods of Babylonia are favourably inclined,
The soldiery will be in accord with the king's desire,
The cattle of Babylonia will pasture in safety.'
'On the 15th day the sun and moon are seen together;
A powerful enemy raises his weapons against the land,
The enemy will shatter the great gate of the city.'

The expression 'whence they come upon you' marks the antithesis between Babylonian belief reflected in its practice of soothsaying, which ascribed the course of events to conjunctions of sun, moon, and planets, and the monotheistic belief of the Jews, which ascribed all events, good or bad, to Yahweh: ''Tis I, Yahweh, and none else, that fashion light and create darkness, making happiness and creating ill' (xlv. 6, 7).

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[1] Adopting here a slight change of text, instead of the non-form of our Hebrew Massoretic version. We have thereby a natural subject for the following verbs, 'stand' and 'save,' as well as a parallel to the dividers of heaven and the star-gazers. These were the counsellors of the Babylonian in the hour of his uncertainty, like the necromancer in the days of Isaiah of Jerusalem (Isa. viii. 19).

14 Behold, they shall be as stubble; the fire shall burn them; they shall not deliver themselves from the power of the flame: it shall not be a coal to warm at, nor a fire
15 to sit before. Thus shall the things be unto thee wherein thou hast laboured: they that have trafficked with thee from thy youth shall wander every one to his quarter; there shall be none to save thee.

48 Hear ye this, O house of Jacob, [which are called by

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14. All these 'counsellors' shall show their falsity. In the hour of Babylon's captivity they shall not save her or themselves. Render: 'They shall be as stubble whom the fire hath burnt.'

15. Duhm would here make the slight textual alteration from the Hebrew word for 'thy merchants' or 'traffickers' (R. V. 'they that have trafficked, &c.') into the word for 'thy *magicians*,' based on the same original Semitic root as the word assumed in the Hebrew text in verse 11, in the rendering 'avert by incantation' (R. V. 'charm away'). This will bring the verse into exact harmony with verses 11 and 13 above. This view is supported in the main by Houbigant and Ewald. If we adhere, on the other hand, to the reading of our Hebrew text, 'merchants,' we should understand the term as referring to the magicians and soothsayers who trafficked in their arts with the deluded Babylonians.

CHAPTER XLVIII

presents problems of some complexity which have occasioned much discussion among recent critics. Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti regard it as the combination of a genuine Deutero-Isaianic element with another of a far different character. The former is an exhortation to Israel to believe the new tidings respecting Cyrus and Babylon's overthrow, expressed in the language of the Deutero-Isaiah already familiar to us. In earlier times prophecies have been delivered, and they have been fulfilled. Now a new prophecy hitherto unheard is proclaimed in vindication of God's name and honour. Israel is summoned to hear it, and is once more reminded by Yahweh that He is the World's Creator who stands at the beginning and at the end of Time, and that Cyrus is the beloved organ of His will respecting Babylon. This is followed by a brief lyrical poem (verses 20 and 21), which is an appeal to Israel to quit Babylon and to proclaim to the world Yahweh's redemption of His servant Jacob and the wonderful providence which has attended Israel's desert-wandering.

Such is the Deutero-Isaianic element in this chapter presented the name of Israel, and are come forth out of the waters of Judah; which swear by the name of the LORD, and make mention of the God of Israel, but not in truth, nor in righteousness. For they call themselves of the holy 2 city, and stay themselves upon the God of Israel; the

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in summary. The reader can either see it in the translation of Duhm's commentary (German) expressed in italics, or in Cheyne's *SBOT.* in pink colouring. In the R. V. rendering above it is unbracketed. But to this there is attached in a series of parentheses (which are bracketed above) passages of bitter remonstrance severely contrasted in tone with the former. The latter, as Marti says, assumes the form of an interlinear commentary. The style reminds us in its tone of censure rather of Ezekiel or Trito-Isaiah than of Deutero-Isaiah. It would be well for the reader to study the text of this chapter through with the appended comments before a final judgment is passed on this ingenious analysis with which the conservative critic Kittel concurs. It is held by Duhm and other critics that the appended passages of severe censure were added by the editor of the Deutero-Isaianic oracles—the same who inserted the Servant-passages, and also appended the collection of oracles chaps. lvi–lxvi called the Trito-Isaiah. On this subject see below, p. 238.

1. waters of Judah is very strange and hardly intelligible. Nearly all MSS. of the LXX simply have 'from Judah,' and it is quite possible that this is the right rendering of the corresponding Hebrew (*mihûdah*). Secker would read 'from the bowels of Judah,' which involves a very slight addition to our text. The same word occurs in verse 19, and is found in Gen. xv. 4; 2 Sam. vii. 12, xvi. 11, &c. But the expression is not characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah 'Make mention of the God of Israel', i. e. 'commemorate'[1] (in the sense of 'praise'). This expression occurs again in lxiii. 7 (Trito-Isaiah), and seems to acquire a liturgical meaning.

2. The **holy city** is an expression which occurs in the Deutero-Isaiah lii. 1. But there it is the ideal city of the future, where the uncircumcised and unclean no longer dwell. The term became a favourite one in post-exilian times; Neh. xi. 1; Dan. ix. 24; Matt. iv. 5, and in Islâm it is still *el ḳuds.* Here the phrase seems retrospective, and presupposes an organized religious community dwelling within Jerusalem, and individuals who are

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[1] In Heb. *hizkîr* (the Hif'îl of the root *z-k-r*, 'remember'). Similarly the substantive, *zeker*, means 'praise,' in Ps. vi. 6, cii. 13 (cf. Hos. xii. 6; Exod. iii. 15, where it = 'name').

3 Lord of hosts is his name]. I have declared the former
things from of old; yea, they went forth out of my mouth,
and I shewed them: suddenly I did them, and they
4 came to pass. [Because I knew that thou art obstinate,
5 and thy neck is an iron sinew, and thy brow brass]; therefore
I have declared it to thee from of old; before it
came to pass I shewed it thee: lest thou shouldest say,
Mine idol hath done them, and my graven image, and
6 my molten image, hath commanded them. Thou hast
heard it; behold all this; and ye, will ye not declare it?

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proud of calling themselves its members. **LORD** (God) **of Hosts is His name** is an expression reminiscent of Amos iv. 13, v. 8, ix. 5 foll.

The word **for** prefixed to this verse links it not to the preceding clause but to the opening phrase (verse 1), 'hear ye this.'

3. We once more note the familiar language of the Deutero-Isaiah—xlii. 9, xliv. 8, xlv. 23, xlvii. 11. Old prophecies have received their fulfilment; cf. xlii. 14.

4. The language of censure is attached as a reason for the above: 'because I knew that thou art hard' (obstinate). For **sinew** substitute 'clasp' or 'band.' The language is once more unusually reminiscent of other portions of the O. T., e.g. Ezek. iii. 7 foll.; cf. Deut. ix. 27; Exod. xxxii. 9; cf. Deut. ix. 6, 13. The ground which is here alleged for God's past prophecies and their fulfilment must strike the ordinary reader as forced and abrupt. The tone of rebuke is different from the admonitory style of xlii. 18—xliii. 2, where the transition is natural; cf. also xl. 27-31.

5. The earlier part of this verse is evidently Deutero-Isaianic, and repeats the conception of verse 3. For **therefore** substitute 'and.'

The latter part of this verse Duhm, Cheyne, and other critics regard as a later insertion. But this is by no means certain, nor is it really at all obvious, as Duhm asserts, that the gloss-writer recurs to the old Deuteronomic conception of Israel's past history that it was nothing but a continuous lapse into idolatry. On the contrary, we are here reminded of the vivid consciousness in the mind of the Deutero-Isaiah of an ever-present and recurring danger among the exiled Jews, whose lapse into idolatry—viz. Babylonian idol-worship—evidently underlies such passages as xl. 19, 20, xli. 6, 7, which Duhm recognizes as genuine.

I have shewed thee new things from this time, even
hidden things, which thou hast not known. They are 7
created now, and not from of old; and before this day thou
heardest them not; lest thou shouldest say, Behold, I
knew them. Yea, thou heardest not; yea, thou knewest 8
not; yea, from of old thine ear was not opened: [for I
knew that thou didst deal very treacherously, and wast

6. behold all this, i. e. the fulfilment of past predictions. **will ye not declare it.** The pronoun is emphatic; i. e. Will *ye* not openly confess with your own lips, that God's word has been fulfilled? There is no reason for altering the text, as Duhm and Cheyne propose, and rendering, 'And thou, wilt thou not bear witness to it?' though the emendation maintains a consistency of number as well as person. At the same time, it should be noted that the LXX render, 'Ye have heard all things, yet ye have not discerned,' evidently based on a different text which may well be the true one.

7 continues the theme of the preceding verse. The advent of the deliverer Cyrus is an announcement hitherto unheard[1]. The whole of this verse, as well as verse 5, may with good reason be ascribed to the Deutero-Isaiah. There is just as little reason for ascribing the clause 'lest they should say, &c.' to another later writer, as the latter part of verse 5, to which it bears resemblance in form. But it is evident in this case that only the first part of the long line has been preserved. Its genuineness is sustained by its close harmony with the line that follows in verse 8.

8 harps on the same string as verses 6 and 7. The R. V. **thine ear was not opened** is hardly possible in accordance with Hebrew usage. It is safest to follow the LXX here and slightly emend the text. Accordingly read, 'Neither hast thou heard [it] nor known—nor have I formerly opened thine ear.'

The remainder of the verse is evidently the language of the later gloss-writer. Its language, as Duhm shows, reminds us of the Trito-Isaiah. For the expression **wast called** cf. Isa. lviii. 12, lxi. 3, lxii. 2, and Ezek. x. 13 in the original. The conception of ancient Israel, wicked from the birth ('from the womb'), is familiar to the student of Ezekiel (xvi. 22 foll.). This latter clause puts

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[1] Klostermann and Cheyne suspect the curious form *liphnê yôm*, and plausibly suggest in its place *l^ephānîm*, 'formerly.' But LXX evidently read in their text the form which stands in our Bible, and translate, 'in former *days*.' Though the form be curious, parallels are not wanting.

9 called a transgressor from the womb. For my name's
sake will I defer mine anger, and for my praise will I
10 refrain for thee, that I cut thee not off. Behold, I have
refined thee, but not as silver; I have chosen thee in the

a completely new colour of more sombre hue on the beginning of the verse. Duhm remarks that if the first half of the verse is read in connexion with what follows in actual sequence in the Deutero-Isaiah (viz. verse 11) there is a ring of happy pathos about it: 'Never have I hitherto announced to you tidings, in order to enhance my own glory ('for my name's sake').' The new tidings is evidently an inspiring fact to the prophet who proclaims it. But the clauses which follow cast a deep shadow. The announcement has been withheld because Israel has been a faithless rebel.

9. The same strain by the gloss-writer is continued. The general sense only can be gathered from this textually corrupt verse. The LXX render: 'For my name's sake I will display to you my wrath, and my glory will I bring upon (?) you that I may not destroy you utterly.' This shows that there is some uncertainty as to the reading of the opening clauses. If we adhere to our Hebrew text, adopting only Oort's emendation of the verb rendered **refrain**, we might translate thus: 'For my name's sake will I postpone my anger—seal up [i. e. confirm, attest [1]] my praise unto thee, so that I cut thee not off.'

10 evidently belongs to the same writer. A comparison with the LXX leaves us in some uncertainty as to text, but it is safer here, as in the preceding verse, to adhere to our Hebrew text. Israel has been smelted and tested, yet not as [2] silver, but some base metal or unworthy substance. Again we have the same language of bitter reproach. Render: 'I have tested thee in the furnace of affliction.'

From the latter part of verse 8 to the close of verse 10 the reader cannot fail to note the pessimistic and almost harsh note. It is only God's sense of what is due to His 'name' or honour as the God of Israel that saves His rebellious people from utter destruction. Duhm hardly exaggerates when he says that this exhibits a conception of Yahweh's character 'that flies in the

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[1] On this use of the Heb. verb to 'seal,' cf. viii. 16; Job xxxiii. 16; Dan. ix. 24 b [of sealing (i. e. establishing, ratifying) a prophecy].

[2] Taking the preposition in Hebrew as what is called Bêth *essentiae*, and not as Bêth *pretii* (with Duhm). The rendering 'chosen' is incorrect here. The verb in the original is used in its Aramaic sense. 'Tested,' or 'tried' (R.V. marg.) is the right translation.

furnace of affliction]. For mine own sake, for mine own 11
sake, will I do it; [for how should *my name* be profaned?]
and my glory will I not give to another.

Hearken unto me, O Jacob, and Israel my called: I 12
am he; I am the first, I also am the last. Yea, mine 13
hand hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right
hand hath spread out the heavens: when I call unto

face of the entire Deutero-Isaianic theology[1].' Cf. with it xl. 1, 2, 11, 28-31, xli. 8-10, xliii. 1-6, 25—xliv. 5, xlix. 14-16, li. 2-4, 12-14, liv, lv (*passim*). Though the sternness of Divine discipline and Israel's sin that occasioned it are not ignored by the Deutero-Isaiah (xlii. 18-25, xliii. 26-28), it is but a contrast which serves to heighten the brightness of the silver lining to the cloud (cf. xliii. 1-3, xliv. 1-5 standing in immediate succession). Here, on the other hand, the sharply-contrasted, interpolated passages strike no harmonious chord, but a too palpable discord. Of this discord we have immediately another example.

11. Here the interjected exclamation 'for how should it be profaned!' breaks harshly into both rhythm and sense. The subject to the verb 'profaned' is left vague. The rendering of R. V. above is certainly right in supplying 'my name.' This dissonant clause is added by the gloss-writer to words that are evidently Deutero-Isaianic (cf. xlii. 8). 'Another' obviously means another deity (cf. the parallel xlii. 8).

Verses 12-16 are Deutero-Isaianic in conception and language. Cyrus and his fulfilment of the Divine purpose in the overthrow of Babylon are the evident theme.

12. We note the friendly tone towards Israel **my called**; cf. xli. 9, xlii. 6. Yahweh summons Israel to hear Him, as in xlvi. 3, 12. Emphasis is laid on God's unchanging personality throughout all time (cf. xli. 4, xliii. 10, xliv. 6).

13. Also prominence is once more given to His creative power (cf. xl. 22, 26, 28, xlii. 5, xliv. 24, xlv. 12, 18). The word for **spread** (or stretch) **out** is an Aramaic rather than Hebrew word, and is one among many indications of the wide and ever-increasing prevalence of that language at this time.

'I call to them (i. e. the heavens), and they stood together,' i. e. ready-created at the word of command. The word 'stand' in Hebrew is used similarly in Ps. xxxiii. 9.

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[1] ...*der ganzen Theologie Deutero-Jesaias ins Gesicht schlägt.*

14 them, they stand up together. Assemble yourselves, all ye, and hear; which among them hath declared these things? The LORD hath loved him: he shall perform his pleasure on Babylon, and his arm *shall be on* the
15 Chaldeans. I, even I, have spoken; yea, I have called him: I have brought him, and he shall make his way
16 prosperous. Come ye near unto me, hear ye this; from the beginning I have not spoken in secret; from the time

14. assemble yourselves is obviously an address to the Israelites. An underlying motive of this entire passage, as well as of others in this section xl–xlviii relating to Cyrus, is not improbably a desire to overcome a certain reluctance among many exiles to accept the belief that Cyrus, a Persian foreigner, was Yahweh's anointed servant to carry out His behest in giving deliverance and restoration to Israel. Chap. lv. 3 ('sure mercies of David') indicate that the belief in a Messiah of Davidic lineage was not extinct. Stress is laid on God's creative power in vindication of His Sovereign right to choose any human instrument He wills for the accomplishment of His purpose. Another co-operating motive is to convince those who had lapsed, or were lapsing, into idolatry that it was Yahweh's messenger who announced this, no soothsayer of Merodach or Nebo; 'who among them [i. e. foreign deities (cf. "another" in verse 11)] hath announced these things [i. e. the mission of Cyrus]? He whom Yahweh loves shall perform His pleasure on Babylon.' It must be confessed that the text of the latter part of this verse is by no means certain, though the general purport is quite clear. The LXX had before them another, but by no means more correct or intelligible text. It omits the word Yahweh ('Lord'), which disturbs the rhythm and is unnecessary. Duhm partly follows the guidance of the LXX and restores the first person:—'He whom I love accomplishes my design (pleasure)—on Babylon and on the seed[1] of the Chaldees.'

15. Here, again, the LXX indicate that we ought to restore the first person in the last clause (so Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti).

> ''Tis I, I who have spoken, yea called him—brought him and made his way to prosper.'

16. the beginning does not here refer to the creation of the that it was, there am I: [and now the Lord GOD hath sent me, and his spirit.] Thus saith the LORD, thy 17 redeemer, the Holy One of Israel: [I am the LORD thy God, which teacheth thee to profit, which leadeth thee by the way that thou shouldest go. Oh that thou hadst 18

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[1] The word for 'seed' (so LXX) and the word 'arm' closely resemble each other in Hebrew, especially when we remember that it was written with consonantal signs, and the vowels were supplied by the reader.

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world, to which verse 13 alludes, but to the career of Cyrus in its commencement. Also the pronoun 'it' must be similarly understood.

The last clause, **and now the Lord GOD hath sent me**, &c., commences a fresh insertion by the same gloss-writer and in the same characteristic tone of pessimism (verses 17–19).

17. The opening line is probably taken from the Deutero-Isaiah and woven by the gloss-writer into his own discourse. 'Thus saith Yahweh, thy God—the Holy One of Israel'—finds close parallels in phraseology in xli. 14 and xliii. 14. What follows, however, differs widely both in thought and expression from the Deutero-Isaiah. While it is not necessary to construe the expression **which teacheth thee to profit** as inculcating mere eudaemonism or 'religion conceived from the eudaemonistic side' (Duhm)[1], it is quite evident that we have descended from the pure and spontaneous life of high ideals and enthusiastic confidence in God's love and power in the future guidance of His people, which breathes through the Deutero-Isaianic oracles, into the atmosphere of doctrinal religion and a despairing retrospect over a degenerate past and lost opportunity ending in irretrievable ruin (verse 19).

18. The language is the agonized expression of a yearning no longer possible of realization, the might-have-beens swept away in the stream of time. This sadness of retrospect has scarcely a parallel in O. T. literature except in Jer. viii. 20: 'The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved.' Yet there, perhaps, the door of opportunity is not quite closed. Here it is otherwise. The metaphor of Israel's welfare as a river reminds us of the language of the Trito-Isaiah, which quite possibly is echoed here (cf. lxvi. 12). But there we have the language of a serene optimism. The writer beholds a sunrise. Here the writer contemplates a sun already set and a world of shattered ideals:—

'Behind the fiery wastes of time,
Before eternity!'

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[1] Surely the reference to Israel's 'righteousness as sea-billows,' in verse 18, clearly points to ethical ideals in the mind of the writer.

hearkened to my commandments! then had thy peace been as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the
19 sea: thy seed also had been as the sand, and the offspring of thy bowels like the grains thereof: his name should not be cut off nor destroyed from before me].

20 Go ye forth of Babylon, flee ye from the Chaldeans; with a voice of singing declare ye, tell this, utter it even to the end of the earth: say ye, The LORD hath
21 redeemed his servant Jacob. And they thirsted not when he led them through the deserts: he caused the

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19. The writer has evidently before his mind the metaphor of the Yahwistic passage in the Abraham-narrative, Gen. xiii. 16 (cf. xxii. 17, a closer parallel), when he wrote, 'The offspring of thy bowels like the grains thereof' (i. e. the sand).

'And his name would not be cut off or destroyed before me' closes the door to all hope, and the utter pessimism of the writer receives its final touch of gloom.

20–21. We pass into the sunlight, and hear strains of melody. The language of this short lyrical poem is once more that of the Deutero-Isaiah:—

> 'Go forth from Babylon,
> Flee from the Chaldees;
> With loud song proclaim it,
> These tidings make known,
> Send it forth
> To the end of the earth:
> Say, "Yahweh hath ransomed
> Jacob His slave."
>
> 'Yet they have not thirsted,
> 'Mid wastes though He led them;
> Waters from rocks
> He made to drip for them,
> And cleft the rock open
> And waters gushed forth.'

We are reminded of the lilt of the short song in Isa. xxiii. 16 with its unmistakable dance-rhythm. Here, where the pilgrim-throng passes forth on its desert-journey to Jerusalem, the reminiscence of the earlier time of Israel's exodus from Egypt inevitably comes to the mind of the writer, viz. Exod. xvii. 6 (E); cf. Num. xx. 11.

waters to flow out of the rock for them: he clave the rock also, and the waters gushed out. [There is no peace, 22 saith the LORD, unto the wicked.]

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22. Once more a pessimistic gloss; though a perfectly true maxim, yet wholly out of harmony with verses 20-21. It is borrowed from lvii. 21, where it is integral to both metre and context.

Our survey of this chapter has tended to confirm in the main the ingenious hypothesis of Duhm that this chapter is interwoven out of two distinct elements. Without the guidance of this analysis the sharp contrasts become extremely difficult if not impossible to explain, and on the assumption of single authorship we are reduced to the exceedingly forced conclusion that the writer interrupts the current of his high theme by severe rebukes of the obstinate and unbelieving portion of the community. But we have no parallel for such a literary phenomenon. Nor does this strained hypothesis account for the diversities in language and mental standpoint.

We stand on safer ground when we follow recent critics in accepting Duhm's solution. But another difficult problem lies behind it. What is the motive for this strange literary patchwork of bright and dark colours? We have no modern literary analogies to guide us here. We have to remember the conditions of antiquity and the modes in which literary remains were reproduced and preserved and provided with modern glosses and even revised to suit the present mood and need. The careful critical study of O. T. literature has revealed these features. The complex phenomena of the Deutero-Zechariah (chaps. ix-xiv) can best be explained (especially in chaps. ix-xi) by the assumption of old pre-exilian oracles worked over and adapted by a post-exilian writer. Not improbably Ps. lx is an old Davidic war-song similarly utilized by a late psalmist. And, coming down to still later times, it has been long recognized that the 'Ascension of Isaiah' is a composite work of apocalyptic character in which a Jewish document has been incorporated into a Christian book, and utilized for the purposes of Christian edification and warning. Similarly chap. xlviii contains genuine Deutero-Isaianic material which may be fortunately separated without difficulty through its strongly-marked tone and style. This has fallen into the hands of an editor who lived in later post-exilian times, when the ideals and hopes of the close of the exile, and even those of a century later, awakened by the advent of Nehemiah, had long passed by and had given place to the bitter disillusionments and the depressing retrospect of moral backslidings. As the redactor reads the inspiring oracle of an earlier time he inserts his own sorrowful reflections as warnings to his countrymen; and in this form the

49 [S. Listen, O isles, unto me; and hearken, ye peoples,

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combined thoughts of the two minds and the two ages have come down to us. Marti thinks that the editor belonged to the same age that produced that strange complex apocalyptic work Isa. xxiv–xxvii, which may perhaps be placed in the early Greek period about 300 B.C.

(2) CHAPTERS XLIX–LV: ISRAEL'S RESTORATION AND IDEAL.

This collection of chapters was probably composed soon after the actual downfall of Babylon. We no longer hear echoes of the march of political events—of the career of the great conqueror of Western Asia and of the impending downfall of Babylon and its deities, and of Cyrus as the anointed servant destined by Yahweh, the Holy One of Israel, the World's Creator and supreme Lord, to be Israel's deliverer from exile. These subjects no longer engage our attention. The theme of the successive poems is Israel's future—the restoration of Zion with new glory as the centre of a great Divine righteous state.

A golden thread unites the previous collection (chaps. xl–xlviii) to this and traverses them both. It is the great spiritual conception—the ideal which is to be the guiding-star of the Jewish race, viz. Israel as God's suffering servant. This ideal is unfolded in the present collection, and attains its consummation in the last of the Servant-songs, lii. 13—liii. 12.

Several indications appear to hint that some of the chapters in this collection were composed after the return to Palestine. The frequent references to Zion, lii. 1 foll., 7 foll.; cf. li. 3, 16, 17, liv. 11, 12, and its restoration, would seem to imply that the writer had just arrived in Palestine with the first band of exiles. On the other hand, passages such as li. 14, lii. 11, 12, lv. 12 speak of the deliverance and departure from Babylon as something in the future. While, therefore, we have advanced in time to a point beyond that of the preceding collection, we cannot be said to have advanced far. The present series of Deutero-Isaianic poems may be said to belong to the transition stage between the residence of the exiles in Babylon immediately prior to their departure and the return of the first company of exiles to Palestine.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Verses 1–6. Metric form and style remind us of xlii. 1–4. It is composed in six quatrains, each forming a verse. We have here the second among the 'Servant-songs.' It bears no relation to chap. xlviii, which forms the conclusion of the preceding and distinct collection of the Deutero-Isaianic oracles. On the other

from far: the LORD hath called me from the womb; from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name: and he hath made my mouth like a sharp 2
sword, in the shadow of his hand hath he hid me; and he hath made me a polished shaft, in his quiver hath he

hand, it is linked in one characteristic particular to the passage that immediately follows, namely, in the subject which forms the dominating theme of this entire collection (chaps. xlix–lv), Israel's restoration and ideal.

In xlii. 1–4, the first of the series of 'Servant-songs,' it is Yahweh who speaks, here it is the servant.

1. The servant addresses himself to the coast-lands as well as distant peoples, since his mission has a world-wide import (cf. xlii. 6 and note, and also xlix. 6). The expression **from the womb** (or '. . . mother's womb') and its concrete parallels are used in Hebrew to express 'from earliest origin.' This conception of the high spiritual calling of an individual preordained by God even before birth first meets us in the account given by Jeremiah of the inauguration of his prophetic ministry. In Isaiah the dignity and significance of his initiation is expressed by a consecration vision (vi. 1 foll.). In the case of Moses by vision and miracle combined (Exod. iii. 1 foll.). In the case of Jeremiah we see the beginning of an intellectual process whereby dignity and permanence are ascribed to an event by carrying it *as far back as possible in earthly existence.* In later post-exilian times a further advance was made, and we enter the metaphysical stage when institutions and persons of great religious significance were endowed with *premundane existence*[1].

The expression **made mention of my name** is here used in a pregnant sense, i. e. it means more than simply 'called me by my name' (cf. xliii. 2). It rather signifies 'he has declared who I am, what importance I possess, when he bestows upon me the name "Yahweh's servant"' (Marti).

2. The Divine equipment of the Servant. Are we to regard this equipment, like the 'calling,' as natal or pre-natal, and is the expression **in his quiver hath He kept me close** (more correctly 'concealed me') to be referred to the pre-natal condition? We might then compare Ps. cxxxix. 13. This seems a possible though

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[1] See Hastings' *DCG.*, ii. p. 174 (art. 'Messiah'); Edersheim, *Life and Times of the* Messiah—vol. i, p. 175. Cf. also Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, pp. 105 foll., 245 foll., where the citations are carefully examined and sifted.

3 kept me close: and he said unto me, Thou art my
4 servant; Israel, in whom I will be glorified. But I said,
I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for

over-strained interpretation. The meaning is rather that the servant's equipment for his great mission has been hitherto withheld from public observation, though his appointment has been long decided in the Divine counsels.

We have here military metaphors, though the character of the servant as depicted in chap. liii (a lamb dumb before its shearers; forsaken, wounded, despised) is the very reverse of military. The **mouth,** as organ of the utterance of the servant, is compared to a sharp sword. St. Paul, in his enumeration of the spiritual armoury, calls the Word of God 'the Spirit's sword' (Eph. vi. 17), and the same metaphor is strengthened in Heb. iv. 12, where the Word of God is declared to be 'sharper than any two-edged sword.' On the other hand, in Jer. xxiii. 29 it is compared both to a fire and to a hammer that batters to pieces the crag. At the close of the verse the servant compares himself to Yahweh's polished shaft which He keeps concealed in His quiver to be used with potent effect against the enemy when the proper occasion comes.

3. Israel, standing here in the latter portion of the long line (as the R. V. above renders), is not to be regarded as a vocative but as a second predicate, parallel to 'my servant' in the preceding clause. Duhm follows Gesenius in wishing to remove it from the text. It stands, however, in the LXX, and there are no metric reasons which demand its removal. Marti would therefore retain it.[1]

Its presence stands in the way of the theory that the writer of these 'Servant-songs' regarded his ideal servant as a personality pure and simple. The presence of the word Israel is fatal to this theory, and such evidence must not be manipulated out of existence.

For the passive form **will be glorified** we ought strictly to substitute the reflexive form 'will glorify myself,' since the form in the original is reflexive (*Hithpa'ēl*).

4-5. We have here a 'circumstantial clause' in which the personal pron. 'I' stands in contrast with Yahweh, who is the speaker in the preceding verse and again in verse 5 that follows. Accordingly translate:—

'Now *I* had said: "In vain have I laboured,
Fruitlessly have I exhausted my strength";

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[1] It is, however, omitted in Codex xii, Parsons, and in one Heb. MS. But these are, as Giesebrecht points out, insufficient reasons for removal (*Knecht Jahves des Deuterojesaia*, p. 31).

nought and vanity: yet surely my judgement is with the LORD, and my recompence with my God. And now saith 5 the LORD that formed me from the womb to be his

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Nevertheless my cause[1] is with Yahweh
And my recompense is with my God.'

said here, as in many other passages, signifies 'thought,' the full form of expression in the original being 'said in my heart.' The servant reflects over his past history. It seems to have been full of suffering and vain endeavour. What has been achieved? Yet he faces the future in humble reliance on Yahweh, who will reveal in the future the meaning of all the sufferings of the past and bestow its due recompense. The language resembles that of xl. 10 (cf. Jer. xxxi. 16; Isa. lxii. 11) in its particular use of the word rendered 'recompense' as well as in the general sense of the passage. The tone of the verse reminds us of Jeremiah (e. g. xxxi. 16 and xlv), and is re-echoed often in Psalm literature, xxxvii. 5, 6, 23, 24, lxii. 1 [2 Heb.], &c.

In response to this attitude of resigned and trustful waiting Yahweh is maturing His purpose: 'who formed me from the womb to be His servant to restore Jacob unto Him, so that Israel might be gathered to Him and might[2] be honoured in the eyes of Yahweh, and my God shall have become my strength.'

This is a possible rendering of the text slightly modified from the form as it is read according to the Massoretic tradition (*Kerê*) rather than in accordance with the *written* text (*Kethîb*) which stands before us. The latter reads 'not' in place of 'to him.' In the original both readings are pronounced exactly alike, and in the Heb. text there are not infrequent confusions between them. Of this we have a notable example in ix. 3 (2 Heb.); cf. lxiii. 9[3].

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[1] i.e. as Giesebrecht interprets it, the servant's claim (Rechtsanspruch), of which Yahweh his patron is the defender and champion (ibid. p. 30). The further question arises: Against whom is the claim maintained? The language implies a suit at law or contest. The contest is evidently, as Giesebrecht shows, between the *foreign peoples* and Yahweh's servant, the true and faithful Israel, *K. J.*, p. 32.

[2] According to the Hebrew text, we ought here to read the first person. Instead, therefore, of 'and might, &c.,' read 'so that I might be honoured,' whereby this clause stands in complete parallelism with the following. The thought passes by a transition easy to a Semitic Hebrew, from Israel to the personification, who in this entire passage is speaking (cf. verse 1).

[3] In ix. 3 A.V. adopts the one reading, '*not* increased the joy,'

servant, to bring Jacob again to him, and that Israel be gathered unto him: (for I am honourable in the eyes of
6 the LORD, and my God is become my strength:) yea, he saith, It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the

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Hitzig and Duhm adhere to the *Kethîb* or written text, but assign to the verb rendered 'gathered' another meaning, which in some passages certainly belongs to it, of 'carry away,' 'carry off'; Hos. iv. 3; Isa. lvii. 1 (cf. Gen. xxx. 23), or 'be destroyed'—'so that Israel be not swept away.' Duhm goes further than this and detaches the last clause of the verse from its connexion, and places it at the end of verse 3, thus:—

(verse 3) 'And He said to me: "My servant art thou
In whom I shall glorify myself."
And I was glorified[1] in the eyes of Yahweh,
And my God became my strength.'

This is very ingenious and attractive. But it is a violent treatment of the text. Moreover, there lurks behind it (cf. above note on verse 3) what we have already characterized as manipulation of evidence. For it is obvious that in its old and probably original context the displaced passage furnishes a clear indication that in the mind of the writer of the Servant-songs the 'Servant of Yahweh' is not a separate and single personality but a vividly-expressed personification of a community. This swift transition from the individual to the people personified and vice versa is quite natural to a Hebrew mind (Num. xx. 14, cf. verses 15 foll. and 19 and also verses 20 and 21, where the alternations between sing. and plur. of this E section are significant).

In all probability Marti is on the right track in his restoration of the text. He follows the LXX in getting rid of the negative (or the preposition and its pronominal accompaniment 'to him' read in its place), which is due to dittography. With a slight change in punctuation and the alteration of a single character we obtain what is probably the true original version of verse 5:—

R.V. adopts the other, 'hast increased their joy,' lit. 'joy to him' (i. e. the nation). No reference is made to this in the notes, since the passage has obviously become mutilated, and Krochmal's brilliant restoration is accepted by nearly all recent critics.

[1] Reading the Hebrew text as a Waw consec., and thus bringing it into harmony with the perfect tense which follows. So also Oort and Klostermann.

Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end

'And now saith Yahweh,
Who formed me from the womb as His servant,
To bring back Jacob to Himself,
"And Israel will I gather";
And I have received honour in the eyes of Yahweh,
And my God has become my strength.'

6. This verse continues to unfold Yahweh's purpose and thought (expressed by the word 'said'), and constitutes the climax in the writer's conception of Israel's great destiny as a suffering servant, which becomes subsequently (lii. 13—liii. 12) more fully developed. We follow Dillmann's interpretation of the Hebrew text:—

'And He said:—

"Lighter task is it than being my servant
To establish the tribes of Jacob,
And restore the preserved of Israel;
Yea, I will set you as a light to the Gentiles,
To be my salvation as far as earth's end."'

The verse is certainly complex and unwieldy in form. Duhm would relieve it of the clause 'than being my servant' (literally, 'than thy being a servant to me'). And the whole verse certainly flows thereby more smoothly:—

''Tis task too slight to establish Jacob's tribes,
And to bring back the preserved of Israel;
Yea, rather I make thee a light of the Gentiles,
That my salvation may be as far as earth's end.'

The general sense, whether the clause be removed or not, remains the same [1]. The restoration of Israel to Palestine from Babylonian exile had already been foreshadowed by Jeremiah (xxxi. 2-5, 20-22, xxxii. 14-15), and the future scheme of the restored community and its cultus had been sketched in idealized details by Ezekiel (xl-xlviii). The author of these Servant-songs was not content with a mission for God's suffering servant Israel circumscribed by these national limitations; Israel was being formed by past chastisement for a higher task. To be Yahweh's servant meant nothing less than to be the bearer of the Divine

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[1] It can hardly be said that the LXX help us much to a correct sense, or text, unless it be that the word *διασπορὰν* should lead us to substitute in the Hebrew text נְפֻצֵי ('the *scattered*'), or, perhaps, as Ottley suggests, נִדְּחֵי for נצירי ('the preserved'). LXX render ''Tis a *great* thing for thee to be called my servant' (גָּדֹל הִקָּרְאֲךָ, which looks like a purposed emendation).

7 of the earth.] Thus saith the LORD, the redeemer of Israel, *and* his Holy One, to him whom man despiseth, to him whom the nation abhorreth, to a servant of rulers: Kings shall see and arise; princes, and they shall worship; because of the LORD that is faithful, *even* the
8 Holy One of Israel, who hath chosen thee. Thus saith

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light to all the nations of the world[1]. The writer had drunk deep from the wells of Amos and Jeremiah.

Verses 7-12. The oracles of the Deutero-Isaiah are resumed, but we no longer remain on the high level of the preceding poem. Dillmann remarks with truth that in the Deutero-Isaiah we do not hear again of the illumination of the Gentile. At all events the thought is not made explicit. The theme of the following verses is that humiliated Israel is to be raised to great glory and restored from the land of exile to his own country. The metre of the Deutero-Isaiah is resumed. We have two long-line quatrains, each long line falling into two parts:—

7. 'Thus saith Yahweh—Redeemer of Israel, his Holy One,
To one despised of souls, to one loathed of nations—to a slave of rulers,
Kings shall see (thee) and rise up—princes, and shall bow themselves down,

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[1] It is Giesebrecht who here manipulates the evidence in order to suit the exigencies of a theory. For the text as it stands in verses 5, 6 (including 'than being my servant') is fatal to the identification of the servant in the Servant-passages with empirical Israel. Even Giesebrecht's elimination of the clause in verse 5, 'to restore Jacob to Himself,' &c., for which LXX give him no warrant, does not get rid of all difficulties. In verse 6 it is quite evident to the unbiassed student that the establishment of Jacob's tribes, and the restoration of Israel's preserved (or probably we should read 'dispersed') race, is actually regarded as an ultimate but quite subsidiary purpose of the servant's commission. That commission is directed to the *Gentiles*. Here we see the divergence between the Deutero-Isaiah, who thought of little else but the restoration to Zion, and his great teacher and predecessor. The 'Servant' *here* is the purified and ennobled Jewish remnant, whose mission is to the Gentile world first, and to his Jewish and Israelite (Ephraimite) countrymen last. See Giesebrecht's *Der Knecht Jahves*, pp. 41-6, and the clear and able but inconclusive note by Dr. Peake, *Problem of Suffering*, pp. 46 following.

the LORD, In an acceptable time have I answered thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee: and I will preserve thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, to raise up the land, to make them inherit the desolate heritages; saying to them that are bound, Go forth; to 9
them that are in darkness, Shew yourselves. They shall feed in the ways, and on all bare heights shall be their pasture. They shall not hunger nor thirst; neither 10
shall the heat nor sun smite them: for he that hath mercy on them shall lead them, even by the springs of

Because of Yahweh who is faithful—the Holy One of Israel that[1]
hath chosen thee.'

Here the rendering 'despised' corresponds to a slight alteration of the hardly intelligible form of our Hebrew text. The despised and loathed people is to be honoured by kings.

8. 'Thus saith Yahweh . . .
"In a time of favour do I answer thee and in the day of victory do
I help thee."'

The first line of this second quatrain is defective. Doubtless the latter part of the long line, which has been lost, contained epithets of Yahweh analogous to those of the first line of the preceding quatrain (verse 7), which likewise opens with the formula: 'Thus saith Yahweh.'

The 'time of favour' means the time when God's compassion and deliverance of His people begins to dawn.

'And will form and make you—a covenant-people—
To establish the land—to cause desolated heritages to be inherited.'

Respecting the covenant-people, see xlii. 6 and notes.

9. The expression **saying** continues the address of Yahweh to the exiles. Probably we ought to follow the LXX and restore the preposition 'all' before 'the ways,' and also the rhythmic balance of the parallel clauses:

'Upon all ways let them feed—on all bare hills be their pasture.'

10. The word rendered here **heat** we should translate 'glowing sand,' as in xxxv. 7. The heat which overpowers the traveller in

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[1] Literally, 'and he hath chosen thee,' which is equivalent to a relative or attributive clause. Students of Hebrew will consult Gesenius-Kautzsch's, *Hebrew Grammar*, 26th ed. § 111. 4 q.

11 water shall he guide them. And I will make all my mountains a way, and my high ways shall be exalted.
12 Lo, these shall come from far: and, lo, these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of

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the desert not only comes from the sun but is reflected from the sands. The rendering 'mirage' (based on the Arabic) does not fit either passage. See note on xxxv. 7.

11. The language reminds us of xl. 4[1].

12. The **land of Sînîm** has been a fruitful source of speculation. Interpreters who seek to locate this region appear to have looked towards the east because the north has already been mentioned, and also the west (expressed in the original by 'sea,' i. e. the Mediterranean Sea, which lay west to a Jew). In contrast to the west, the east naturally suggested itself, and the LXX identified the land with Persia. Moreover, Chinese scholars such as Victor von Strauss-Torney (in his Excursus contributed to Delitzsch's commentary on Isaiah, 3rd German ed., pp. 688 foll.) have laboured to identify the land with China. But there are phonetic difficulties in identifying Sînîm with China on account of the initial sibilant, which ought rather to be Ṣ (ts) than simply S. There is also an antecedent improbability that China was within the horizon of a Jew's (or indeed any Semite's) geographical knowledge at this time. There is no hint of it in the tables of races (Gen. x, xi), or in the long and minute catalogue in Ezek. xxvii, which probably represents the extent of the geographical world with which the Deutero-Isaiah's immediate predecessor was conversant. Nor have cuneiform data led us to the conclusion that China came within the Babylonian field of vision.

Accordingly we are led to regard favourably the identification of this name with *Syene*[2] (the modern Assouân). The emendation

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[1] In verse 11, the latter part of the long line, 'and my high ways shall be exalted,' forms a natural complement to the former, but seems to be metrically too short. The LXX render this latter portion: 'and [I will make] every high way a pasture for them.'

[2] This is rendered all the more probable because it is twice mentioned by Ezekiel (xxix. 10, xxx. 6, סְוֵנָה), in his prophecies on Egypt. In both these passages the LXX correctly reproduce the name. Accordingly the slight mutilation of our text in Isa. xlix. 12 must have taken place in early times (i. e. סונים into סינים). Both the Targum and Vulgate were on the right track in placing the land of Sînîm in the *south*.

Sinim. Sing, O heavens; and be joyful, O earth; and 13
break forth into singing, O mountains: for the LORD
hath comforted his people, and will have compassion
upon his afflicted.

But Zion said, Jehovah hath forsaken me, and the 14

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of a single character in our text which this involves is extremely slight. This identification was originally made by Michaelis and adopted by Döderlein, and it has recently been revived by Klostermann and Cheyne. Recent discoveries near Assouân have greatly enhanced its probability. Even as early as the eighth century we learn from Hos. ix. 3, 6 that refugees from the Northern Kingdom found an asylum in Egypt. The number must have been considerable in the time of Isaiah (xix. 19–22), and still greater a century later (Jer. xlii. 14, xliv). Quite recently in Assouân, where a considerable Jewish settlement must have existed, a large number of papyri have been discovered, which are nothing else than Jewish documents composed in Aramaic. They chiefly consist of deeds relating to property and marriage settlements written in what somewhat resembles the square Hebrew character. As the documents are carefully dated, and contain well-known Hebrew names, like those of the exile and post-exilian period, we have here a most valuable collateral testimony to the truth of the proposed identification[1]. Syene was one of the centres of the Jewish diaspora in Egypt (cf. another exilian prophecy parallel to this in xi. 11 foll.) from which the exiles were to be gathered to the homeland.

13. A short lyrical passage is appended as in xlii. 10, 11, xlv. 8, xlviii. 20, 21. In character it most resembles xliv. 23—several of whose expressions recur here, such as 'sing' (properly 'utter a ringing cry'), 'be joyful' ('exult'), and 'break forth into singing.'

Verses 14–21 foreshadow the restoration of the Zion-community and the increase of its population. A poem breathing a warm spirit of intense sympathy with Zion and its sorrows. It is made up of long-lined stanzas—each line consisting of two portions. Apparently there were, if we follow Duhm's arrangement, originally six stanzas, one of which (beginning of verse 19) has lost two lines. It is really a dialogue between Zion and her Divine husband, Yahweh.

14. Zion's plaint that she is forsaken. The underlying idea is thoroughly Semitic. '**Zion** is here, as in xl. 1 foll., 9 foll., the

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[1] The documents date from 471 to 411 B.C. The characters approximate those of the middle column (Aramaic-Egyptian) in the table p. 503 in Gesenius-Kautzsch's *Heb. Gram.*^{26}

15 Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? yea, these may forget, yet will not
16 I forget thee. Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands; thy walls are continually before me.
17 Thy children make haste; thy destroyers and they that
18 made thee waste shall go forth of thee. Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold: all these gather them-

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actual city of Jerusalem which is conceived of as a woman that should have or bring forth children, but is childless and barren. It is a characteristically Semitic conception that it is not the individuals who constitute the nation, but that the nation or town brings forth individuals. It is likewise an ancient idea that the exiles when withdrawn from the tribe are no longer regarded, properly speaking, as children of their original native country, but as the offspring of a foreign woman. Zion mourns that she is abandoned by Yahweh (cf. xl. 27), forgotten by her Lord' (Duhm). Cf. l. 1, liv. 6, where the idea is more fully expressed.

15. The reassuring answer of Yahweh: 'More faithful and steadfast is my love than even that of a mother to her child.' The meaning is quite clear, but not so the text. 'Even these forget' (or, *potential*, '*may* forget') is a change from the singular (woman) in the preceding clause to the plural. LXX render 'even a woman (some MSS. "mother") forgets these.' The word 'these' in our text is emphatic. Duhm, following the hint of the LXX, would read the word 'mothers' in place of 'these,' and render 'Even mothers may forget.' It is doubtful, however, whether any change in the Hebrew is needed.

16. A powerful metaphor. Yahweh has inscribed upon His palms the image of the ruined Zion soon to be rebuilt; but, as the future proved, not until about a century had passed by (lxii. 4-7; cf. Neh. i. 3, ii. 3) was this expectation fulfilled.

17. The reading of the Hebrew text as 'thy builders' (rather than 'thy sons') is demanded by a considerable consensus of ancient testimony, viz. the versions LXX, Vulg., Targ. It is also supported by Cod. Babyl. and by the Jewish interpreter Saadiah. 'Thy *builders*' will then stand in suitable contrast to 'thy destroyers and desolators' in the clause that immediately follows. It is not till verse 20 that any mention is made of Zion's new offspring. Cf. lxii. 5 and note.

18. Already the future inhabitants of Zion come streaming into the city from all sides. The poet uses a vivid metaphor, and

selves together, and come to thee. As I live, saith the
Lord, thou shalt surely clothe thee with them all as with
an ornament, and gird thyself with them, like a bride.
For, as for thy waste and thy desolate places and thy 19
land that hath been destroyed, surely now shalt thou be
too strait for the inhabitants, and they that swallowed
thee up shall be far away. The children of thy bereave- 20
ment shall yet say in thine ears, The place is too strait for
me: give place to me that I may dwell. Then shalt thou 21
say in thine heart, Who hath begotten me these, seeing I
have been bereaved of my children, and am solitary, [an

describes these new inhabitants as a bride's ornament wherewith the bridal city is to be adorned.

19. Probably Duhm is right in holding that the first part of this verse is the first line of a triplet stanza of which two lines which immediately follow are lost:—

> 'For thy devastations and desolations—and the land of thy demolition
> . . . . ,
> . . . . ;

The closing portion of the verse is the beginning of the next stanza of three lines, which are complete:—

> 'For now thou art too narrow for thy inhabitants—and thy destroyers are far removed.'

The first portion of the verse seems to form part of an incomplete sentence, and the latter portion does not naturally follow the first. This can best be explained by assuming that one or more lines between both have been lost.

20. The children (properly 'sons') **of thy bereavement** mean the sons who were born to thee (i. e. to Zion) in the days when thou wast childless, i. e. the returning exiles.

21. Zion is astonished in these latter days at the great accession to the number of her inhabitants, and exclaims, 'Who hath brought forth[1] for me these? seeing that I am childless and exile, and wandering to and fro]? and who hath brought up these? Behold, I was left alone; these, where were they?

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[1] The verb in Hebrew is masc., though the subject is obviously fem. But such irregularities of concord are not very infrequent in Hebrew. There is, therefore, no strong need to render 'who hath *begotten* me . . .' with R. V.

22 Thus saith the Lord GOD, Behold, I will lift up mine hand to the nations, and set up my ensign to the peoples: and they shall bring thy sons in their bosom, and thy

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barren [exiled and cast away]. And these, who hath reared them?' R. V. **wandering** (A. V. 'removing') **to and fro** is an incorrect rendering.

These verses 20, 21 are best understood by reverting to the custom whereby slave-girls—e. g. Hagar, Bilhah, and Zilpah—are employed by their mistresses when barren to raise up offspring. Compare with this passage Sarah's strange remark in reference to Hagar, 'Perhaps I shall be *built up* from her' (Gen. xvi. 2; cf. xxx. 3). Zion is the unfruitful wife. The strange woman who has borne the children is the land of exile in which the Jewish exiles have grown up. The words enclosed in brackets in the rendering given above are absent from the LXX, and are due either to the gloss of some scribe, or more probably to a dittography of the word translated 'barren.' They are altogether misleading and inappropriate. For Zion could not in any sense be called *exiled* and cast away, since the term Zion can only denote the *place* and the inhabitants who are *in* the place.

'**Where were they?**' (or A. V. 'where have they been?') is the rendering of LXX and of most interpreters ever since, including the late Dr. Franz Delitzsch. Recent expositors, however, prefer to render the Hebrew, 'How is it with them?' i. e. of what character are they, are they actually my children? So Duhm, Dillmann, Kittel, and others. But it is extremely doubtful whether the Hebrew interrog. particle here bears this meaning, and the reference to Judges viii. 18 (see Moore, *ad loc.*) is fallacious. Accordingly we adhere to the rendering of the R. V. 'where were they?' i. e. what was their place of residence? Probably nearly all the returning exiles had been born and bred in or near Babylonia. Zion, the old and now bereaved and childless mother-city, does not know these foreign-born Jews that are crowding within her borders.

xlix. 22—l. 3 contain three short oracle-poems of comfort and reassurance for Israel. The metre differs from the preceding, and no longer consists of the long lines of verses 14–21, but of lines of more uniform measure, like verses 1–13, which can be regarded as single lines or as pairs, i. e. distichs. (Marti.)

(*a*) Verses 22, 23. At the signal of Yahweh the nations will

daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders. And 23
kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy

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carry Zion's children back to her and do abject homage to her greatness. Zion shall then realize the might of Yahweh, and His faithful followers shall no longer be despondent :—

> See! I lift up to nations my hand,
> And to peoples I hoist up my banner,
> And they shall bring in thy sons in (their) bosom,
> And thy daughters shall be borne on the shoulder.'

The spectacle of foreign nations at Yahweh's command carrying the exiles back to their old land and city affords a strange contrast to the conception of the Suffering Servant portrayed elsewhere, more especially in the 'Servant-songs'; but the following verse enhances the contrast. This powerful figure of the banner, which is Isaianic (v. 26), is a favourite one among writers exilian and post-exilian (xi. 10, 12, xiii. 2, lxii. 10), and the conception of foreign nations carrying Israel back from exile at Yahweh's bidding is borrowed by the Trito-Isaiah (lx. 4 foll., lxvi. 12, 19, 20).

23. The office of *ōmēn*, rendered **nursing father**[1], which we might translate by 'warder,' and somewhat resembled the Greek *παιδαγωγός*, appears to have been a recognized position in princely families. We know that they had definite duties in rearing and training the royal sons in Ahab's court (2 Kings x. 1, 5). The Hebrew word is really a participle, and means one who supports or props up. Perhaps the original function of the *ōmēn* was to support or carry the very young children.

The Hebrew word rendered here **queens** properly means 'princesses,' just as the corresponding masculine word (not employed here) means in Hebrew 'captain' or 'prince.' But here the parallelism clearly shows that the rendering 'queens' is correct. Moreover, the corresponding word in the Babylonian language means 'queens' (just as the corresponding masculine sing. means 'king'). We have here another subtle indication of the Babylonian influence over the writer.

The sentiment of the passage, describing the abject homage paid by foreign rulers to Zion, stands in strange and dissonant contrast to the high ideals of the 'Suffering Servant.' Duhm is so painfully impressed with it that he would be glad if it were possible to regard the first two lines of this verse as an interpolation. These foreign rulers prostrate themselves in reverent homage to Zion, as though Babylon, the former mistress of nations, and Zion, the conquered and demolished city, had exchanged

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[1] This rendering appears to be due to the LXX, *τιθηνοί*.

nursing mothers: they shall bow down to thee with their faces to the earth, and lick the dust of thy feet; and thou shalt know that I am the LORD, and they that wait for
24 me shall not be ashamed. Shall the prey be taken from

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mutually their respective roles. Cf. Mic. vii. 17 and Ps. lxxii. 9. 'Licking the dust of thy feet' (like 'kissing the feet[1]') was the Oriental expression of a vassal's homage. We constantly meet with it in the Tell-el-Amarna inscriptions, in the series of letters from Abimelech governor of Tyre to the Egyptian king (about 1400 B. C.): 'To the King, my Lord, my God, my Sun. Thus doth Abimelech, thy servant, prostrate himself seven times and yet seven times under the feet of the King my Lord. I am dust beneath the shoe of the King, my Lord[2].'

(*b*) Verses 24-26. Israel may rest assured that Yahweh will not fail in accomplishing the deliverance of His people.

24. The ordinary formula, 'thus saith Yahweh,' followed by the ascription to Him of titles such as 'Redeemer of Israel,' 'thy Creator,' &c., is omitted at the beginning of this brief oracle. Duhm would supply it. Not infrequently only the first part of the opening line, 'Thus saith Yahweh,' appears in the text, the rest of the line being omitted by the copyist. A considerable amount of uncertainty, both as to text, meaning, and even genuineness, attaches to this verse. (1) LXX evidently pronounced the word rendered 'is taken' as an active and not a passive form: 'Shall one take from the mighty man (lit. giant) spoil.' This is quite possible, but not so probable as the vocalization of the Hebrew text, which fits the parallel clause better. (2) The next clause in the original runs thus: 'or shall the captive of the just one escape?' This seems to be the only possible rendering of the text as it stands. Both A. V. and R. V., 'lawful captive' (plur. in R. V.), though supported by Hitzig, is hardly possible. The R. V. (marg.) is on the right track, 'the captives of the just.' But the word 'just'

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[1] 'Kissing the feet' is a phrase that constantly recurs ('kissed my feet') in the annals of the Assyrian kings to describe the homage of foreign conquered potentates. Cf. Ps. ii. 12, and Schrader, *COT.*, ii. p. 155.

[2] See Winckler in Schrader, *KIB.*, vol. v, Letters 149, 150, 151, 152, where each letter opens with this abject formula. As a pictorial illustration, the visitor to the British Museum should examine the relief on the black obelisk of Shalmaneser II, that portrays the Israelite deputation bringing tokens of homage and gifts to the Assyrian king. The foremost figure bows himself prostrate to the dust.

the mighty, or the lawful captives be delivered? But thus 25
saith the LORD, Even the captives of the mighty shall be
taken away, and the prey of the terrible shall be delivered:
for I will contend with him that contendeth with thee,
and I will save thy children. And I will feed them that 26
oppress thee with their own flesh; and they shall be

seems to mar the parallelism. It hardly corresponds to 'the mighty men' of the preceding clause. Now if we turn to the following verse we are supplied with the adjective that probably stood in the original text in the place of the word for 'just,' viz. the word rendered 'terrible one' in the R.V. (better, 'violent one' or 'tyrant'). Accordingly it would be better, to substitute this word in the original. It might easily be corrupted into the word for 'just.' This emendation is supported by the Peshiṭto (i. e. Syriac version) and Vulg., and perhaps by the LXX. Therefore render: 'or shall the captive of the tyrant escape?' (3) Marti, on the other hand, adheres to the text. The 'just one' is God, and the term 'mighty one' might also be applied to Him (cf. ix. 6 [Heb. 5], 'Hero-God'). This verse he holds to be a gloss to the following, which is Deutero-Isaianic and begins with the Deutero-Isaianic formula, 'Thus saith Yahweh' (which Duhm would place at the beginning of verse 24). But this view is highly unsatisfactory. Verse 24 is a necessary predecessor to verse 25. We have here an argument parallel to verses 14, 15 above. Even the will of the strongest human despot can be frustrated; his captive may escape or his spoil be filched by another, but *my* will is never frustrated (cf. xlvi. 10, 11):—

25. 'Even the captive of the mighty is taken,
And the spoil of the tyrant escapes;
But with thy foe 'tis *I* am contending,
And thy sons 'tis *I* that shall save.'

26 brings this sequence of thought to its natural conclusion. But the shrill impassioned note of a vengeful nationalism that meets us here and so frequently in the Psalms is distressful to the Christian consciousness, and marks the beginning of the decline from the pure and serene heights of the 'Servant-songs.'

them that oppress thee here refer to the Babylonians: cf. xlvii. 6 (latter part). The epithet 'mighty one of Jacob'[1] drunken with their own blood, as with sweet wine: and all flesh shall know that I the LORD am thy saviour, and thy redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob.

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[1] This epithet, like 'excellency (or "glory") of Jacob' in Amos vi. 8 (probably Ephraimite in origin), may have been very ancient. Barton, in his *Semitic Origins*, p. 129, compares the epithet,

50 Thus saith the LORD, Where is the bill of your mother's divorcement, wherewith I have put her away?

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meets us in lx. 16. The 'sweet wine' (Heb. *'āsîs*) means here new wine or must.

CHAPTER L.

(*c*) 1-3. The *third* oracle of comfort. Zion has not been finally and irrevocably abandoned by Yahweh as though she had been dismissed with a bill of divorce, and the children sold into slavery. Yahweh is still the God of might who will redeem Israel.

1. The first line of the strophe is once more defective. 'Thus saith Yahweh' is all that stands in our text. Cf. similar defective lines in xlii. 5, xlix. 8 and 22. Duhm thinks that the last portion has been misplaced to the close of verse 26 owing to the influence of the passage in Trito-Isaiah lx. 16, where the phraseology of xlix. 26 recurs. Accordingly he completes the line thus:

'Thus saith Yahweh . . . —[thy Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob]'—

the portion supplied (in brackets) forming a metrical superfluity at the close of xlix. 26, but a metrical aid in completing the line at the opening of chap. l.

The customary law respecting divorce which prevailed in Israel was settled in the Deuteronomic legislation (Deut. xxiv. 1 foll.). It was based on the old Oriental conception of wife-purchase (a price called *mōhar* being paid by the husband's parents, or by himself to the wife's family[1]). This involved the absolute supremacy of the husband. Thus it was only the husband who gave the writ of divorce to the wife, not vice versa. On the other hand, this writ gave the woman entire freedom to marry another.

The interrogative form of the sentence is often employed in Hebrew as a rhetorical mode of expressing a negative. This is the actual force of the interrogative here, 'Where is . . .?' [Nowhere]. The idea underlying the passage is that Zion, though not finally separated from Yahweh by a writ of divorce, is nevertheless temporally abandoned by Yahweh during the exile period when her children have departed and her temple has been

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'Strong one of Riyâm' in Mordtmann's *Himjarische Inschriften*, nos. 825, 826, 830, &c.

[1] See *Hebrew Antiquities* (Rel. Tract Soc.), p. 14, and on the 'Writ of Divorce,' p. 19; cf. Ewald, *Altertümer*, p. 272.

or which of my creditors is it to whom I have sold you? Behold, for your iniquities were ye sold, and for your

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destroyed. The conception therefore bears a close analogy to Hos. iii. 4. So long as Israel existed as a state, it was wedded. During the exile Yahweh no longer dwells as Israel's husband in Zion. According to lii. 8, He will not return there until the people have been redeemed and restored, and the temple in Jerusalem rebuilt. Meanwhile He does not forget His people (xlix. 14–16), but He does not dwell among the Palestinian Jews, nor among the Babylonian exiles or other portions of the *diaspora*, but in Heaven (cf. xl. 22). This was also the view of Ezekiel, who held that after the capture of Jerusalem Yahweh withdrew. The place to which He withdrew was the sky, which in the first vision (Ezek. i. 1) Ezekiel sees 'opened.' This would be in accordance with Israel's most primitive conception of Yahweh as a deity of the sky and of storm[1]. Thus in Ezekiel's vision He is portrayed as throned on Cherubim and surrounded with heavenly glory.

which of my creditors is it to whom I have sold you? again anticipates, like the preceding interrogative, a negative answer: 'To none.' The form of the question is based on ancient Oriental custom. In times of great necessity, which frequently befel the peasant during the ninth and eighth centuries owing to the power of the rich landowning class and the exigencies of war, even the children might be sold into slavery to meet the exactions of the harsh and rapacious creditor (2 Kings iv. 1; cf. Amos ii. 6, viii. 6, and also Isa. v. 8; Mic. ii. 2)[2]. The writer here intends to convey the meaning that this condition has no actual existence. Yahweh has no creditor to whom anything is owing, or whom He cannot pay. Neither has He formally and finally divorced His wife (Zion), nor has He sold through dire need His and her children. Accordingly there is no obstacle to prevent His taking wife and children back to Himself. It is true that they have been sold, i. e. delivered up into the hands of the enemy (lii. 3; cf. Judges ii. 14, iii. 8, &c.), and the mother has been abandoned to desolation and ruin by foes (xlix. 21), but the reason for this consists in the sins and rebellions of Israel[3] (cf. Dillmann-Kittel).

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[1] Cf. vol. i of this commentary, Introduction, p. 51 footnote.

[2] Cf. art. 'Servant, Slave,' in Hastings' *DB.*, vol. iv, p. 463 *b*, and vol. i of this commentary, Introduction, p. 43.

[3] The distinction between mother and children consists in the association of motherhood with the place of abode (Zion).

2 transgressions was your mother put away. Wherefore, when I came, was there no man? when I called, was there none to answer? Is my hand shortened at all, that it cannot redeem? or have I no power to deliver? Behold, at my rebuke I dry up the sea, I make the rivers a wilderness: their fish stinketh, because there is no
3 water, and dieth for thirst. I clothe the heavens with blackness, and I make sackcloth their covering.
4 [S. The Lord God hath given me the tongue of them that

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2. Assurance and comfort are mingled with reproach for lack of faith and courage. There is no lack of power and readiness to save on God's part. Through His prophet (the Deutero-Isaiah) He has come and called, but there is no response. Can it be that His people doubts His power to save? In this verse the writer becomes reminiscent of Israel's past deliverances—more especially does he single out the scenes and events accompanying the Exodus. For **stinketh** read another Hebrew word which closely resembles that which is rendered 'stinketh' (*tib'ash*), viz. *tibash*, which means 'is dried up' (LXX). Cf. Ex. xiv. 16, 21, 22.

3. Another manifestation of Divine power, this time directed against Israel's enemies. The skies are clothed with a gloom that is funereal. Sackcloth as the outer expression of grief or humiliation (often with dust on the head) is frequent in O. T. (Dan. ix. 3; 2 Sam. iii. 31; 1 Kings xx. 32; Isa. iii. 24, xv. 3, xxii. 12; Jer. iv. 8, vi. 26, xlix. 3, &c.). Here again we have an allusion to the scenes of the Exodus, Ex. xiv. 20.

Verses 4-9 form the *third* of the series of '*Servant-songs.*' It consists of three stanzas of four long elegiac lines each, and obviously bears no relation to the verses that precede, while it is no less clear that the verse which immediately follows is intended to be a pendant to it and calls attention to its contents. Here again, as in xlix. 1-6, the preceding 'Servant-song,' the servant speaks, and we should probably be right in assuming that here, as there, he speaks to the 'foreign nations afar' (xlix. 1).

4. the tongue of them that are taught: lit. 'a tongue of disciples' (so R. V. marg.)—disciples who themselves aspire to be teachers (Dillmann-Kittel). The second line of this stanza is very uncertain. The word rendered **sustain** (on the authority of Aq. and Vulg.) has no parallel bearing this meaning in the O. T. The same form in other passages bears a very different sense. It has therefore been naturally suspected as a corruption, and this view is confirmed by the LXX, which had another, not dissimilar, form in are taught, that I should know how to sustain with words him that is weary: he wakeneth morning by morning, he wakeneth mine ear to hear as they that are taught. The 5 Lord GOD hath opened mine ear, and I was not rebellious, neither turned away backward. I gave my back to the 6 smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair:

their text, 'in its own (proper) time.' The rendering of this version is: 'The Lord gives me a tongue of wisdom to know at the right time when to speak a word.' The emendations of the text which have been proposed are endless, and we will not confuse the reader by setting them forth in detail.

The latter part of the verse, as it appears in the LXX, is unintelligible. Our Hebrew text has evidently been obscured by dittography [1]. Duhm endeavours to restore the rhythm of the elegiac metre (*ḳînah*) and renders:—

'At early morn he awakens mine ear—to hear as disciples.'

5. We here see a higher conception of the ideal servant of Yahweh. He is portrayed as sinless, obedient to the Divine will. Far different is the conception of the Servant Israel in the Deutero-Isaiah in xlii. 18-25, the portrait of no mere idealist.

6. Another characteristic trait of the Servant-passages which distinguishes this portraiture from that of the Deutero-Isaiah—the *submissive patience* of the sufferer. This feature will attain its climax in the final poem of the series.

Plucked off the hair here means plucking the hair of the beard—a mode of insult practised in the ancient Orient and not unknown in Europe. Compare the severe treatment by Nehemiah of the Jews who married wives from Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab (Neh. xiii. 25). Even ancient Italy gives examples. Horace may be held to have understood and portrayed the prevalent habits of the young *gamins* of Italy when he writes (*Sat.* i. 3. 133):—

'vellunt tibi barbam
lascivi pueri, quos tu nisi fuste coërces,
urgueris turba circum te stante miserque
rumperis et latras.'

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[1] The repetition of phrase seems even to extend to verse 5. Duhm, Marti, and Cheyne are agreed in cancelling the first clause; so apparently Budde (*ZATW.* xi (1891), p. 238). Verse 5 accordingly reads:—

'And I have not been rebellious—have not backslided.'

7 I hid not my face from shame and spitting. For the
Lord GOD will help me; therefore have I not been
confounded: therefore have I set my face like a flint,
8 and I know that I shall not be ashamed. He is near
that justifieth me; who will contend with me? let us
stand up together: who is mine adversary? let him come
9 near to me. Behold, the Lord GOD will help me; who

7. The consciousness that Yahweh is his support enables the suffering servant to endure these humiliations. It is better to regard the copula in the original as adversative. Translate: 'Nevertheless (or 'yet,' not '**for**' as R.V.) the Lord, Yahweh, helps me—therefore I did not feel put to shame.' Instead of feeling keenly sensitive to insult and reproach 'I set my face like a flint[1].' The expression is closely analogous to that of Ezek. iii. 8, 9, where the prophet is strengthened by Yahweh to maintain a stern front like adamant towards his countrymen.

8. The servant's sufferings are regarded as a trial in a court of justice in which God supports him. So sure does Yahweh's servant feel of victory that he is emboldened to challenge his opponents to a contest. Israel, Yahweh's servant, can safely leave his cause in God's hands, who will vindicate his right.

'He who vindicates my right is near, who contends with me?
let us take our stand together.
Who is opponent in my suit?—let him draw nigh unto me.'

9 continues the note of assurance in Yahweh's moral support in the struggle. Here, as in verse 7, it is better to render the Hebrew imperfect by present rather than future tenses. Accordingly translate:—

'Behold the Lord Yahweh helps me, who is he that shall condemn me[2].'

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[1] The word here rendered 'flint,' *ḥallāmîsh*, appears to be the same as the Assyrian *elmêšu*, a precious brilliant stone, probably a diamond; one among the seven which adorn the person of a king or god (see Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*).

[2] The reader will not fail to compare the employment of this passage by St. Paul in Rom. viii. 31-39. The citation in verse 33 is strengthened by the apostle's appeal in the preceding verse to the fact that Yahweh 'spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all (see Sanday-Headlam's Comm. *ad loc.*).

Here again we note, as in verse 1 (in this Isaiah chapter), that the interrogative is a rhetorical form of expressing a negative, viz. '*none* shall condemn.'

is he that shall condemn me? behold, they all shall wax old as a garment; the moth shall eat them up.]

Who is among you that feareth the LORD, that obeyeth 10 the voice of his servant? he that walketh in darkness, and hath no light, let him trust in the name of the LORD,

For **wax old** substitute 'perish' or 'decay' ('fall to pieces'). The Deutero-Isaiah repeats this phraseology of the decaying garment and the moth-eaten fabric in li. 6, 8. Cf. Hos. v. 12; Job xiii. 28; Ps. xxxix. 11 [12 Heb.], cii. 26 [27 Heb.].

10 is a natural transition from the poem cited by the Deutero-Isaiah to that writer's own application of the words to his contemporaries. The first clause might be regarded as an appeal to pious Jews, the latter as referring, though not directly addressed, to heathen (or lapsed Jews) who have walked in the darkness of polytheism. This would certainly be in accordance with the high ideal and prevailing spirit of the writer of the Servant-passages (cf. Introduction to this vol., p. 22 foll.).

On the other hand, Duhm, Marti, and Cheyne regard both this and the following verse as a later addition. Duhm holds that they both come from the editor's hand, as we have already seen to have been the case in the insertions of chap. xlviii. In our opinion this view has no cogency whatever when applied to verse 10, but only to verse 11. In verse 10 there is an evident transition. The servant no longer speaks in the first person, but is spoken of in the third; yet the reference to the preceding Servant-poem is obvious. We have already an analogous case in xlii. 5, 6, which stand related to the preceding 'Servant-passage' and deal with a similar theme. Like xlii. 5, 6, this verse comes from the Deutero-Isaiah. Dillmann-Kittel rightly assert that neither language nor contents furnish any argument against this view. Moreover li. 1 follows l. 10 in more natural sequence.

The opening of the verse should be rendered thus: 'Whosoever[1] among you feareth Yahweh—let him hearken to His servant's voice.' This involves a very slight emendation of the Hebrew text, which thus reads, 'let him hearken' (as the LXX evidently read in their original). This stands in parallelism with the following clause, which also begins with a relative:—

'Whoso hath walked in darkness—and hath not a gleam of light,
Let him trust in Yahweh's name—and lean upon his God.'

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[1] The Hebrew student in reference to this use of the Hebrew interrogative will consult Davidson, *Heb. Syntax*, § 8, and refer to Judges vii. 3; Exod. xxxii. 26.

11 and stay upon his God. [Behold, all ye that kindle a fire, that gird yourselves about with firebrands: walk ye in the flame of your fire, and among the brands that ye have kindled. This shall ye have of mine hand; ye shall lie down in sorrow.]

51 Hearken to me, ye that follow after righteousness, ye

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11. A verse of very different spirit and alien to the thought of the chapter. We are reminded of the bitter tone of the editorial comments to chap. xlviii. This verse evidently comes from the same hand. It is a final redactional addition like xlviii. 22, and is addressed by Yahweh to the apostates of a later time.

The Hebrew verbal form translated 'gird yourselves about with' is obviously inappropriate, and has been rightly suspected as a corruption. The slight emendation proposed by Secker is based on the rendering of the Peshiṭto (Syriac) version, and has been adopted by Oort, Duhm, and other critics. Accordingly render:—

'See all of you that kindle a fire—set brands alight,
Enter the flame of your fire—and the brands ye have set a-burning!'

The word here translated **kindle** is characteristic of later Hebrew. It occurs in Trito-Isaiah (lxiv. 1), and in Jer. xvii. 4 (which is held by recent critics to be late—see Cornill). The concluding sentence reminds us of the stern spirit of xlviii. 22:—

'From my hand hath this come upon you—in the place of torment shall ye lie!' (Cf. lxvi. 24.)

CHAPTER LI.

Verses 1–8 are a highly poetical and inspiring poem announcing the near approach of Yahweh's deliverance, and the extension of His rule over the world. Once more we have the elegiac measure, and the poem is distributed into five stanzas of four long lines each, all of which, except the defective second stanza, begin with an imperative.

1, 2. We have in the opening verses a characteristic trait of exilian and later Hebrew poetry—reminiscences of early patriarchal history[1]. The example of the aged Abraham and the barren

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[1] 'Whence ye were hewn . . . whence ye were digged.' On the elliptical construction of these relative clauses in the original the student of Hebrew will consult Gesen.-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*^{26}, § 155 k. The word for 'pit' in the original (*bôr*) seems metrically redundant in the second or shorter portion of the line. Duhm and Marti would reject it.

that seek the LORD: look unto the rock whence ye were
hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye were digged.
Look unto Abraham your father, and unto Sarah that 2
bare you: for when he was but one I called him, and I
blessed him, and made him many. For the LORD hath 3
comforted Zion: he hath comforted all her waste places,
and hath made her wilderness like Eden, and her desert
like the garden of the LORD; joy and gladness shall be
found therein, thanksgiving, and the voice of melody.

Sarah, who became the parents of a great nation, is here adduced as an encouragement to faith and hope. Cf. in N. T. Matt. iii. 9; Heb. xi. 12. Render, 'ye that pursue after the cause of right,' i.e. make the victory of the right cause (which is that of Yahweh's own people) your quest. Respecting this difficult Heb. word *ṣedeḳ*, here to be rendered 'right cause' and not 'righteousness,' see above note on xlv. 13.

There is no need to assume here with Duhm mysterious references to ancient myths connected with hollows at Hebron. The metaphor is that of a quarry from which the building-material for a house is derived. It naturally arose in the mind of a race that called a family, clan, or people a 'house' (the Arabs call it a 'tent,' *ahl*). Cf. the language of Sarah in Gen. xvi. 2 (R. V. marg.).

Verse 2 may perhaps be based on a literary reminiscence of Gen. xii. 2 (J)[1].

3. Evidently, as Duhm correctly surmises, the first line of this second stanza has been lost with the imperative at its head. To the exhortation of this lost line the word **for** must bear reference.

The Perfects **hath comforted,** &c., correspond to the same tense in the original. Probably they should be regarded as perfects expressing in reference to the future *certainty* or *assurance* (Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.* ^{26}, § 106. 3 b; Davidson, *Heb. Syntax*, § 41 (*a*) and (*b*)). We should then render by a future or a present tense: 'Yahweh will comfort (or comforteth) Zion.'

Once more we have a reminiscence of early legend. The references to Eden and Yahweh's garden suggest an acquaintance with Gen. ii. 8 (J). That Babylonia was the original home of the

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[1] LXX hover between 'loved him' and 'multiplied him,' i.e. as Ottley points out, between the two texts אהבהו and ארבהו, of which the latter is undoubtedly right, B reads the first and ℵ A Q have a conflation of both readings.

4 Attend unto me, O my people; and give ear unto me,
O my nation: for a law shall go forth from me, and I will
make my judgement to rest for a light of the peoples.
5 My righteousness is near, my salvation is gone forth, and
mine arms shall judge the peoples; the isles shall wait for

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legend may be shown from numerous indications, and this fact may have stimulated the allusion here [1]. Cf. also Ezek. xxviii. 13.

Verses 4, 5 announce the spread of the religion of Yahweh to the end of the world. This, according to the writer of the Servant-songs (xlix. 6), was to be Israel's main function as Yahweh's servant. The Deutero-Isaiah here reproduces the lesson. The address is now specially made to the *people*, not merely to Yahweh's faithful followers (verse 1).

4. The text of the close of this verse probably needs amending. Two indications point in this direction. (1) The Hebrew verb 'I will make . . . to rest,' which stands at the close of verse 4 in our Hebrew text, is differently read in the LXX, and is placed at the beginning of the following verse. (2) The latter portion of this elegiac line in verse 4 is metrically too long in our Hebrew text. It would therefore be safer to follow the guidance of the LXX and render the closing line :—

'For instruction shall go forth from me—and my judgment
as a light for nations.'

5. The opening of this verse will then read :—

'In a moment[2] my vindication is nigh—my victory has gone
forth.'

The word here rendered 'vindication' is the Heb. *ṣedeḳ* = 'right,' but used frequently in the pregnant sense of *victory of the right cause*, as the parallelism clearly shows, where the word rendered above 'salvation' may be appropriately expressed by 'victory'; see above note on verses 1, 2 and xlv. 13. The verb translated 'gone forth' is often employed to express the rising of the sun (Gen. xix. 23; Ps. xix. 6). For 'isles' read as before (xi. 11,

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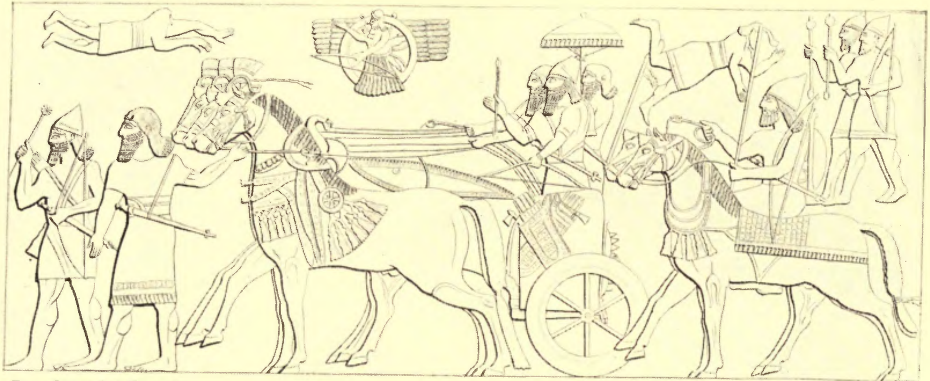
[1] Schrader, *COT.*, i, p. 26 foll.; A. Jeremias, *Das A.T. im Lichte des alten Orients,*[2] pp. 188 foll. Babylonia was the land of pleasure-gardens. See art. 'Garden,' in *Enc. Bibl.* Instead of the passive form, "shall be found," LXX evidently pronounced the form as active (*Ḳal*), 'one shall find.' This obviates the grammatical difficulty of gender.

[2] Reading בְּרֶגַע (cf. liv. 7). So Oort and Ryssell.



From Layard's 'Nineveh'

Assyrian King Returning in Triumph

me, and on mine arm shall they trust. Lift up your eyes 6
to the heavens, and look upon the earth beneath: for the
heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall
wax old like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall
die in like manner: but my salvation shall be for ever,
and my righteousness shall not be abolished.

Hearken unto me, ye that know righteousness, the 7
people in whose heart is my law; fear ye not the reproach
of men, neither be ye dismayed at their revilings. For 8
the moth shall eat them up like a garment, and the worm

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xx. 6, xxiv. 15, xl. 15, xli. 1, 5, xlii. 4, 10, 12, xlix. 1), 'coastlands[1].'

6. A sublime conception, reminding us of xl. 6-8, but here the comparison is not between God's word and the perishable flowers and grass, but between the Divine achievement of salvation and the more permanent cosmic elements of sky and earth. Even the latter shall perish, while God's work for humanity endures[2].

7. The word here rendered **men** is a term (Heb. *ĕnôsh*) that expresses man in his weakness and limitation. It is the word translated 'man' in the first clause of Ps. viii. 4 (5 Heb.). It is best represented by the word 'mortals' (or 'mortal').

8. We have in the opening parallel clauses a pair of Hebrew synonyms for 'moth,' for which our language does not provide equivalents. Both, however, are found in the Semitic languages, including Assyrian, 'There are many species of the *Tineidae* or "clothes-moths" in the Holy Land. They are small lepidopterous shall eat them like wool: but my righteousness shall be for ever, and my salvation unto all generations.

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[1] Instead of **'Mine arms shall judge the peoples'** LXX have 'For my arms shall nations hope.'—Obviously the latter is a blunder involving a weak repetition of phrase.

[2] Something in the way of reconstruction of text in this stanza seems needful, if metre is to be preserved. The words 'from beneath' at the close of the first line overweight the latter part of the line, and might be rejected as a gloss (though sustained by the LXX). Following Duhm's bold reconstruction verse 6 will run thus:—

'Lift up your eyes to the heavens—and look on the earth,
For the heavens fly in tatters like smoke—and the earth like a robe,
The world shall decay, and its dwellers—shall die as the gnats,
Yet my salvation shall abide for ever—and my justice unbroken.'

There is no need to alter the last word in the verse in deference to the loose rendering of the LXX, 'shall not fail.'

9 Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord;

insects which commit immense havoc in clothes, carpets, tapestry, &c.' (Post in Hastings' *DB.*) Instead of 'moth' LXX renders in first clause 'time' (reading *'ēth* for *'āsh* in the original). This breaks the parallelism. The parallel in the second clause of our R. V. 'worm' is inadequate.

Verses 9–11 are an appeal to Yahweh to display His power as in olden times. Verse 11, though it fits fairly into the context, is distinct in metrical form and is evidently an addition by a later writer borrowed from xxxv. 10, where it is not only metrically consistent with the verses that precede but also harmonious in sense. Chap. xxxv (like its predecessor) is evidently late and abounds in reminiscences (cf. vol. i, p. 347). As we may probably regard that poem as composed not much earlier than 400 B. C., we have in this verse an indication possessing a certain evidential value for determining approximately the date of an early redaction of the Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah (xl–lxvi); see below, p. 238.

9. The metre is the same as that of the preceding poem, i. e. elegiac. The invocation is addressed to Yahweh's arm as the embodiment of His strength. As the arm in Hebrew is feminine, the personal pronouns in the original are feminine also (viz. 'thou,' 'it'). **Put on** is in the original literally 'clothe thee with.' This is a frequently recurring metaphor in the O. T., qualities being materialized as apparel or armour. Cf. lix. 17; Ephes. vi. 14 foll., Col. iii. 12, 14; Isa. lii. 1, lxi. 3, &c.

We have here a deeply interesting survival of the old mythology of the Semitic-Hebrew race. These reminiscences (as Cheyne has pointed out) may well have been revived by contact with Babylonian traditions in Babylonia, since Babylonia, preserved these mythologies in their fullest and most elaborated form. Rahab corresponds to the Babylonian *Tiâmat*, the dragon-goddess of the dark chaotic water-depth who was smitten by *Marduk*, god of light. Cf. vol. i, p. 316 in this commentary (note on xxx. 7). The conflict is described in the fourth Creation-tablet, lines 91 foll., cited at the close of this chapter.

It is noteworthy that the LXX entirely omit the clause with its mythological reference to Rahab. This is not improbably due to the scruples which influenced the Greek translators, and led them to suppress or modify anthropomorphisms[1]. A comparison with

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[1] Riehm, *Einleitung in das A.T.*, vol. ii, p. 486. A comparison with Job xxvi. 12 suggests that the omission may have been due to the inability of the translator to understand the original.

awake, as in the days of old, the generations of ancient times. Art thou not it that cut Rahab in pieces, that
pierced the dragon? Art thou not it which dried up the 10
sea, the waters of the great deep; that made the depths

Job xxvi. 12 indicates that the slight modification of the Hebrew text, proposed here by Houbigant and favourably regarded by later critics, might be accepted. We should then substitute for 'cut Rahab in pieces' the rendering 'shattered Rahab in pieces[1].' The supposition that Rahab *merely* signifies Egypt and expresses either its might or its monarch (as in xxx. 7, but not necessarily in Ps. lxxiv. 13, lxxxvii. 4, lxxxix. 10 [Heb. 11]) only confuses the passage, though the following verse evidently suggests that in this passage, as well as in the later Psalm literature, Pharaoh and the power of Egypt were represented to the imagination of the Hebrew under the form of the monster of Semitic legend. For *Rahab Sit-still* (Isa. xxx. 7) read *Rahab the Vanquished* (*hammoshbāth*), based on the most probable reading of the Hebrew.

10. The **great deep** is an expression used in Gen. vii. 11, Amos vii. 4 to describe this vast chaotic water-depth which the Babylonians personified as the she-dragon Tiâmat. This dark water-depth beneath the earth was connected with the sea or ocean on which the earth was conceived to rest. See the diagram in Hastings' *DB.*, article 'Cosmogony,' vol. i, p. 503, or Bennett's *Genesis* (Century Bible) p. 66.

Old mythology here is blended with Israel's early beginnings in history. The drying-up of the waters of the great ocean ('the great deep') must be connected with the ancient Semitic myth of the struggle between the God of light (Heb. *Yahweh*, Babyl. *Marduk*) and the dragon of the dark chaotic water-depth (Heb. *Rahab*, Babyl. *Tiâmat*), here represented by the 'great deep.' Amos vii. 4 (eighth century B.C.) takes us somewhat nearer to the primitive legend where Yahweh's fire is conceived as burning up the great deep. The Rahab of the previous verse must be connected with the 'serpent' who inhabits the depth of the sea

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[1] On the other hand, when we turn to the Babylonian Creation-poem, tablet iv, lines 135 foll.:—

'The Lord [Marduk] rested . . . regarding her (i. e. Tiâmat's) corpse,
Parting the carcase . . . forming cunning plans,
He hewed her to pieces like a fish . . . a flat (?) one, in two halves;
From one half of it made and covered the heaven'—

this description of the conflict between Marduk and Tiâmat and the formation of the sky out of her body leads us to consider that our Hebrew text has after all preserved the true tradition.

11 of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over? [And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come with singing unto Zion; and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads: they shall obtain gladness and joy, *and* sorrow and sighing shall flee away.]

12 I, even I, am he that comforteth you: who art thou, that thou art afraid of man that shall die, and of the son
13 of man which shall be made as grass; and hast forgotten the Lord thy Maker, that stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth; and fearest

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to which Amos ix. 3 refers. The sea-monster, with which Yahweh comes in conflict, became connected to the early imagination of the Hebrews with the hostile power of Egypt in the dim past of their national history, and the struggle with Rahab with the struggle with Pharaoh, the great dark water-depth with the Red Sea, and the destruction of the dark water-depth and its chaotic power with the cleaving of a passage through the Red Sea 'for the redeemed to pass over.'

Verses 12-16. The answer to Israel's appeal in the preceding verses to the mighty Yahweh of the olden time is that the God of love is mighty still. Why does the exile forget Him and fear the oppressor? He shall be set free.

12. The duplication of the personal pron. here is characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah in lyrical passages (cf. 'awake,' 'awake' in verses 9, 17, lii. 1; 'depart ye,' lii. 11). The **man** whom Israel is not to fear is man in his weakness ('mortal'), expressed in the original by the same word (*ĕnôsh*) that is employed above in verse 7. In the original 'Who art thou that thou shouldst fear . . . ?' is expressed in the feminine, and this is supported by the LXX, who, however, seem to have followed a different text. It is obviously an error, as masc. forms immediately succeed in this verse. Probably the scribe was misled by the mention of Zion in the preceding verse (as well as in lii. 1) into supposing that it is Zion who is here addressed.

These verses evidently belong to an earlier time than the downfall of Babylon, when the Jewish exiles were still in a state of trembling uncertainty and were in dread of harsh treatment by the Babylonians.

13. The exiles are reminded of the permanent truths of Yahweh's universal rule and creative function, which they have forgotten. The language has now become to us familiar (xl. 22, xlii. 5, xliv. 24, xlv. 12).

continually all the day because of the fury of the oppressor, when he maketh ready to destroy? and where is the fury of the oppressor? The captive exile shall speedily be 14
loosed; and he shall not die *and go down* into the pit, neither shall his bread fail. For I am the LORD thy God, 15
which stirreth up the sea, that the waves thereof roar: the LORD of hosts is his name. And I have put my words 16
in thy mouth, and have covered thee in the shadow of mine hand, that I may plant the heavens, and lay the

For **when he maketh ready to destroy,** render, 'as though he had aimed [his arrow[1]] to destroy.' The object of the verb 'aimed' is not infrequently omitted in the Hebrew, as in Ps. xxi. 12 (13 Heb.). In Ps. vii. 12 (13 Heb.), and more especially in Ps. xi. 2 (3 Heb.), we have the fuller form of expression.

where is the fury, &c.? Again a rhetorical interrogative, to which the negative answer 'nowhere' is expected.

14. A difficult and obscure verse. For **the captive exile** substitute the rendering 'he that is bent (or bowed),' i. e. either in his confined dungeon or in the constraint of his chains. The verse seems to promise only speedy release and freedom from starvation. The LXX appear to base their interpretation on a much briefer text, quite different from our own.

Verses 15, 16 have been regarded by recent critics, Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti as an insertion. Verse 15 appears almost entire in Jer. xxxi. 35 *b*, but that cannot be regarded as a proof that it is not Deutero-Isaianic, as it is notorious that there are several Deutero-Isaianic insertions in the prophecies of Jeremiah[2] and we are disposed to regard this as one of them (so also Giesebrecht *ad loc.*).

15. The phrase **The LORD of hosts is his name** is a somewhat favourite formula with the Deutero-Isaiah: cf. xlvii. 4 [xlviii. 2], liv. 5. In the latter part of this verse the rendering of the R. V. **stirreth up** is correct (and not that of R. V. marg.). The LXX similarly render in their translation of the Hebrew participle.

16. Here again Deutero-Isaianic phraseology meets us. 'Conceal (cover) in the shadow of Yahweh's hand' is an obvious echo from the Servant-passage xlix. 2. **Plant the heavens** is a foundations of the earth, and say unto Zion, Thou art my people.

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[1] Or perhaps 'his bow,' as in Ps. vii. 13.

[2] e. g. Jer. xxx. 10, 11 (omitted in LXX), and its duplicate xlvi. 27, 28.

17 Awake, awake, stand up, O Jerusalem, which hast drunk

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literal rendering of the Hebrew original, but the reading can hardly be defended by the arguments which Dillmann employs. Job xiv. 9 is a slender ground for giving the Hebrew verb the signification here 'cause to grow anew.' The only safe course is to follow the Peshiṭto (Syriac) version and a series of expositors, including Lowth, who read in place of the Hebrew verb 'plant' a closely similar form 'extend,' 'stretch out,' often used by the Deutero-Isaiah in describing Yahweh's creative activity, i.e. 'stretching out the heavens' (xl. 22, xlii. 5, xliv. 24, xlv. 12). Similarly 'laying the foundation of the earth' is another characteristic expression of the Deutero-Isaiah (xlviii. 13), from which it has passed into Psalm literature (Ps. xxiv. 2, lxxviii. 69, cii. 25 [26 Heb.], civ. 5).

A survey of these three verses 14-16 convinces us that they are of Deutero-Isaianic authorship, but they have become mutilated. In verses 15, 16 the elegiac metre cannot in the present state of the text be recovered, while only the first half of a long line is preserved in the latter part of verse 14. The connexion of the clause 'that I may stretch out the heavens,' &c. with the words which precede, and are evidently an address to the servant Israel, is extremely forced. The expression 'stretch out the heavens,' &c. (preceded by 'I Yahweh . . .'), probably commenced a new sentence. Subsequently a scribe endeavoured to restore the defective text, and in doing this gave the language of the Deutero-Isaiah a different turn whereby it expressed the conception of an impending restoration accompanied by a new heavens and earth somewhat in the sense of the Trito-Isaianic passages lxv. 17, lxvi. 22.

li. 17—lii. 12 is a poem which Duhm arranges in five strophes, each strophe consisting of seven long lines, though there are gaps in our text as well as insertions. It is addressed to Jerusalem lying prostrate in humiliation and sorrow. Her sufferings are described in pathetic language, but she is told by Yahweh that He has taken up her cause, that her sorrows have an end, and that the cup of humiliation is to pass from her to her foes. She shall arise from the dust and be clad in the splendid attire that befits her coming glory. The last two strophes announce the jubilant tidings that Yahweh has taken compassion on the ruined Jerusalem and will return in power to reign there. The poem closes with a portrayal of a solemn priestly procession in which the vessels of the temple [carried off by Nebuchadrezzar in at the hand of the LORD the cup of his fury; thou hast drunken the bowl of the cup of staggering, and drained it. There is none to guide her among all the sons whom 18

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597 B.C.] are borne in state from Babylon to Jerusalem. The presence of Yahweh precedes the procession as well as guards the rear. Again in this poem we have the Kinah or Elegiac metre. See Budde in *ZATW.*, vol. xi (1891), pp. 238 foll.

First Strophe (verses 17-20). *The forlorn plight of Jerusalem.*

17. The rendering of the reflexive form by 'Bestir thyself' or 'arosue thee' is preferable to that of the R. V. **awake.** The translation given by Duhm, 'Be of good cheer' (*ermuntere dich*), is too weak and colourless.

The last clause of this verse should be connected with the preceding as part of the relative. Moreover, the word **cup** (Heb. *Kôs*), which is not found in the LXX version, should be deleted. It is not metrically needed, and was evidently attached as a gloss by some scribe to the unusual word rendered 'bowl.' **Bowl of the cup** is an intolerably harsh combination. The word rendered 'bowl' is a Babylonian or Assyrian word[1], which is found in the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II (in the British Museum) recording the objects brought by the envoys of Jehu king of Israel as tokens of homage to the Assyrian king. The Hebrew word is only found in this chapter, and is an interesting loan-word borrowed by the Jews during their stay in the land of exile. We may accordingly render:—

'Who hast drunk from Yahweh's hand—the cup of His wrath,
Yea the bowl of reeling—hast drunken, hast drained.'

Human lot or destiny, whether of weal or woe, is constantly expressed under the metaphor of a cup (e. g. Ps. xvi. 5, and the words of Jesus, Mark xiv. 36). Probably this vivid conception of a 'cup of reeling' bestowed on Jerusalem was borrowed by the Deutero-Isaiah from Jeremiah, who, like Isaiah of Jerusalem, possessed a more original and vivid imagination than the Deutero-Isaiah. With this passage the reader should compare Jer. xxv. 15 and especially 17, 18, also xlix. 12. This vivid conception of Jeremiah is reflected in the prophecy of his younger contemporary Ezekiel against Oholibah (Jerusalem), xxiii. 32-34.

18. Instead of being addressed in the second person, Jerusalem

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[1] Schrader, *COT.*, vol. i, p. 199. The word was evidently strange to the Jews of later days. For not only have we the explanatory gloss of our Hebrew text—but in the LXX we have another, **τὸ κόνδυ.**

she hath brought forth; neither is there any that taketh
her by the hand of all the sons that she hath brought up.
19 These two things are befallen thee; who shall bemoan
thee; desolation and destruction, and the famine and the
20 sword; how shall I comfort thee? Thy sons have fainted,
they lie at the top of all the streets, as an antelope in
a net; they are full of the fury of the LORD, the rebuke

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is spoken of in the third. In this respect the verse is entirely isolated, as Jerusalem is once more addressed in the second person in the verses that immediately follow. But it is isolated also in metre, which is no longer elegiac, since the two long lines of which this verse is composed consist of two *equal* parts (instead of the longer and shorter of the elegiac measure). Accordingly there are definite grounds for regarding this verse as an insertion from another source (with Duhm), though perhaps they are inadequate.

19 stands in close sequence to verse 17. The disasters that befall Israel are declared to be two. But in the immediate sequel we have four. These, however, may readily fall into two pairs, viz. desolation and destruction on the one side, famine and sword on the other. The interrog. **who** is the rhetorical mode of expressing a negative. The answer expected is 'no one.' Jerusalem in the midst of her disasters (the invasions of the Babylonians in 597 and 587 B.C.) is left without a comforter.

A comparison with the ancient versions (LXX, Pesh., Vulg., as well as Targ.) clearly shows that our Hebrew text needs slight amendment. 'Who am I that I should comfort thee' (i.e. 'how should I comfort thee'; R.V. '. . . *shall* I comfort,' &c.) is the rendering of our traditional Hebrew text, whereas the old versions restore the parallelism as well as the original text by changing the verb from the 1st pers. to the 3rd: 'who shall (or is to) comfort thee.' So Lowth and most recent commentators.

20. 'As an antelope of a net' is the literal rendering of the original, which is equivalent to 'as an antelope *caught in* a net.' The expression **full of the fury** is a recurrence to the conception of verse 17, where Jerusalem has drunk of Yahweh's 'cup of reeling,' or 'cup of His fury.' Of this the sons of Jerusalem have drunk their full. The phrase **at the top** (lit. 'head,' i.e. corner) **of all the streets** overweights the metre, and Duhm would therefore excise it as an addition (borrowed from Lam. ii. 19, iv. 1; so also Budde). The verse would then read as follows:—

'Thy sons faint and lie—like an antelope in a net,
Such as are full of Yahweh's fury—the rebuke of thy God.'

of thy God. Therefore hear now this, thou afflicted, and 21
drunken, but not with wine: thus saith thy Lord the 22
Lord, and thy God that pleadeth the cause of his people,
Behold, I have taken out of thine hand the cup of
staggering, even the bowl of the cup of my fury; thou
shalt no more drink it again: and I will put it into the 23
hand of them that afflict thee; which have said to thy
soul, Bow down, that we may go over: and thou hast laid
thy back as the ground, and as the street, to them that go
over.

Second Strophe (verses 21-23). *Yahweh's announcement that affliction shall pass away from Jerusalem to her foes.*

21. The word **therefore,** which introduces a fresh paragraph or section in Hebrew, is a rhetorical mode of indicating a transition rather than a logical sequence.

but not with wine implies that the veil of metaphor is for the moment torn aside, and we are confronted with the actuality of God's wrath against the city which the wine symbolizes. The poet, however, is constrained immediately to resume the veil of metaphor in the ensuing verse.

22. The metre of the original Hebrew, which is supported in this case by the LXX, requires the elimination of the words **thy Lord** and the copula **and.**

23. The cup is taken from Jerusalem's hand and placed in that of her foes. The original of the words **that afflict thee** means properly 'that trouble (or harass) thee.' The Hebrew verb is not used elsewhere in the Deutero-Isaiah, and appears too weak to express the meaning of the LXX (= oppress). Accordingly scholars (Lowth, Secker, Ewald, Oort, and others) are in favour of a very slight textual emendation (one character only changed into one closely similar) whereby we substitute in our text the verb used in Isa. xlix. 6 = 'oppress.' Moreover, the LXX show that a short additional clause has been omitted from our Hebrew text. This gives us the complete metrical elegiac line. The line thus restored will read as follows:—

> 'And I give it into the hand of thine oppressors—the hand of those that humiliate thee[1].'

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[1] I follow here Cheyne and Marti, rather than Duhm, as the LXX support their view. The Hebrew correlate to the LXX *ταπεινόω* is Pièl of ענה, cf. lx. 14 (Heb. and LXX). The additional clause

52 Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion; put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city: for henceforth there shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised

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The concluding part of this verse describes the humiliations to which the inhabitants of Jerusalem were subjected whether in Palestine or in the land of exile.

Chapter LII.

lii. 1, 2. *Third Strophe.* The last two of the seven lines appear to have been lost. The desolate city is told to arise from the dust and bonds of her captivity and array herself in the glorious apparel of a holy city into which the unclean shall not enter. We have here the obverse to the portrayal of the dethroned queen, the captured and enslaved Babylon in xlvii. 1 foll.

1. The opening phrase is a favourite formula: cf. li. 9. Here we are to regard it as a Divine call to the senses dulled by drinking deep from the cup of wrath that had made those senses reel (li. 17, 20, 21).

A comparison with the LXX here is instructive. This version reads: 'Awake, awake Zion, put on thy strength, Sion, and put on thy glory (=beauty), Jerusalem, holy city.' Here we note the insertion of **Zion** at the end of the first clause of the Hebrew text employed by the LXX. On the other hand, the word for **garments** appears to have been omitted in their text. This example clearly shows the student that variations crept into the different Hebrew copies of these oracles. And our own Hebrew (Massoretic text) is no exception. Here the elegiac metre in which the original was composed furnishes a clue, and the word **Jerusalem** should probably be removed as a gloss. We should then render:—

> 'Awake, awake and clothe thee—in thy strength, O Zion;
> Clothe thee in thy beauteous apparel—O sacred city.'

The stress here placed on cleanness, and on the uncleanness of the uncircumcised foreigner, whose presence defiled the city, are characteristics which do not meet us in the pre-exilian prophets, but belong to the days of the exile when the Jews were brought into contact with the uncircumcised Babylonians. Let the reader compare with this passage Ezek. xliv. 6–10, in which the introduction of an uncircumcised foreigner into the sanctuary of the future ideal theocratic commonwealth of Israel is strictly prohibited. The influence of that earlier prophet of the exile over

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should therefore not be regarded as a mere duplicate in the LXX as Ottley suggests.

and the unclean. Shake thyself from the dust; arise, sit 2
thee down, O Jerusalem: loose thyself from the bands of
thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion.

[For thus saith the LORD, Ye were sold for nought; and 3

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the Deutero-Isaiah can scarcely be doubted amid the powerful contrasts which distinguish the one from the other.

2. The verbal form rendered **sit thee down** may also be construed as a substantive and rendered 'captivity,' i. e. the captive people of Jerusalem, and it is so taken by Koppe and Hitzig, but in the original the masculine gender of the subst. renders this an improbable construction. The only probable interpretation is that which is given above. The word is evidently imperative. 'Unloose thyself from the bands' is the translation which harmonizes best with the context in which we have a series of imperatives addressed to Jerusalem. This is based on the reading of the *Kerê* (or what was read in the synagogue). On the other hand, the *Kethîb* (or what is written in the Hebrew text) should be translated 'the bonds of thy neck have unloosed themselves' (similarly R. V. marg.). This is much less probable (cf. LXX).

Verses 3–6: a *prosaic insertion*. Reflections on Israel's past. We have already noted that two lines seemed to have been lost at the close of the preceding strophe. The next few verses (3–6) are without metre. We have two successive sentences beginning with the formula 'For thus saith Yahweh.' Moreover Zion is no longer addressed by Yahweh, but in place of this Israel is spoken of in the third person as 'my people.' The thought is not directed to the immediate future of blessedness and glory, but towards the past, upon which certain reflections are made which by no means coincide with the conceptions expressed elsewhere, e. g. in xliii. 27, 28, l. 1 (latter part), in which the past chastisements of Israel are regarded as due to Israel's transgressions. Here the oppression by Assyria is held to be purposeless (if the reading be correct). Here, moreover, Israel's ransom is obtained without compensation. According to xliii. 3 the Deutero-Isaiah regarded the conquest of Egypt as the compensation to be accorded to Cyrus for the freedom accorded by him to the Jewish exiles. These considerations point to the conclusion that a gap in the defective copy of this poem has been filled up by the reflections of a later writer.

3. For is a link with the genuine words of the poet (Deutero-Isaiah) which immediately precede. Zion is to cast off her bonds because her humiliation is '*in vain*' (R.V. 'for nought'). Neither Yahweh nor Israel derives any compensation for the captivity into which the latter, Yahweh's people, has been sold.

4 ye shall be redeemed without money. For thus saith the
Lord God, My people went down at the first into Egypt
to sojourn there: and the Assyrian oppressed them with-
5 out cause. Now therefore, what do I here, saith the Lord,
seeing that my people is taken away for nought? they that

The idea of xlii. 24 and other passages, that Israel's humiliation was punishment inflicted for the nation's sin, is not here set forth.

4. For is a further link with the preceding verse 3, and is merely an explication of the same idea. In the earliest period of Israel's history (**at the first**) he went down, a free people, to sojourn in Egypt as a *gēr* or foreign guest. Now a sojourning guest has rights of hospitality and protection. These, however, Egypt violated and Israel was oppressed. This is not explicitly stated, but it is evidently implied, as the following parallel clause which refers to Assyria clearly shows. Assyria oppressed Israel 'for nothing,' i. e. without any compensation rendered to Yahweh (or possibly 'for no reason,' as Duhm interprets [1]). The expression seems forced, and in all probability the reading of the original, on which the LXX rendering 'violently' (or 'with violence') is based, is to be preferred. Accordingly render: 'and Assyria oppressed him with violence [2].'

5. 'And now,' i. e. turning from the past to the present state of Israel's sufferings. To what place does **here** refer? Various answers have been given. Hitzig decides that it means 'heaven,' to which, according to Ezekiel, Yahweh had withdrawn Himself after the destruction of the temple. Nägelsbach and others refer it to 'Jerusalem,' but this would involve a violent contrast with the conception of the Deutero-Isaiah that Zion had been abandoned by Yahweh (cf. l. 1 and note). More probably 'here' refers to Babylonia, where Israel still remains.

The last clause of this verse is difficult both as to text and meaning. In our Hebrew text 'his rulers' (R. V. 'they that rule over them') can only refer to the Babylonians; **howl** will thus mean a howl of malicious triumph. The blasphemy may either be uttered by the foreign oppressors who, like Rabshakeh (xxxvi. 7, 18, xxxvii. 4, 10 foll.), uttered scorn over Yahweh's power to deliver, or (less probably) by the Jews themselves, who in their captivity derided Yahweh, who seemed impotent to save (cf. viii. 21). When we

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[1] The interpretation of the original by Saadiah, 'in the end' (as opposed to 'in the beginning,' in the first clause), is followed by Lowth, but has no real warrant in linguistic usage.

[2] בְּחָמָס instead of בְּאֶפֶס.

rule over them do howl, saith the LORD, and my name
continually all the day is blasphemed. Therefore my 6
people shall know my name: therefore *they shall know* in
that day that I am he that doth speak; behold, it is I.]

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him 7
that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that
bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation;

turn to the LXX we see clear evidence of a variant text: 'Because my people hath been taken for nought ye marvel and howl[1].' The recurring expression of this verse, **saith the LORD** (properly 'utterance of Yahweh'), frequently occurs in Jeremiah, but is not characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah.

6. The repetition of the word **therefore** is evidently due to a scribal blunder. The verse should read in the form in which it stands in the LXX: 'Therefore my people shall know my name in that day that it is I who speak. Here am I.'

Fourth Strophe (verses 7–9). Messengers announce the glad tidings of *Yahweh's return to Jerusalem.*

7. The lyric strains of the Deutero-Isaiah are resumed. The phraseology of the opening part of this verse recurs in Nah. i. 15 (ii. 1 Heb.). But there is a general concurrence of opinion among critics that this verse in Nahum is not genuine (with not a few others in the first two chapters). On the other hand, it is easy to see that this verse in Isaiah is integral to the poem. It is evidently borrowed from this chapter in the form in which it is cited by the compiler of the oracles of Nahum[2]. Over the mountains that lie, as we may here assume, on the eastern side of Jerusalem messengers are seen to be hurrying with the glad tidings of Israel's deliverance and the near approach of Yahweh's reign, the kingdom of God[3]. It is impossible not to see here, as in verse 1, the influence of the earlier exilian prophet Ezekiel, who saw in vision 'the glory of Israel's God coming by way of the

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[1] Based apparently on the original תתמהו והילילו. Or we might render the last clause in the LXX with Duhm as imperatives: 'marvel and howl.' He would restore the original הִשֹּׁמּוּ וְהֵילִילוּ.

[2] Consult Nowack's Commentary on the 'Minor Prophets,' *ad loc.*, as well as Driver's *Minor Prophets,* vol. ii (Century Bible). See Cornill's Introduction (Nahum).

[3] The third line of this verse is metrically too short, the first half needs a supplement. Budde proposes to restore thus: who saith unto Zion: ['Thy Redeemer hath come]—Thy God reigneth.'

8 that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth! The voice of thy watchmen! they lift up the voice, together do they sing; for they shall see, eye to eye, when the LORD returneth to

east, and its roar was like the roar of mighty waters.' This glory of Yahweh enters the house by the eastern gate[1] (Ezek. xliii. 1-5).

8. 'Hark (lit. the voice of) thy watchmen! They have shouted aloud' (lit. lifted up the voice). The word **voice** occurs twice in the successive two clauses, and recent critics would eliminate one of them. But such a course is not to be commended. This idiomatic use of 'voice' in the first clause (= 'Hark thy watchmen!) finds a parallel in xl. 3, 6. The watchmen are posted on the walls of the city gates (on the 'roof of the gateway': 2 Sam. xviii. 24) in ordinary cases. In this case, however, we know that Jerusalem's walls were in a state of ruin ever since the capture of the city in 587-6, B. C. (verse 9: cf. Neh. i. 3, ii. 3). The watchmen would occupy the best available coigns of vantage on the ruins. As they call out the glad tidings of the approach of the exile band with Yahweh at its head, for which the swift messengers over the mountains had already prepared them (verse 7), the inhabitants within the city press forward and join in one universal shout of acclamation. And now they can clearly see the faces of the exiles with Yahweh leading the procession.

'They see eye to eye,' i. e. the inhabitants now see the exiled band, with Yahweh at its head, *close at hand.* The meaning of this phrase 'see eye to eye' in the original is greatly obscured by our own popular use of the phrase. 'Seeing eye to eye' means, in the O.T., the same thing as beholding face to face, i. e. clearly and close at hand (cf. Exod. xxxiii. 11; Num. xii. 8, xiv. 14, and especially Jer. xxxii. 4). The imperfect tenses in the Hebrew should here rather be translated by the present tense than by the future, as the entire context shows that we have examples of the 'dramatic imperfect,' though the events vividly described actually belong to the future. Verses 11 foll. clearly prove that the band of exiles had not yet started from Babylon.

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[1] According to Ezekiel's vision, the city and temple are new built and ready to receive the Divine Visitant and Ruler, while in Deutero-Isaiah these completed externalities are not presupposed. The genius of the one and of the other seer here exhibit their respective contrasts. That of Ezekiel revels in externalities and detail; that of the Deutero-Isaiah is more true to the tradition of Hebrew prophecy represented in the great succession, Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. It lays stress on the internal and spiritual.

Zion. Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places 9
of Jerusalem: for the LORD hath comforted his people,
he hath redeemed Jerusalem. The LORD hath made 10
bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all
the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.
Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no 11

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9. 'Break forth, utter a ringing cry together—ruins of Jerusalem.' Even the very ruins are to join the exultant acclaim. Perhaps the reply of Jesus, on the occasion of His triumphal entry into Jerusalem, in response to the protests of the Pharisees: 'If these shall be silent, the stones will cry out' (Luke xix. 40) was based on a reminiscence of this passage where the triumphal entry of Yahweh into His own ruined and desolated city is the theme. The coincidence of our Lord's phrase with the proverbial language of Hab. ii. 11 hardly indicates the actual source. The thought of a ruined Jerusalem was not far from His mind (Mark xiii. 2, 14 foll.; Luke xiii. 35).

With the words **hath comforted his people** cf. xl. 1.

Fifth Strophe (verses 10-12). Deliverance by Yahweh before all the world is at hand. The exiles are to begin the solemn march from Babylon to Jerusalem.

10. We have here a reminiscence of the image of Yahweh's arm in li. 5, 9. The metaphor is martial. Yahweh shall perform His doughty deed of deliverance in the presence of all the nations of the world. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 23, xxxix. 21.

11. go out from thence. From what place? This we are left to infer. Evidently not from Jerusalem, though this is the last place mentioned (verse 9). This lends considerable cogency to Duhm's assumption that a long line of this poem, immediately preceding this verse and coming after the couple of long lines of verse 10, has dropped out of our text. Probably the name Babel (Babylon) occurred in this omitted line. It is to be noted that instead of the usual seven lines in this strophe we have only six.

No unclean thing (dead body or other impurity) is to be touched. For Yahweh is the leader of the procession. The procession is therefore holy. We might compare as an illustration Deut. xxiii. 10-14: cf. Exod. xix. 10-15; 1 Sam. xxi. 5 foll. The centre of the advancing column consisted of the priests who bore the sacred vessels. It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that the poet had in mind the restoration of the sacred vessels which had been carried off by Nebuchadrezzar (597 B. C. and in 586 B. C.) to which reference is made in 2 Kings xxiv. 13, xxv. 14 foll.: cf.

unclean thing; go ye out of the midst of her; be ye clean,
12 ye that bear the vessels of the LORD. For ye shall not
go out in haste, neither shall ye go by flight: for the
LORD will go before you; and the God of Israel will be
your rearward.
13 [S. Behold, my servant shall deal wisely, he shall be

Jer. xxvii. 18–22, xxviii. 3, 6. Duhm, however, regards this as possible only and not probable.

The midst of her will of course mean from the midst of Babylon. For **be ye clean** read 'keep yourselves pure,' or 'cleanse yourselves.'

12. All these precautions are to be carefully taken. There is to be no haste in departure as on the night of the exodus, as though in flight. The word for **haste** seems here to be expressly chosen in the original in reference to and contrast with Deut. xvi. 3, which refers to the *haste* in which the passover was eaten on the night of the exodus which the annual celebration of the festival ever recalls. Cf. Exod. xii. 39.

CHAPTERS LII. 13—LIII. 12.

Fourth and last of the Servant-passages and the climax of Hebrew Prophecy. The Servant's Martyrdom and future Exaltation.

The student will have been already prepared in the Introduction to this volume for the adequate appreciation of this greatest passage in the Old Testament, which has exercised a deeper influence over New Testament writers and their interpretation of the life and work of Jesus than any other section of the Hebrew scriptures. It is probably the New Testament interpretation of this last 'Servant-poem' which is chiefly answerable for the conception of the Servant as an individual (Acts viii. 31–35; Rom. iv. 25: cf. 1 Pet. ii. 22–25) who vicariously suffered for his race, though it is more than probable that this conception of the passage by the New Testament writers conformed to that which prevailed among certain Jewish circles in the time of Christ. But further than this we certainly cannot go. Probably other interpretations were then current, as in the days of Origen about 150 years later. For this writer, in his controversy with Celsus, mentions the interesting fact that when he was discussing the claims of Jesus with Jewish Rabbis and cited this very passage in proof, the reply was made 'that this prophecy referred to the entire Jewish people, represented as an individual, which had been involved in the dispersion and afflicted[1].' How far Judeo-

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[1] ταῦτα πεπροφητεῦσθαι ὡς περὶ ἑνὸς τοῦ ὅλου λαοῦ, καὶ γενομένου ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ καὶ πληγέντος.

Christian controversy tended to accentuate this interpretation we need not pause to investigate. In the Middle Ages it was held by the great Jewish scholars Ibn 'Ezra, and Ḳimḥi. According to Ḳimḥi the Gentile nations once hostile to Israel, stirred with wonder at the marvellous change of fortune whereby the Hebrew race has been restored to honour and glory, now confess that they at length realize that this has been the all-wise counsel of Yahweh, that the Hebrew race has been afflicted with terrible chastisements almost to extinction in order that a single people may atone for the sins of all humanity, and teach them righteousness. See *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to Jewish Interpreters* (Driver and Neubauer), ii. p. 49 foll. Whatever causes may have tended to stimulate the advocacy of this form of interpretation, it is important for Christian exegetes to recognize that this path of Jewish exposition is in the main right, and that the path of Christian interpreters down to the time of Rosenmüller has been in the main wrong[1]. Even our N.T. writers are not free from the minute and artificial exegesis of O.T. passages, which might be called textual rather than contextual, and referred individual phrases in Hebrew prophecy or psalm to individual events in the life of our Lord (e. g. Matt. ii. 17, 18, iv. 14–16, xxvii. 9, 10; John xix. 24; Acts i. 20, iv. 25 foll.). These artificial citations of O.T. passages accorded with the prevailing modes of adapting Scripture phrases, of which examples may be found in the Mishna[2] and in St. Paul's Epistles.

On the other hand, a careful and continuous study of the O. T. reveals the fact to which attention has been already called (cf. note on xlix. 3), that races are constantly and readily personified and vividly presented as individuals. The opening chapters of Genesis become intelligible and useful (esp. chap. x, xi) from the point of view of history and ethnography when this fact is realized.

But who is the martyr of the Servant-passages? Here it is necessary to draw once more the distinction already enforced in the Introduction. The Servant of the Deutero-Isaiah was the exiled Hebrew race as he knew it with all its defects, which God nevertheless destines for high honour, and whose restoration to Jerusalem and the homeland is soon to be effected. On the other hand, to the writer of the Servant-passages the Servant is the purified but afflicted remnant of exiles in Babylonia. To him the restoration is a distant dream for the realization of which he confidently and patiently waits. Meanwhile the sufferings of the exiled race are to continue until the purified remnant of God's chastised and martyred people shall be forged as the Divine instrument to bring the saving knowledge of Yahweh, the only and true God, to all the races of humanity. To the Deutero-Isaiah the all-engrossing topic is Israel's restoration through Yahweh's omnipotent power and unfaltering love to His people operating by means of His chosen instrument Cyrus. To the author of the Servant-passages Cyrus was unknown, and the restoration, though assured, was indefinitely postponed. It was the sublime task and destiny of the martyr-race that filled his enraptured vision—the consecration of Israel's sufferings and blighted life upon the great altar of the world. For the healing of mankind Israel bled and died. The chastisement which was to bring peace to our race was upon him.

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[1] In 1850 we find the evangelical exegete Stier, in his work *Jesaias nicht Pseudojesaias*, protesting against the tendency of Christian interpreters, since 1820, to follow the 'blind Jews.' He alludes more especially to Rosenmüller, whose *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum* appeared in its second edition in 1820, where he advocated the view, also supported by Hofmann (*Weissagung u. Erfüllung*, i. pp. 265 foll., ii. p. 109), that the Gentiles are the speakers in Isa. liii. 1 foll. See Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*, p. 146.

[2] Many instructive parallels to Pauline modes of citing O.T. passages may be found by the Hebrew student in the treatise, *Pirḳê Abhôth*; e. g. note the use made of Ps. i. 1, Mal. iii. 16, and Lam. iii. 28, by Rabbi Ḥanînâ in chap. iii. 26 (Herm. Strack's ed.).

In the *first* Servant-passage (xlii. 1–4) it is Yahweh who speaks; in the *second* (xlix. 1–6) it is the Servant himself who proclaims his great function to the foreign nations. In the *third* (l. 4–9) the Servant again speaks and describes his patience under persecution and his confidence that God will vindicate him. In the *fourth* and last Yahweh speaks, lii. 13 foll., and the Gentiles are the speakers in liii. 1–10 and bear their wondering and reverential testimony to the heroic patience and gentleness of the sufferer. Yahweh is again the speaker in liii. 11 foll.

It will thus be clearly seen that the four poems form a natural sequence, and that harmonious conceptions regarding the personality of Yahweh's servant, the afflicted and chastened Israel, pervade them all. And this becomes additionally clear when it is recognized that it is the Gentiles who are here speaking when they declare that the marvel of their message is almost beyond credence, liii. 1 (cf. lii. 14, 15), and that it is the maladies and ills of the great Gentile world that the Suffering Servant bore (liii. 4). For we have already learned that it is to distant foreign nations that the martyr-servant addresses himself (xlix. 1, cf. xlii. 1, 4), and it is for their special behoof and enlightenment the Servant has been marked out and designated by God (xlix. 6). For all the humiliation and suffering to which the Servant is exposed, portrayed in liii. 3–5, 7 (cf. lii. 14), we have been already prepared in the short preceding poem (l. 6, 7), and the quiet submissiveness with which the Servant meets his cruel oppressors, so pathetically portrayed under the figure of a lamb in the presence of the slaughterer, has been already definitely foreshadowed in the same short poem (l. 5, 6), and exactly coincides with the character of gentleness and loving sympathy with which we find him endowed in the first poem (xlii. 2, 3). Lastly, the final vindication of Yahweh's servant, for which he confidently waits, and which he definitely proclaims even in the depth of his desolation and seeming fruitless endeavour (xlix. 3, 4, 5), and of his humiliation at the hands of oppressors (l. 7, 8), forms the natural conclusion of the last and longer poem in which the revival and glory of the martyred Servant is portrayed (liii. 10–12). All four passages constitute an inseparable unity.

It is therefore a grievous sin against all canons of true interpretation if judgments are passed on the concluding poem[1] and its portraiture which do not include the previous shorter poems in their scope. The individualizing features of the description are in reality not more strongly marked here than in the other Servant-passages. They impress more strongly for the superficial reason that we are studying a longer and more detailed poem and a full-length portrait. Duhm, who is at great pains to establish the antithesis between the Deutero-Isaianic Servant of Yahweh and the loftier, purer, and individual portraiture of these four poems, is here betrayed into drawing the contrasts too sharply. He finds the individual features more strongly impressed on this final poem than on the preceding ones. The interpretation of the Servant here as a collective personality that represents either the actual or the ideal Israel Duhm sets aside as utterly impossible. We may follow Duhm so far as to say that in this personal portraiture of the purified and chastened Israel we may trace the lineaments of the prophet Jeremiah, whose life and words doubtless deeply impressed the writer of these Servant-poems. See Duhm's *Commentary*, second edition, p. 367. In dealing with the problem of these Servant-passages we see this great interpreter at his weakest, and his endeavours to solve the problem betray the hesitancy of the critic who has tenaciously grasped a wrong clue. He candidly confesses: 'We stand here before an historic problem which we cannot solve, especially as we are utterly unable to determine with any certainty the time when the Servant-songs were composed. Though, roughly speaking, we might regard the time between the Exile and Ezra as the most probable, yet there is nothing to prevent us from holding that the poet was dependent on Malachi rather than the reverse, or even to descend later in the stream of time.' Duhm appears to regard the last verse (verse 12) as implying a personal revival after death. 'After he has died for God we are not to think that he was replaced by one of kindred spirit, but that he was personally made alive again. It is only in this way that the universal judgment can be refuted that he was smitten of God.' And yet this does not carry with it a belief in a universal immortality and resurrection. Duhm points by way of parallel to the appearance of Elijah on the last day according to Mal. iii. 23 foll. (E.V. iv. 5 foll.).

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[1] It is impossible within the limits at our disposal to deal with the views of Schian and Kosters, who ascribe lii. 13—liii. 12 to an authorship distinct from that of the other Servant-passages. The arguments against such a view are stated in these introductory remarks. The same observation applies to Bertholet's theory of liii. 1–11 a, which he separates from the context and ascribes to the Maccabaean period, and sees in it a definite reference to a martyred individual, viz. the aged Eleazar, 2 Macc. vi. 18–31. It is difficult to see how the traits of leprosy, wounding, contempt, and revival are reconcilable with this view.

But this is an obviously forced interpretation. The path of the exegete becomes far clearer, as Marti justly perceived (see *Commentary*, first ed., p. 345), when the Servant is regarded not as an individual but as a collective expression. We can say of a people or community that it has been ill, smitten, carried to the slaughter, laid among the dead, delivered from death, and that a glorious future among nations awaits it. The resurrection of a people is quite possible, as Ezek. xxxvii. 1–14 clearly shows.

Unfortunately the poem itself is not textually well preserved, and it must be admitted that corruptions have entered, especially in the latter portion of the passage. The metre of this poem is the same as that of the first and second of the series. It falls into tetrastichs or stanzas of four lines each; but the number of the stanzas is far from certain. The transition from lii. 13–15, in which we may assume that Yahweh is the speaker, to liii. 1 foll., in which the Gentiles speak, is unnaturally sudden, and one readily suspects the loss of an intervening stanza. Likewise there is a transition, but less marked, in verse 11.

lii. 13–15 depict the glorious future of the Servant as compared with his present abject condition. Yahweh speaks concerning His Servant. To whom and in what character? It must be remembered that all that we possess of these Servant-poems are fragments taken from a larger whole (how large can never be determined), and have been incorporated by the Deutero-Isaiah into his own work. From internal indications as well as external we gather that this final poem of the series forms part of a sublime judgment-scene, in which Yahweh in His capacity of judge summons all the nations of the world to hear His authoritative vindication of the Suffering Servant and the exaltation of the exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high. Like as 14 many were astonied at thee, (his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of

afflicted and righteous exiled community who are destined to high honour in the future[1]. This entire passage the Deutero-Isaiah has deprived of its introduction and has inserted it into the body of his poems at this point, since his own words in verse 10 above—

> 'Yahweh hath stripped His holy arm—before the eyes of the nations;
> And all the ends of the earth shall see—the deliverance of our God'—

formed a substitute for the omitted preface and heralded the address of Yahweh with which this Servant-poem begins. We have observed that the metrical form is quite distinct in this poem from the Ḳinah measure of the preceding lines.

13. In place of **shall deal wisely** the margin reads 'shall prosper.' Both meanings for the Hebrew verb *yaskîl* are possible. The first, meaning 'have insight' or 'deal wisely,' is supported by such passages as xliv. 18; Jer. xx. 11; Ps. ii. 10, xiv. 2, liii. 3, &c.; while the second is sustained by Joshua i. 7, 8; 1 Sam. xviii. 14, 15; Jer. x. 21; Prov. xvii. 8. The latter fits better into the context. We thereby have an ascending climax 'shall prosper,' 'be high,' 'be very exalted.' We agree with Giesebrecht[2] in regarding Budde's alteration of the verbal form into '*Israel*' as needless. The LXX and Vulg. sustain our text.

14. The sudden change from the designation of the servant as **my servant** to addressing him in the second person is most abrupt and unusual. Most scholars have therefore followed Targ. and Pesh. in reading 'at *him*' instead of 'at thee.' Moreover, the occurrence of the same Hebrew adverb **so** in successive clauses is very awkward, and the alteration of the first into the Hebrew word for 'for' (*kēn* altered to *kî*) is to be commended (so Giesebrecht)[3]. Also the isolated expression *mishḥath*, 'something

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[1] Note the utter contrast between the attitude of the writer to the Gentile world as compared with the spirit exhibited by the eschatological passage of Divine judgment against Gog in Ezek. xxxviii, xxxix, anticipating the spirit of later Judaism. (The genuineness of these chapters is doubted by Gressmann and Bousset.) Gressmann rightly emphasizes the eschatological character of Isa. lii. 13—liii. 12 (*Ursprung der Israel.-Jüd. Eschatologie,* p. 327).

[2] *Der Knecht Jahves,* p. 109.

[3] On the other hand, Duhm suggests another remedy, which

15 men,) so shall he sprinkle many nations; kings shall shut their mouths at him: for that which had not been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they understand.

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corrupted or deformed,' is suspicious. The pronunciation of the Hebrew characters as a passive partic, Hof'al *moshḥāth*, originally proposed by Geiger, is now generally accepted.

15. The opening word **so** (Hebrew *kēn*) marks the apodosis to the clause 'Like as . . .' at the beginning of verse 14. The rendering **sprinkle** is very doubtful, not because the verbal form does not frequently bear this signification in Hebrew (cf. Num. viii. 7, xix. 18, 19, 21; Lev. iv. 6, v. 9, viii. 11, &c.), but because the following construction seems to forbid it[1]. Furthermore, it is difficult to see the logical connexion between the two ideas of bodily disfigurement and the sprinkling of the nations. On account of these objections recourse is had to an Arabic verbal root *nazâ* 'to spring.' The causative form in our text will then mean 'cause to spring,' i.e. *startle*: see R. V. marg. Instead of this, O.T. scholars are ready with textual emendations, of which the most probable is that of Moore[2] (*Journ. of Bibl. Lit.*, 1890, pp. 216 foll.). Verses 14 and 15 may then be rendered:—

'Just as many were dumbfounded at him,
For deformed was his appearance so as not to be a man,
And his figure so as not to be human,[3]—

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removes the parenthesis at the close of verse 14 and places it at the close of liii. 2. There would then be no need to alter the word for 'so' (*kēn*) to the word for 'for' (*kî*). Accordingly we read:

'No form had he, nor stateliness
[That we should behold him], as appearance that we should delight in him.
So deformed was his appearance, so as not to be a man,
And his figure so as not to be human.'

This is extremely ingenious, and rids verse 14 of a somewhat cumbrous parenthesis. It also restores the strophic arrangement. But in the presence of evident gaps this last argument is doubtful.

[1] The proper Hebrew construction is 'sprinkle (water, &c.) *upon*.'

[2] He reads: יִרְגְּזוּ, 'so shall many nations be stirred,' this yields a good parallelism, and fairly accords with the LXX *θαυμάσονται*. Other readings need not be quoted.

[3] For this use of the Hebrew preposition *min* to express a negative the student of Hebrew is referred to Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gram.*^{26}, § 119 y: cf. Isa. vii. 8 (last clause); xxiii. 1.

Who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the **53**

So shall he startle many nations,
Before him kings shall shut their mouths;
For what hath not been recounted to them they see,
And what they have not heard they perceive.'

shut their mouths, i. e. in awe-struck wonder (Job xxix. 9 foll., xl. 4) at the exalted dignity of the martyred sufferer.

CHAPTER LIII.

1. It is quite evident that we here enter suddenly upon a new scene in the solemn drama of Divine judgment. For this chapter commences with the utterance of a new speaker. The theme is obviously still the martyred servant with his sufferings and his coming vindication and glory. But Yahweh is spoken of in the third person, while the speaker regards himself as the representative of a society whose iniquities have been borne by the suffering servant. Duhm, who summarily rejects the view that it is either the prophets or the Gentiles who are here speaking, propounds the theory that it is the poet himself who is the speaker. But this involves us in difficulties. (1) In no other case does the poet himself speak in these Servant-passages. (2) The transgressions for which the Servant was smitten are then exclusively those of the Israelite race, for 'our' cannot be referred to others than the race or community to which the speaker belongs. Consequently the Gentiles have no part or lot in chap. liii. The servant suffered and died for Israel only. But this stands in violent contrast with the whole scope and tendency of the Servant-poems: xlix. 1, xlii. 1, 4, and especially xlix. 6, show that the mission of the Servant of Yahweh was specially directed to the Gentile world. The significance of these opening verses (at least 1–7, probably 1–10) only becomes clear and consistent with the whole series of Servant-passages when we assume with Budde, Giesebrecht, Marti, and other recent critics that a representative of the Gentile races is spokesman. Probably if we possessed the poem in its complete form some omitted lines between lii. 15 (in which the startled nations and their kings are spoken of) and liii. 1 would be found to relate the summons of Yahweh to the Gentiles to bear witness to the righteousness and faithfulness of the Servant.

Translate: 'Who could have believed what we have heard?' So Peake, who cites Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*, p. 159. Giesebrecht gives references to grammatical authorities[1]

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[1] As Giesebrecht gives citations from works hardly accessible to most of our readers, we would direct them to Davidson's *Hebrew*

2 arm of the Lord been revealed? For he grew up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: he hath no form nor comeliness; and when we see him,

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for this idiomatic use of the Perfect tense, unsatisfactorily rendered in R.V. 'hath believed.' **Report** is also inadequate as a rendering. R.V. (marg.) correctly interprets the Hebrew substantive by 'that which we have heard.' We have already noted in previous passages the negative significance of this rhetorical interrogative. The answer is: 'no one.' For **been revealed** we might substitute the reflexive form 'hath revealed itself.' This expression of feeling on the part of the Gentiles, who give their testimony, exactly accords with the dumbfounded awe and wonderment of the foreign nations and kings described in the preceding verses. By 'Yahweh's arm' is meant here and in other cases the manifestation of His power in the exalted destiny which is now to be conferred upon His Servant, which seems incredible.

2. The original reads 'and he grew up before Him (i.e. Yahweh) as a tender sapling.' As immediately following upon the interrogative clause, this sentence is certainly very abrupt. The subject we may infer to be the servant spoken of in lii. 13–15. Accordingly we are led to suspect that there is an omitted line that precedes verse 2. There is no need to follow Ewald, Cheyne, Oort, and Giesebrecht in reading 'before *us*' instead of **before Him,** the rendering of our Hebrew text supported by LXX. The word rendered 'tender sapling' (R.V. 'tender plant') properly means 'suckling,' but is often applied as a substantive to the vegetable world, especially in Job (viii. 16, xiv. 7, xv. 30: cf. Hos. xiv. 7; Ezek. xvii. 22; Ps. lxxx. 12 [A.V. 11]). The meaning is that the Servant grew up in quiet obscurity like a young unobtrusive, unobserved sapling; a small exiled, undemonstrative, God-fearing community watched and tended by Yahweh[1] grew up in the land of exile as a root (or root-sprout, cf. xi. 10) springing out of the parched soil. In the desert of the exile it reached no imposing height or proportions. 'It had no graceful form (*tôar*)[2] or stateliness (*hādār*)[3], that we should behold it, nor (fair)

Syntax, § 41 (c), Rem. 2, pp. 62 foll.; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*^{26}, § 106, 4 *ad fin.*

[1] This seems to us the more natural meaning of 'before him,' as adapted to a sapling. Duhm understands it apparently as = with eye fixed on God, conscious of holy calling.

[2] Cf. (in Heb.) 1 Sam. xvi. 18.

[3] Cf. (in Heb.) Lev. xxiii. 40 (in reference to trees).

there is no beauty that we should desire him. He was 3
despised, and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and
acquainted with grief: and as one from whom men hide
their face he was despised, and we esteemed him not.

Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our 4

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appearance that we should delight in it,' quite unlike the trees in Paradise, which were 'delightful in appearance' (Gen. ii. 9)[1].

3. For *rejected* **of men** it would be better to read '*neglected* (or R. V. marg. "forsaken") of men.' The meaning of the Hebrew adject. (*ḥādēl*) is, however, doubtful. The signification of the Hebrew verbal root is 'cease' or 'leave.' It is not improbable that we ought to take the adject. in the active rather than the passive sense (just as in Ezek. iii. 27): one who *abandons* (or *dispenses with*) the society of men. The despised and martyred community of exiles is despised by the foreigner and regarded as a leper and outcast; accordingly it withdraws from intercourse with men and is constrained to live its life in seclusion both shunned and shunning their fellow men—vivid prefiguration of Israel's later days!

The Servant is further portrayed as 'a suffering man, familiar with disease.' **Grief** in R.V. (and A.V.) is not an accurate rendering; R. V. marg. is to be preferred—'sickness.'

In the latter part of this verse we can only treat Heb. *mastēr* as a substantive parallel to many other like formations in Hebrew: 'and, like an object from which one hides the face, was he despised, &c.' So Ewald, Hitzig, Delitzsch, and most commentators. But the construction is complex and open to much doubt.

Verses 4–8. The pathos deepens as we learn from the Gentile's lips the vicarious suffering and death of the martyred Servant. Special care must be taken to mark the emphasis of the personal pronoun insufficiently expressed in the version of R. V. above.

4. Render:

'Yet our diseases 'twas *he* who bore,
And our sufferings, he bore their load;
While *we*, we thought him plague-struck,
Smitten of God and humiliated.'

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[1] The construction of the latter part of this verse with jussive and copulative Waw follows the precedent of Hebrew grammatical usage; see Gesen.-Kautzsch ^{26}, § 166. 1 (a). On the other hand, the LXX clearly read the first verbal form with Waw consecutive. Their text evidently differed: 'And we beheld him, and he had no form nor beauty [reading וְחֶמְדָּה, verse 3]. But his form was dishonoured.'

sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God,
5 and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions,
he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our
peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed.
6 All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every
one to his own way; and the LORD hath laid on him the
iniquity of us all.
7 He was oppressed, yet he humbled himself and opened

Here the Heb. particle *achēn* means 'yet,' 'nevertheless,' marking contrast, just as the writer of these Servant-passages employs it in xlix. 4. On the other hand, the Deutero-Isaiah employs it in the sense of 'Yea,' 'in truth' (xl. 7, xlv. 15). The name for deity is not Yahweh but the general name for 'God,' viz. *Elohîm*, which a polytheist Gentile might employ. A Babylonian might hold that the physical sufferings of the Servant were inflicted on him by Namtar, to whom evil demons were subject and who sent them forth as his emissaries[1].

5 takes the form of what in Hebrew syntax is called a circumstantial clause (see Davidson, *Heb. Syntax*, §§ 137 foll., and especially § 138 b). The personal pronoun **he** is again emphatic, and stands in contrast with *we* of the preceding clause: 'For it was he who was pierced because of our transgressions, maimed because of our iniquities.'

The **chastisement of our peace** is obviously a condensed expression, as the following parallel clause clearly shows. It means the chastisement destined to bring about our well-being. The Hebrew word rendered **stripes** is the same as that which occurs in i. 6, and is there translated by R. V. as 'bruises.' This latter rendering is really closer to the true meaning, which is actually 'scar' or 'weal' left by a wound or blow. Translate, 'and through his scars healing has come to us.'

6. For **laid on him** substitute the more accurate rendering of R. V. margin, 'made to light upon him.'

Verses 7–9 describe the persecution, even to death, of the martyred Servant, and the gentle uncomplaining spirit with which he bore it all.

7. Translate: 'He was persecuted, yet it was he who suffered himself to be humiliated[2].' He **opened not his mouth** to complain

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[1] See Zimmern, in *KAT.*^{3}, pp. 460 and 562 (cf. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 570 foll.).

[2] The LXX is here obscure, but may perhaps have been based as

not his mouth; as a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and
as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb; yea, he opened
not his mouth. By oppression and judgement he was 8
taken away; and as for his generation, who *among them*

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or protest against such harsh treatment; **slaughter** or 'slaughtering' is more probably the right interpretation than Duhm's 'slaughter-bench' (so also Marti)[1]. At the close of the verse the repetition of the phrase 'he opened not his mouth' is probably a gloss added by a scribe who thought that the previous comparison 'as a lamb . . ., as a sheep . . .' required an apodosis. Duhm (who is here followed by Giesebrecht) is justified in deleting the clause, as it is redundant to the quatrain which properly ends with the line 'like a sheep before its shearers is dumb.'

8. From this point onwards there are evident corruptions of the text, and there are many proposed emendations. The LXX had a somewhat different text in the first line, which may be rendered 'Through oppression his right was taken away[2]'; i.e. by high-handed oppression the martyred Servant was deprived of his rights—a perfectly intelligible sentence, and in harmony with the context. All the commentators, however, adhere to our Hebrew text, but their interpretations differ. Thus the Hebrew preposition at the head of the word for **oppression** and **judgement** may bear the ordinary meaning 'from' or 'on account of.' Accordingly the Peshiṭto or Syriac version, which Delitzsch and Orelli follow, give the first line the rendering: 'He was taken away from prison and from judgment,' i.e. by death, the words being directly applied to our Lord's crucifixion (so our A. V.). But 'prison' or 'imprisonment' is a questionable rendering for the Hebrew word (*'ōṣer*). The use of the word in Ps. cvii. 39 supports the rendering 'oppression' in this passage. Moreover, as Rosenmüller pointed out nearly a century ago, we obtain a better meaning by taking the Hebrew preposition in the *second* sense, 'on account of.' We thus obtain a translation which accords better with the context.

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a free rendering on our text. Syriac and Vulgate read the verb as *niggash* (not *niggas*), which yields another and unsuitable sense. The translation we have adopted, 'suffered himself to be humiliated,' regards the verbal form as a *Nif'al tolerativum*. So Delitzsch; cf. Exod. x. 3, and Gesenius-Kautzsch (*Heb. Gram.*^{26}, § 51. 2 a).

[1] In Hebrew *ṭebaḥ*, rendered in LXX *σφαγὴ*. 'Slaughter-bench,' would probably be expressed in Hebrew by a form with prefixed *m*, i.e. *miṭbaḥ* or *miṭbēaḥ* (cf. *mizbēaḥ*).

[2] Apparently מעצר מִשְׁפָּטוֹ לקח.

considered that he was cut off out of the land of the living? for the transgression of my people was he stricken.

'On account of (or by) oppression and judgment he was carried off' (i.e. by a violent end). So Giesebrecht in the translation furnished in his treatise *KJ.*, p. 107.

The remainder of the verse is most obscure. When we turn to the LXX we find variations of text which are worthy of careful consideration. This version is as follows: 'His generation who will describe? For his life is taken from the earth[1]; owing to the transgressions of my people he was led (?) to death.' The Hebrew word *dôr*, here rendered **generation**, has been a subject of much controversy, both as regards meaning and construction. The following are some of the meanings proposed for the word:—'Destiny' (Hitzig), 'dwelling' (i.e. the 'grave'—so Knobel; or 'place of residence'—so Duhm), 'length (or course) of life' (Luther, Vitringa). We need not mention others. The only satisfactory and well-warranted sense is that already given in the LXX, viz. 'generation.' 'His generation' would therefore mean his countrymen who were living at the time, his fellow Jews. But what is the construction of this word? It is preceded by a Hebrew particle which may be either the sign for the accusative or the preposition 'with.' Again opinions differ widely. Some would give the special meaning to the particle **as for** (as in lvii. 12; Ezek. vi. 9, xvii. 21, &c.). Others, including Ewald and Orelli, would regard it as a preposition meaning 'with,' 'among.' This is certainly more probable. Accordingly we may render this difficult sentence: 'And among his generation who would reflect that he was cut off from the land of the living.' The expression **land of the living** was a current Hebrew phrase, cf. Jer. xi. 19, Ps. xxvii. 13, and other passages. The last clause requires considerable emendation. **My people** is strange on the lips of a Gentile. A very slight emendation (the prolongation of a single final character) would make it 'his people' (i.e. the Jewish race, viz. the generation who were contemporaries of the Servant of Yahweh). A further emendation (based on the LXX), which has been accepted by most critics, gives us the following sense in the last clause of the verse: 'On account of the transgression of his people was he smitten to death[2].' The purport of this passage is

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[1] In the original נגזר מארץ חַיָּיו. The Hebrew verb translated 'describe' (but more correctly 'reflect,' meditate) is not construed with the simple accusative but with the Hebrew preposition בְּ = 'reflect on.' The construction of the LXX is therefore hardly admissible in point of usage.

[2] נֻגַּע לַמָּוֶת (or נֻגַּע).

And they made his grave with the wicked, and with the 9
rich in his death; although he had done no violence,
neither was any deceit in his mouth.

to show that the Martyr-servant died for the sins of the Jews[1], a large number of whom had become the devotees of the gods of the land in which they lived and conformed to the customs of the Babylonians. Thus the death had a world-wide atoning value. The Servant died for both Jew and Gentile. The Jewish contemporaries of the suffering and faithful community of their fellow countrymen who strenuously and patiently upheld their faith as witnesses for truth amid dire persecution, as little realized as the Gentiles that this martyrdom was an atonement for their own sins.

9. Dishonour even pursued the Martyr-servant to the grave. He is buried among the wicked and the wealthy. This verse is also involved in textual difficulties, but not in so aggravated a form as in the preceding verse. Our only path of safety is to follow as far as possible the Massoretic text so far as it is sustained by the LXX. Though the latter obviously misunderstood the Hebrew text, their mistranslations help to establish the accuracy of our text in the main.

And they made (lit. 'gave'). The verb is impersonal third sing. in the original (properly 'and one gave'[2]). Fate ordained that the pious and faithful community of exiles, who had maintained their faith in Yahweh amid all the darkness and persecution of their exile home, should die in Babylonia among the rich and powerful. The latter may have been Babylonians, who made the life of this martyr-community bitter, or fellow Jews who lived prosperously and had abandoned the religion of their forefathers. The form translated **in his death** is very questionable, though it apparently has the support of the LXX even in their mistranslation. Probably we ought to render 'his mound,' i. e. the tumulus which marked the site of the martyr's grave. This makes the parallelism with the previous clause (viz. 'grave') more clear[3].

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[1] There is therefore no need whatever for Budde's drastic emendation מִפְּשָׁעֵינוּ, 'on account of our transgressions,' instead of מִפֶּשַׁע עַמִּי. Budde, however, admits the reasonableness of the slight emendation עַמּוֹ, which we have adopted. See his *Die sogenannten Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder*, p. 12.

[2] The LXX read in their Heb. text the first person sing.—obviously a textual error.

[3] This use of the word *bāmāh*, meaning properly 'height' (cf.

10 Yet it pleased the LORD to bruise him; he hath put him to grief: when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see *his* seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the LORD shall prosper in his hand.

The preposition which in the original begins the following clause is rendered by the LXX and Vulg. 'because' and is followed by our Authorized Version. The R. V., whose translation is given above, rightly substituted **although.** Cf. Job xvi. 17, where the same Hebrew preposition has the same force: 'Though no wickedness is in my hands and my prayer is pure.' The last two lines of the quatrain dwell on the fact that such burial among the wicked was utterly unmerited.

10. It is not quite clear whether this verse continues the utterance of the Gentile spokesman. If so, it appears to exhibit him in the light of a true follower of Yahweh to whom the purposes of the God of the Hebrews were familiar and intelligible. But the construction of the Massoretic text, and the wide divergence of the text on which the LXX based their rendering, render this one of the most problematic verses of the chapter. The opening clause in the Hebrew can only be translated somewhat as the R. V. render above, though the R. V. marg. 'made him sick' (better 'subjected him to disease') is certainly to be preferred. On the other hand, when we turn to the LXX we have clear evidence of a slightly different text with a quite different rendering. 'And the Lord (i. e. Yahweh) was pleased to purify him from the plague[1].' Here the word translated 'purify' is the same as the Hebrew word in our text which is rendered **bruise.** The LXX read that word with the sense which it bears in Aramaic[2]. Giesebrecht, it is true, would deal much more drastically

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Ps. xviii. 34; Deut. xxxii. 13), is, it must be confessed, quite unique and so questionable. It is possible that we ought to read *bêth môthô* = his sepulchre (on *bêth* used in this connexion cf. Neh. ii. 3). Also the Hebrew sing. form *'āshîr,* 'wealthy,' is strange, and Böttcher's emendation, *'ōsê ra',* is an ingenious escape from the difficulty, and sustains the parallelism. Peake in his translation adopts it (*Problem of Suffering*, p. 57). The verse in its first two lines would thus run:

'And one made (or appointed) with the wicked his grave,
And with the evildoers his sepulchre.'

[1] Evidently reading מֵחֳלִי for the very questionable Hif'îl form הֶחֱלִי of our text.

[2] The Piel דַּכִּי, in Aramaic, corresponds to the Hebrew זִכָּה, meaning 'cleanse,' purify. The question arises whether we may not assume,

He shall see of the travail of his soul, *and* shall be 11
satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant

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with the text, and would substitute for the above word another, viz. 'justify': 'Yahweh was pleased to justify him,' thus bringing the passage into harmony with the earlier Servant-passage, l. 8[1]. But there is absolutely no warrant for this.

Now when we glance over the contents of this verse it will be seen that it is the LXX rendering which places us at the right point of view. In the former days of the Martyr-servant's affliction 'we thought him plague-struck and smitten of God,' and so an object to be shunned. But now the true view of God's purpose as discipline, which is both purifying to His servant and atoning for others, is clearly set forth, as well as the ultimate restoration of the servant and his posterity.

'Yet Yahweh was pleased to cleanse him from disease.
Though thou[2] make his life a sin-offering,
He shall behold posterity—shall prolong life.
And the pleasure of Yahweh shall prosper in his hand.'

In the latter portion of this verse we have followed the traditional Hebrew text and arrangement, which yield an excellent sense. The LXX render as follows: 'And Yahweh is pleased to rescue from the trouble of his soul[3].' Here we have a different text as well as punctuation, which connects the last line with the opening words of the following verse (verse 11).

11. The speech of the representative or representatives of the Gentile nations ends with the preceding verse. The solemn

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as Duhm does, that the Hebrew word was understood in the Aramaic sense (since the influence of Aramaic we know to have prevailed very widely among the Jewish diaspora in Babylonia and in Egypt), or emend the text to זַכֹּתוֹ, its proper Hebrew form.

[1] *KJ.*, p. 109.

[2] LXX make this second pers. plur. The second pers. sing. here can only be understood as the momentary address to Yahweh by the Gentile spokesman who elsewhere speaks of Yahweh in the third person. Hebrew style is much more flexible than our own, which conforms to a rigid artificial uniformity. Lowth would punctuate the verb as a passive: 'Though his life be made a sin-offering.' Others would render: 'Though his soul (i.e. he himself) should make a sin-offering.' Both are possible solutions. Giesebrecht's suggested emendation, תֶּאְשַׁם for תָּשִׂים, 'Though his soul take on itself the guilt,' is very ingenious and attractive (*KJ.*, p. 110).

[3] Obviously an error for 'rescue his soul from trouble.'

12 justify many: and he shall bear their iniquities. Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he

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judgment-scene closes, as it opened, with the words of Yahweh. This is evident from the first person which occurs in verses 11 and 12. Perhaps an introductory line may have preceded verse 11, beginning 'Thus saith Yahweh . . .' Here again we are beset with difficulties as to text. The question which the scholar has to decide is, how far he is to defer to the LXX and abandon the Massoretic tradition. If we follow this course we have to assume that the speech of the Gentile spokesman continues in this verse. On the other hand, if we follow our traditional Hebrew text, which we consider the safer course, making such modifications as the LXX, sense, metre, or grammatical construction may require, we may adopt the following as the translation based on a fairly probable text (amid manifest and numerous signs of textual corruption). It is not possible to attempt more :—

'Through the travail of his soul shall he see light[1] in fullness;
By his knowledge shall my servant bring justification to many,
And of their guilt shall *he* bear the burden.'

Here in the first line the word 'light,' which occurs in the LXX version, has evidently dropped out of our Hebrew text and should be restored. 'Light' is here used in the sense of 'prosperity,' 'happiness.' In the second line of the above rendering we have omitted the adjective 'righteous,' as (1) it involves a clumsy appositional construction in the original; (2) evidently arises through dittography; (3) overweights the metric length of the line[2].

12. Therefore (i. e. on the ground of the sufferings through which he has passed and their atoning efficacy) 'I will divide him a portion among many.' In the Hebrew text, as it is punctuated by the Massoretes, we read '*the* many' (with definite article). But the following clause has no definite article before 'strong.'

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[1] Literally, 'shall see light, shall be satiated.'

[2] We append the LXX version in its entirety from the latter part of verse 10 (already quoted): 'And the Lord (i. e. Yahweh) is pleased to rescue from the travail of his soul (verse 11), to show unto him light and to fill (adopting Schleusner's conjecture πλῆσαι which Ottley accepts) with understanding to justify a righteous one who serves many well [?].' The writer is unable to follow Giesebrecht or Marti in their attempted reconstructions, partly based on the above data. Little is to be gained for O. T. textual reconstruction by such free methods as these scholars, as well as Duhm, have brought into play in the closing verses of this chapter.

shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he poured out his soul unto death, and was numbered with the

We have therefore (with Duhm) omitted it here in the first clause before 'many.' 'And with strong ones he shall divide booty.' The metaphor is that of warfare. The victorious warrior returns with the scars of battle upon him, and his king awards him due share in the spoils. The word in the original rendered 'many' (*rabbîm*) may also be translated 'mighty,' and this agrees better with the word 'strong' in the next clause. The same word, however, occurs later in the verse in the sense of 'many,' and it is hardly probable that it can have been employed in two distinct senses in the same verse.

The grounds for the high honour bestowed on the martyred servant are once more emphasized at the close of the poem, since the dominant idea in the mind of the poet is the glory of vicarious suffering. This is the earliest expression of a conception (viz. the atoning value of the sufferings of pious men) which attained wide development in later times, and constantly meets us in the teachings of the Jewish Synagogue. We have a clear and vivid example of it during the struggles of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, when sufferings were endured by pious martyrs for the Jewish faith. One of the seven brothers prays that 'in me and my brothers the wrath of the Almighty may be appeased which has justly passed upon all our race' (2 Macc. vii. 38). 'Be gracious unto thy people, and let the punishment which we endure for them suffice thee. Let my blood serve for purification, and as equivalent for their life (ἀντίψυχον) take my own' (4 Macc. vi. 29; cf. i. 11, ix. 24, xvii. 20–22, xviii. 4). Lastly, Jesus regards His own death as a 'ransom equivalent for many' (Mark x. 45)[1]. In still later Judaism the doctrine was carried to what appear to us extravagant lengths, and was connected with the widely prevailing doctrine of merit which played so great a part in Jewish soteriology. In order to understand it, it must be recollected that the integral solidarity of the race was a fundamental axiom of thought, and our modern individualism, with its severe and impenetrable walls of personality, was entirely foreign to the Jewish (which was also the Pauline) mind. The race is of one blood. Hence what individual righteousness could not obtain, it could supplement by the righteousness of pious forefathers and even contemporaries. In the words of the tract Sanhedrin (27 *b*): 'One Israelite is guarantee for another.' The student will find this subject treated with copious illustrations in Weber's *System der*

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[1] See Bousset, *Religion des Judentums* (2nd ed.), p. 228 foll.

12 transgressors: yet he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.]

54 Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear; break forth

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altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie (now called *Jüdische Theologie*), pp. 280 foll.

We are passing into a more debatable region when we press our inquiry into the *historic roots* of this conception of the atoning death. Gressmann, in his recent stimulating work (in German) on *The Origin of Israelite-Jewish Eschatology*, pp. 328 foll., follows up the clues suggested twenty years ago in Robertson Smith's great treatise *Religion of the Semites.* We have to go back to the days of hoary antiquity, when gods and men were kin, out of which the primitive notions of sacrifice arose. We may find the clue in the conception expressed in cultus and its accompanying myth of the piacular death of the god which passed over into the ritual of the atoning death of the animals; cf. especially the mysterious rite of the goat for Azazel (Lev. xvi. 21 foll.); see *Religion of the Semites*², pp. 410 foll. That the *ultimate* antecedents of the ideas expressed in Isa. liii undoubtedly belong to primitive antiquity cannot be denied by any one who believes that the Hebrews formed an integral part of the Semitic branch of the great human life-tree. We gravely question, however, whether Gressmann, in accentuating the elements of mystery which unquestionably belong to Isa. liii and its portraiture of the Martyr-servant, has not exaggerated the *direct* influence of mythology in this chapter. Certainly we cannot place it on the same level with the obvious mythological traits in li. 9. We maintain that that influence was *indirect*, yet potent in the present case.

CHAPTER LIV.

JERUSALEM'S FUTURE PROSPERITY AND GLORY.

There is obviously no actual connexion between this chapter and the preceding section lii. 13—liii. 12. What influenced the Deutero-Isaiah or the redactor in adopting this succession of passages is probably to be found in the concluding verses of the preceding chapter (liii. 11, 12), which portray God's final vindication of His Servant. This concluding note in the last of the Servant-passages furnishes a *superficial link* of connexion analogous to many others in the sequence of the varied passages of O. T. prophecy as we find them in our text. But the actual link of connexion is with li. 17—lii. 12. Zion is compared to a barren woman during exile, cf. xlix. 20 foll. See notes on xlix. 14 foll., l. 1. Yet she now finds herself endowed with more children than

into singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail
with child: for more are the children of the desolate than
the children of the married wife, saith the LORD. Enlarge 2
the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains
of thine habitations; spare not: lengthen thy cords,
and strengthen thy stakes. For thou shalt spread abroad 3
on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall
possess the nations, and make the desolate cities to be
inhabited. Fear not; for thou shalt not be ashamed: 4

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a married woman has in normal circumstances (cf. verse 1), i. e. than Zion possessed in the days that preceded the exile. Verses 1-6 appear to form a metrical unity—each verse containing a couplet. Zion is to sing, for she is to receive a great accession of population, and this will necessitate the extension of her borders and the restoration of Judah's desolated towns, which shall once more be inhabited. Old griefs and the days when Yahweh the husband of Zion withdrew shall be now forgotten (verse 4). Yahweh returns to the forsaken wife.

1. The language re-echoes xliv. 23. The word rendered **sing** means the utterance of a clear ringing cry. Similarly the verb rendered **cry aloud** is descriptive of a high-pitched voice (cf. Isa. x. 30), employed in Jer. v. 8 in reference to the neighing of horses. It is the natural expression of strong emotion, whether of joy or fear.

2. The conceptions here are those of xlix. 18-21 (cf. especially verse 19). The LXX does not contain the word here rendered **habitations**, and it probably did not belong to the original text. Duhm is justified in omitting it as a gloss, as it overweights the metre. Translate: 'Let them stretch out the curtains' (or 'tent-hangings'; cf. Exod. xxvi. 1). 'Withhold not. Extend thy cords, make fast thy tent-pegs.' Cf. Jer. x. 20, and Isa. xxxiii. 20.

3 contains only one and a half instead of two full lines. Duhm and Marti seem justified in assuming that a half-line is omitted before the opening of this verse. **Spread abroad** in the original is more emphatic, 'break forth.' There seems here to be a reminiscence of Gen. xxviii. 14 (J). **Right** and **left**, according to Semitic usage (cf. the Arabic) mean south and north respectively. 'And desolated cities they shall populate,' i.e. the cities left deserted and in ruins by the Babylonian invasions of 597 and 587 B. C. under Nebuchadrezzar.

4. It is probable that the ideas of Ezek. xvi. 4-8, the beautiful long-wrought parable of Israel's earlier relations to Yahweh,

neither be thou confounded; for thou shalt not be put
to shame: for thou shalt forget the shame of thy youth,
and the reproach of thy widowhood shalt thou remember
5 no more. For thy Maker is thine husband; the LORD
of hosts is his name: and the Holy one of Israel is thy
redeemer; the God of the whole earth shall he be called.
6 For the LORD hath called thee as a wife forsaken and
grieved in spirit, even a wife of youth, when she is cast
7 off, saith thy God. For a small moment have I forsaken
8 thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee. In

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influenced the mind of the Deutero-Isaiah when he wrote the words **the shame of thy youth.** They refer to the early period of the affliction of Israel in Egypt, and subsequently the time of her humiliation by the Assyrians. The widowhood, on the other hand, refers to the period of the exile when Yahweh withdrew from His people (though He did not forget them), His own abode and temple in Jerusalem having been destroyed. Now that Jerusalem and its temple are restored, He returns (cf. the notes on xlix. 14-21 and li. 1 foll.).

6. Our R. V. misses the significance and power of the last clause first clearly perceived by Ewald. Render: 'And a wife of youth—to think that she should be rejected! saith thy God[1].'

7-8. *Another utterance of comfort.* The exile is here spoken of as but a brief interval in the great sweep of past and future history. This is characteristic of the optimism of the prophet, who stands in this respect contrasted with his pre-exilian predecessors of the eighth and seventh centuries, who proclaimed the wrath of Yahweh, who visited Israel with successive judgments (Isa. ii. 12-21, v, vi. 11-13, ix. 8 foll.) as chastisements for unfaithfulness and wrong. The chastisements are now past, and are regarded as mere incidents (xl. 1). This tone of feeling is reflected in Psalm literature. God's anger is but momentary; Ps. xxx. 5 (6 Heb.). The first half of verse 8 certainly appears too overweighted with words to be metrically correct. At the same time it is hardly possible to delete from the Hebrew text the word *rega*' ('for a moment'), as Duhm and Marti propose, since its presence is required by the word for **everlasting** in the overflowing wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the LORD thy redeemer. For this is *as* the waters 9 of Noah unto me: for as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn that I would not be wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee. For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed; 10 but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall

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[1] The particle *kî* followed by the imperf. should be understood here somewhat in the same way as in Gen. iii. 1. See the idiom explained in Ewald's *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache* (*Hebrew Syntax*, T. & T. Clark), 330 b and 354 c.

corresponding antithetic parallel clause. On the other hand, the Hebrew word which corresponds to **overflowing** (*sheṣef*) does not occur elsewhere, and looks like a corruption of the word that follows meaning 'wrath' (*ḳeṣef*), and was probably only retained by a copyist owing to the use of the proper word for the same idea in a similar connexion in Prov. xxvii. 4[1]. Accordingly the line in its original form read thus:—

> 'In wrath I hid my face for a moment, but with everlasting loving-kindness I have compassion on thee.'

Verses 9–10. *A third utterance of comfort.* A new and eternal covenant of peace and mercy. We have here a reminiscence derived from Gen. viii. 21 foll. (J_2), the covenant with Noah.

9. Several minor corrections of the Hebrew text are shown by the ancient versions to be necessary. Accordingly translate as follows with R. V. marg.:—

> 'As in the *days*[2] of Noah has this come to pass unto me:
> As I swore—that the waters of Noah should no more come over the earth—
> So have I sworn—that I would not be wrathful against thee nor chide thee.'

10. The opening clause should be taken in a concessive sense:—

> 'Though the mountains withdraw—and the hills shake,
> My loving-kindness shall not withdraw from thee, nor my covenant of friendship shake.'

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[1] The LXX have no word for 'overflowing' in their text, but it evidently suffered also from the dittography of the word for 'wrath.' Their Hebrew text corrupted the second word into the word for 'little,' which occurs in verse 7. They render: 'In a little wrath I turned away my face from thee.'

[2] So Symm., Vulg., Targ., Peš., and some old Hebrew MSS., and most modern critics, including Lowth and Delitzsch.

my covenant of peace be removed, saith the LORD that
hath mercy on thee.

11 O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not com-
forted, behold, I will set thy stones in fair colours, and
12 lay thy foundations with sapphires. And I will make thy
pinnacles of rubies, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all

Verses 11–17. *The New Jerusalem.* Jerusalem shall arise rebuilt with splendour. Corresponding to the external glory of its foundations and buildings shall be the inner ethical nobility of its people who shall dwell in righteousness, security, and peace.

11. The word here rendered by **fair colours** (*pûkh*) properly means the *stibium*, 'antimony,' or, more accurately stated, sulphuret of antimony (called in Greek *στίμμι* or *στίμμις*), corresponding to the *kohl* used by the Orientals at the present day. This substance was used in painting the eyes and eyebrows of fashionable women (such as Jezebel in 2 Kings ix. 30) in order to give them a more distinctive appearance. The *stibium* consisted of black metallic powder, which was applied partly in a dry state and partly as ointment to the eyelids and brows. It was supposed that the dark rim enhanced the brilliant appearance of the eyes. See *Hebrew Antiquities* (pub. R. T. S.), pp. 54 foll., with figures of ornamented face and *kohl* vessels. Ewald and Dillmann held that the meaning of the passage is that instead of the stones being laid in ordinary mortar they were to be laid in this black *stibium*, so that they would gleam forth like a woman's brilliant eyes. This pretty conceit certainly harmonizes with the consistent representation of Zion as feminine. On the other hand, it does not harmonize with the context, and especially with the parallel clause, which would lead us to expect that the word *pûkh* designates some precious stone. Accordingly it has been suggested by Wellhausen that another word for precious stone, viz. *nōphekh*, should be read here in place of *pûkh*[1], meaning probably 'carbuncle,' Exod. xxviii. 18, xxxix. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 16, xxviii. 13 (so LXX, Vulg., Josephus). Others, as Kittel, prefer to render by *onyx*.

12. Similarly the 'battlements' (or **pinnacles**, R. V.) are to be set in **rubies** (?). The word here rendered by 'rubies' is very obscure. LXX and Vulg. interpret it as meaning *jasper*, Symm. renders by *chalcedony*. It must be confessed that the rendering 'rubies' is tentative. Similarly we are in doubt as to the word

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[1] On the other hand, Klostermann would understand *pûkh* here in the sense of *nōphekh*.

thy border of pleasant stones. And all thy children shall 13
be taught of the LORD; and great shall be the peace of
thy children. In righteousness shalt thou be established: 14
thou shalt be far from oppression, for thou shalt not fear;
and from terror, for it shall not come near thee. Behold, 15
they may gather together, but not by me: whosoever shall

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for **carbuncles**, which the LXX interpret as 'crystal,' whereas Aq., Symm., and Vulg., in their uncertainty, simply render by 'engraved (or carved) stones.'

The reader will not fail to note that in Rev. xxi. 18–21 we have a more highly elaborated portrayal of the buildings of the 'holy city, the new Jerusalem' suggested by the verses 11, 12. There can be little doubt that the Deutero-Isaiah was influenced by the ideals of the restored Jerusalem contained in Ezek. xl–xlviii.

Verses 13–14. As is the outward so is the inward. The inhabitants are to be a righteous people taught of God.

13. It has been suggested that by a slight change in the vowel pronunciation (as in xlix. 17) we should render: 'All thy *builders* shall be taught of God,' instead of 'all thy *sons*, &c.' This is supported by most recent critics, Grätz, Duhm, Kittel, and Cheyne. On the other hand, it is not proposed to make the same change in the word for 'my sons' in the original at the close of the verse. No support is given in the versions (LXX, &c.) to the proposed emendation at the beginning of the verse, and it is difficult to see what is gained by the alteration. The Hebrews had no such antipathy to repetitions or tautology of expression that we have. Nor does the following clause, which opens verse 14, require the proposed change.

14. Instead of **shalt thou be established** the punctuation of the Hebrew text would require the translation of the reflexive (*Hithpa'ēl*) form by 'thou shalt found thyself,' the city of Jerusalem being apostrophized (cf. the same formation in Num. xxi. 27; Prov. xxiv. 3). On the other hand, by a different vocalization of the Hebrew text we obtain a passive form, which would be rendered as the R.V. above gives it.

15 is certainly not free from difficulty, and some have doubted whether it was written by the Deutero-Isaiah. It would be best to follow Hitzig, Ewald, Duhm, and Kittel in taking the verb in the opening clause not in the sense of **gather together** (as R. V. understands it), but in that of 'stir up strife' (with R.V. marg.). Accordingly the verse should be rendered:

> 'Should one stir up strife, it is not from me;—whosoever contends with thee shall fall against thee.'

The meaning is fairly clear. In the olden time Yahweh stirred

gather together against thee shall fall because of thee.
16 Behold, I have created the smith that bloweth the fire of
coals, and bringeth forth a weapon for his work; and I
17 have created the waster to destroy. No weapon that is
formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that
shall rise against thee in judgement thou shalt condemn.
This is the heritage of the servants of the LORD, and their
righteousness which is of me, saith the LORD.

55 Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters,

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up the foes who attacked Israel, such as the Assyrians and Babylonians, who inflicted the chastisements of Divine wrath (Amos ii. 4-16, v, vi, viii; Isa. ii, iii, v, vi-viii[1]; Mic. i-iii, and Jeremiah *passim*) for disobedience; but now Yahweh takes the side of Zion against her foes and brings about the downfall of the latter. 'Shall fall against thee,' i. e. in his attack against thee.

16 appears to follow in natural sequence on verse 15 rather than on verse 14. Therefore we should be disposed to regard verse 15 as genuine, as well as this whose genuineness can hardly be disputed. No one who contends against Zion can succeed, since God has omnipotent control and creates the workman who forges the weapons of war. For **his work** some would read with R. V. (marg.) 'its work,' i. e. the work or function of the *weapon*. On the other hand, others would refer the masculine possessive suffix to the *workman*, and render (as Ewald does) 'brings forth a weapon *as*[2] his work,' which certainly is a preferable as well as more natural construction.

17. The word **righteousness** here and in verse 14 includes the conception of victory and well-being which Yahweh has assured to the restored Zion-community as their inheritance. Cf. the remarks in the Introduction, § 4.

CHAPTER LV.

INVITATION TO ACCEPT GOD'S PROFFERED SALVATION.

Verses 1-5 are a call to Israel to come and enjoy in the restored Jerusalem the blessings of Yahweh's eternal covenant with His people. 'Him' in verse 4 refers to David (Zerubbabel).

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[1] The passages in Isaiah which definitely refer to Assyria as God's instrument for chastising Israel are: vii. 18, 20, x. 5, 6.

[2] The Hebrew preposition would then denote the product or result of activity. Others would assign it the meaning, which it sometimes bears, 'according to,' i. e. according to his (i. e. the workman's) function' (as a forger of iron implements). See Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.* [26], § 119. 3 c, 3 and 4.

and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; yea,
come, buy wine and milk without money and without
price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is 2
not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not?
hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good,
and let your soul delight itself in fatness. Incline your 3
ear, and come unto me; hear, and your soul shall live:

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1. The thirsty ones are bidden to come and obtain for themselves free of all cost the blessings which God will bestow on this new theocracy at Jerusalem. These blessings, both material and spiritual, are expressed in the terms of the usual forms of beverage in the Orient, water, wine, and milk, all of which, as Kennedy remarks in reference to milk (*Enc. Bibl.*, s. v.), 'could hardly fail to suggest a variety of figures to the biblical writers.' Probably we have an echo of the present passage in John iv. 10–15, vii. 37; Rev. xxi. 6, xxii. 17.

2 is evidently an appeal to the Jewish settler in foreign lands, more especially in Babylonia, which for many generations had been the land of commerce, as the enormous number of business transactions, recorded on the contract-tablets[1] dug out in vast multitudes from the *tells* or mounds, have proved. In this land, following the wise advice of Jeremiah (xxix. 4–7), the Jewish exiles after the disasters to Jerusalem of 597 and 587 B.C. had settled, and traded. G. Adam Smith pertinently observes that 'it was in Babylon that the Jews first formed those mercantile habits which have become . . . their national character. . . . They laboured and prospered exceedingly, gathering property and settling in comfort,' and in too many instances, as we have seen (see Introduction), abandoned the religion of their forefathers for that of their new land and home. From this eager pursuit of material and perishable prosperity the prophet seeks by his appeal to win them to the blessings of God's eternal covenant with the citizens of the new Jerusalem. The wealth of Babylonia will not satisfy the soul's cravings. It cannot be called 'food' (R.V. 'bread'). 'Eat ye what is wholesome that your soul may luxuriate in rich food.' For **labour** read 'wealth'; cf. xlv. 14 note.

3–4. Though Jerusalem was not to be without material blessings,

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[1] We use here the current term. But the word 'contract' is somewhat misleading. 'Deeds,' or 'Records of sale' would be more appropriate. An interesting description will be found in Rev. C. H. W. Johns's *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters*, pp. 10–13.

and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even
4 the sure mercies of David. Behold, I have given him for
a witness to the peoples, a leader and commander to the
5 peoples. Behold, thou shalt call a nation that thou

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it is evident that the prophet's thought is directed to the ethical and spiritual: 'Hear that your soul may live, and that I may conclude with you an eternal covenant.' There can be no doubt that his mind recurred to the great conception of Jeremiah's 'New Covenant' (Jer. xxxi. 27–34), to which he had already referred in xlii. 6 foll., xlix. 8. Like Jeremiah, too, he thought of the old Messianic expectations which associated themselves with David's lineage (Jer. xxiii. 5, 6). These anticipations had revived in the subsequent utterances of Ezekiel (xxxiv. 23 foll.). But during the intervening years of sorrow and blighted hopes they had declined and had given place to other ideals. They were now destined to revive as the political expectations of Israel were rekindled by the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus and his edict of Restoration to Israel. About this time the eyes of the Babylonian Jewish community were fixed upon a descendant of the ancient Davidic line, Zerubbabel, and it is quite possible—indeed, probable—that the words 'I have appointed him a prince and commander over peoples' refer to Zerubbabel. In him the Jewish community beheld the **sure mercies** connected with David and his seed. About seventeen years [?] later, in the infancy and slight beginnings of the restored community in Jerusalem, Haggai gave definite utterance to the high hopes which were entertained of him in a solemn prophecy (Haggai ii. 20–23). As we know from subsequent history and the curious phenomena of the text of Zechariah[1], these Messianic anticipations were destined to speedy extinction; whether by the ever-increasing priestly ascendancy or by the opposition of the old home population, the enemies of all true progress, we have no means of deciding. The Davidic dynasty, represented by Zerubbabel, is to be a witness among peoples to Yahweh's power, faithfulness, and love to Israel. It is quite possible that the Deutero-Isaiah was cognizant in some way of the prophecy in 2 Sam. vii (E, composed in the seventh century, according to Budde).

5. A reminiscence of the old 'Servant-songs' in the Deutero-Isaiah (xlix. 6, the conception of which is reinforced in the following verses by the Deutero-Isaiah). The Jewish people, who were addressed in the plural in verses 1–3, are now addressed as knowest not, and a nation that knew not thee shall run unto thee, because of the LORD thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee.

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[1] Cf. Zech. iv. 6–10, and on the passage vi. 9–14, with its textual defects, see Driver's notes in *Century Bible*, 'Minor Prophets,' vol. ii.

Seek ye the LORD while he may be found, call ye upon 6
him while he is near: let the wicked forsake his way, and 7
the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the LORD, and he will have mercy upon him; and
to our God, for he will abundantly pardon. For my 8
thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways

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an individual. Yahweh's power and love, manifested in the restored people and Davidic dynasty, form a powerful and attractive influence. Foreign peoples of whom Israel never heard shall respond to Israel's invitation and shall flock eagerly into Jerusalem.

Verses 6–13. The prophet now addresses words of earnest pleading to his countrymen, some of whom had abandoned the religion of their forefathers. The present is a great opportunity. Even the wicked who had forsaken Yahweh will obtain forgiveness, for God's thoughts and ways are greater than theirs, and His word is as sure of fulfilment as the rain or snow of their beneficent influence on earth's tillage. A new world shall greet the returning captives as they exultantly pursue their journey from the land of exile. The transformation shall remain as an eternal testimony of Yahweh's power and love.

6. The thought in the mind of the writer is that Yahweh is to be sought in His old place of abode—Jerusalem (not in Babylonia; cf. verse 12).

For **while he may be found,** read: 'when He suffers Himself to be found[1].'

7–8. The grounds for the omission of verse 7 as an interpolation, because there is a better sequence of thought between verse 8 and verse 6, are questionable. The worldly Jewish settler in Babylonia is exhorted to leave the vain objects of his interest and turn to Yahweh, whose ways and purposes are utterly different.

'Let the wicked man abandon his way, and the vain man his thoughts, that he may return to Yahweh, so that He may have mercy on him, and to our God, for He grants abounding forgiveness.' The following verse is based on the terms of verse 7. A

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[1] The idiom is that which is called by Hebrew Grammarians *Niph'al tolerativum,* of which we have had an example in liii. 7: cf. lxv. 1. See Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*^{26}, § 51. 2 a.

9 my ways, saith the LORD. For as the heavens are higher
than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways,
10 and my thoughts than your thoughts. For as the rain
cometh down and the snow from heaven, and returneth
not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring
forth and bud, and giveth seed to the sower and bread to
11 the eater; so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my
mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall
accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in
12 the thing whereto I sent it. For ye shall go out with joy,
and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills

contrast is drawn between God's ways and thoughts and those of the wicked. God's greater heavenly way is revealed in His free forgiveness.

10-11. Evil men's purposes and ways wither and perish, but not so the Divine thoughts. These abide eternal. God's word never suffers frustration.

returneth not thither . . . shall not return means 'does not become impotent and ineffectual.' We have already had occasion to notice this special use of the Hebrew word 'return' in the note on Isa. ix. 12, where the Hebrew word for 'return,' or 'turn back,' was explained as meaning 'cease to operate.' Similarly in the words of our Lord the blessing (corresponding to its opposite, the curse which is the expression of wrath) has a beneficent potency. The salutation of peace or *salâm* of Christ's messenger comes upon the worthy household, but upon the unworthy it ceases to operate, or, in the words of our Lord, 'returns to yourselves' (Matt. x. 13; cf. Luke x. 6. Cf. also 2 Sam. i. 22).

It would be preferable to render throughout the imperfect tenses in Hebrew as expressing an abiding and recurrent fact, i. e. by the present rather than the future. The tenses in both verses, containing the natural simile and its spiritual analogue respectively, correspond. The word for **void** (properly 'in vain') in the Hebrew text of verse 11 is obviously an awkward gloss added by some scribe[1]. It is not to be found in the LXX version and impedes the sense. Render: 'For just as the rain and snow shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn 13 shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree: and it shall be to the LORD for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.

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[1] For it is quite clear that the Divine word cannot be 'void' or 'in vain,' any more than the rain or snow, when it has accomplished its task. It merely 'returns,' i. e. ceases to operate, its work having been done.

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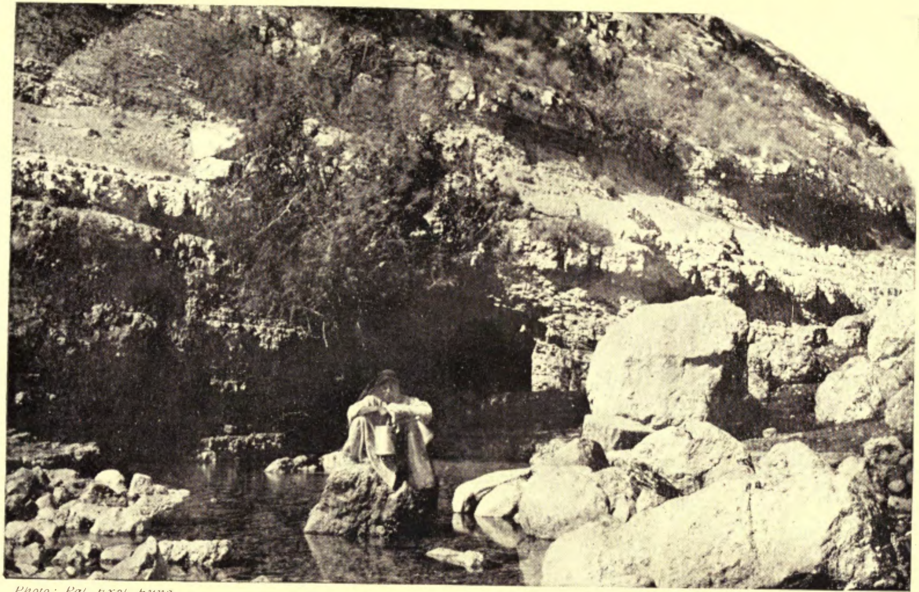
descend from heaven and do not return thither except they have drenched the earth, and made it bring forth and bud and have furnished seed to the sower and food to the eater; so is my word that proceeds from my mouth. It does not return to me, except it has done what I please and has succeeded in the mission on which I sent it.' Here the 'word' is, as it were, materialized and is 'sent' from heaven like the snow. Similarly in ix. 8 (7 Heb.), the contrasted word of Divine wrath falls on Israel to blast and destroy.

12-13. Having asserted the general principle of Yahweh's omnipotent will and the inevitable accomplishment of His gracious purpose, the prophet concludes his prophecy of persuasion and encouragement. We are carried back to the oracles of the return with which this entire collection opened, xl. 3-5. The desert itself is transformed by the appearance of the myrtle and the fir (or more properly 'cypress,' cf. xli. 19), in place of the brier (Cheyne 'nettle') and the thorn, in accompaniment to the gladness which pervades the returning caravan of exiles. These transformations in nature shall be the **everlasting sign** of Yahweh's new covenant with His Redeemed People. Cf. the 'new heaven and new earth' of chap. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22, which convey the same idea of an 'everlasting sign.'

VOL. II, PART II

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET
ISAIAH (CHAPTERS LVI–LXVI)
OR TRITO-ISAIAH

INTRODUCTION



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HESHBON : FOUNTAIN-HEAD

THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH

(CHAPTERS LVI–LXVI)

CALLED THE TRITO-ISAIAH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE RESTORATION OF THE JEWS UNDER CYRUS AND THE ADVENT OF NEHEMIAH (538–445 B.C.).

BETWEEN the last utterances of the Deutero-Isaiah and the time to which the eleven closing chapters of the Isaianic collection belong there probably intervenes a period of more than eighty years. About this interval we are in reality very imperfectly informed. The prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah (chaps. i–viii) give us some insight into the conditions which prevailed in Jerusalem about twenty years after the capture by Cyrus of Babylon and the edict of restoration. Also the prophecies of Malachi afford us much needed light respecting the conditions that prevailed more than fifty years later.

It is of course true that we have also the historic retrospect contained in the opening chapters of the Book of Ezra. But when we deal with this book, as well as that of Nehemiah, it must be remembered that they were redacted in their present form nearly two centuries later than the events which transpired in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, and that the accounts were compiled by the same hand that composed the Books of Chronicles. When we compare the opening verses of Ezra (i. 1–3) with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 foll. it would appear that Ezra was compiled in order to serve as an immediate sequel to the Books of Chronicles. In 1893 a Dutch critic, Kosters, the successor of Kuenen at Leiden, endeavoured to show[1] that the first four chapters of Ezra are to be regarded as quite unhistorical. All that is there narrated about the edict of Cyrus and the return of the exiles, the foundation of the temple and the suspension of the work in the reign of Cyrus, Kosters dismisses as fiction. Haggai and Zechariah knew of no other foundation of the temple than that which took place in their time (Hag. ii. 19). Nor, according to this critic, do these prophets assume that there was any return of a community of exiles from Babylonia. These prophets regard the time of Israel's chastisement as still enduring, and his redemption is all in the future (Zech. i. 2 foll., 12, ii. 6 foll., vi. 9–15, viii. 7 foll.). The foundation of the temple to which Haggai refers is the only temple-building which took place, viz. in 520–516 B.C. When the question is asked, to whom this rebuilding of the temple was due, Kosters replies that it was not carried out by the *gôlah* or returned Babylonian exiles, since they are never once mentioned in such a connexion in the oracles of Haggai and Zechariah, but only 'this people' (Hag. i. 2, 12, ii. 14) or 'remnant of the people' (Hag. i. 12, 14, ii. 2; Zech. viii. 6, 11, 12), or 'people of the land' (Hag. ii. 4; Zech. vii. 5), or in Zech. ii. 16, viii. 13, 15, 'Judah' or 'the house of Judah,' by which terms the inhabitants of Judah who had not been deported by Nebuchadrezzar between 597 and 586 B.C. are obviously meant.

These views are certainly not without some weight, and have exercised considerable influence in England[2] as well as on the continent. They have, however, been subjected to searching criticism by Wellhausen[1] and also by Edward Meyer in his detailed investigation of the Aramaic documents in Ezra iv–vii in his *Entstehung des Judentums* (pp. 8–71), in which he seeks to prove their genuineness. In England the chief credit for an independent and thorough examination of Kosters' theory belongs to Prof. G. Adam Smith. To his lucid presentation of the arguments against Kosters' views in his 'Book of the Twelve Prophets' (*Expositor's Bible*), vol. ii, pp. 194–219, we would refer the inquiring reader. Within our much narrower limitations we can only deal in brief summary with Kosters' positions. It will be found that if these be admitted in their entirety we shall be confronted by far greater difficulties than any which Kosters' reconstruction is designed to remove.

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[1] In his work with the Dutch title *Herstel van Israël*. Kosters was followed in 1895 by Eerdmanns, and in part by Wildeboer and Cheyne (*Introd. to Isaiah*, p. xxxviii).

[2] Soon after their publication Prof. Cheyne (*Introd. to Isaiah*, p. xxxviii), in his account of Kosters' views, so far agrees that he describes the assertion in Ezra v. 11–17 and vi. 1, 3–5 that Cyrus ordered the temple to be rebuilt and sent back the sacred vessels as a pious invention.

I. If we dismiss the record in Ezra chap. i, cf. vi. 3 foll., as wholly untrue, and therefore assume that no edict was ever issued by Cyrus for the return of the Jewish exiles and the restoration of this temple, we have to account (1) for the invention of the story itself, (2) for the preservation of the oracles of the Deutero-Isaiah xl–xlviii, which are taken up with the prophecy respecting Cyrus as the anointed servant of Yahweh, commissioned to restore Israel and rebuild the ruined city (xliv. 26, xlv. 13). We have also to account for the survival of chapters xlix–lv which contemplate the immediate fulfilment of their anticipations.

As to (1) the underlying motive of the invention, this is assumed to be the desire to give historic vindication to these oracles of the Deutero-Isaiah. Accordingly we have to suppose that for about ninety years the definite and confident predictions of the Deutero-Isaiah remained unfulfilled, and the pious exiles were doomed still to wait for the vindication of Yahweh's power. Whether the higher prophetic Yahweh-religion either in Babylonia or

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[1] Cf. *Israel. und Jüdische Geschichte*[2], pp. 155, 160.

Palestine could have survived so terrible a shock as this total falsification of its hopes, of which the news would spread far and wide, remains exceedingly doubtful. Still more doubtful is it whether the Deutero-Isaianic oracles would have survived[1]. (2) That they *did* survive, even though the hopes kindled by their immediate fulfilment were destined to suffer disillusionment in the following decades, we know to have been a fact. And this points irresistibly to the conclusion that Cyrus did actively co-operate in the restoration of a considerable, though perhaps not very large, body of Jewish exiles. That the oracles enjoyed in consequence of their fulfilment considerable prestige, like the earlier oracles of Isaiah in Ḥezeḳiah's reign, is fully proved by the profound influence which they exerted in a later generation—an influence which the style of the oracles of the Trito-Isaiah—especially of the lyrical passages lx-lxii—will clearly reveal.

Moreover, archaeology furnishes us with an indirect confirmation of the truth that Cyrus fulfilled the expectations of Hebrew prophecy. (*a*) This tolerance of and sympathy with native Babylonian cults is clearly shown in his clay cylinder[2]. Throughout Cyrus, though a Persian, regards himself as the reverent servant of Marduk (Merodach), the tutelary deity of Babylon. At this deity's command Cyrus restores to their shrines the gods whom Nabunâid had displaced (lines 33 foll.). That Cyrus exhibited the same tolerance and sympathy to the cults of other races, and especially to the Jews who had hailed his advent to power with rejoicing, is surely exceedingly probable. (*b*) The recent discovery of three Aramaic papyri at Elephantine, near Assouân, published by

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[1] We know that the falsification of the Messianic expectations which for a short time centred round the person of Zerubbabel in all probability caused the elimination of his name, and the consequent textual difficulties in Zech. vi. 11 foll. See Driver's note in the *Century Bible* Commentary.

[2] See p. 342 f., and Schrader's *KIB.*, ii, 2te Hälfte, p. 121 foll.

Prof. Ed. Sachau, supplies an indirect confirmation of the traditional view respecting Cyrus which is here advocated. The first papyrus contains a complete letter addressed by Jedoniah and his fellow priests of the temple of Yahweh at Yeb in the seventeenth year of Darius II (Nothus), i. e. in 407 B. C., to Bagohi, viceroy of Judaea. In recapitulating the past history of this temple of Yahweh, recently destroyed by the fanatical hatred of the Egyptian priesthood, it states that when Cambyses invaded Egypt (i. e. about 526 B. C.) he found the temple-building already existing. The shrine may indeed have originated at a much earlier period[1]. The lines 13, 14 in Sachau's rendering may here be cited:—

> [13] . . . 'And after the days of the kings of Egypt our fathers built that temple in the stronghold Yeb. And when Cambyses [Kambûzî] entered Egypt [14] he found the temple built; but all the temples of the gods of Egypt they destroyed, but to that temple no one did any injury.'

The exceptional favour shown by Cambyses to the temple of Yahweh is most readily explained by the assumption that the new Persian king was loyal to the policy of his predecessor Cyrus[2], which the Deutero-Isaiah in poetry and Ezra in prose have in the main faithfully depicted.

II. But how are we to account for the strange silence of Haggai and Zechariah respecting the foundation of the temple in the days of Cyrus (circa 536 B. C.)? Both represent the foundation and building of the sanctuary as having taken place during the years 520–516 B. C. No previous foundation is referred to. Cornill[1] is willing to concede this point, and holds that the Ezra records, compiled in a much later age, transferred from the reign of Darius this event, to which the contemporary prophets Haggai and Zechariah alluded, back to the reign of Cyrus. This might seem to be a not unnatural solution of the problem of the silence of these two prophets respecting any earlier foundation of the temple. Prof. G. Adam Smith, on the other hand, contends that such silence was quite explicable from the standpoint assumed by the two prophets, who emphasized that it was not by human might or power but by the Divine spirit (Zech. iv. 4) that the temple was to be rebuilt and the restoration completed. 'Their one ambition is to put courage from God into the poor hearts before them.' This we hold to be a sound argument. In this respect Haggai and Zechariah stand in line with the Deutero-Isaiah. Though the latter hailed the advent of Cyrus in the earlier days when exiled Israel was despondent and even faithless, Yahweh's blind and deaf servant (chaps. xl–xlviii), we hear no more about Cyrus in chaps. xlix–lv, when the anticipations already uttered were on the point of realization and the consummation was at hand. The mention of Cyrus and the strong supporting arm of Persia by either of the later prophets would have struck a discordant note. It would have belittled the majesty of Yahweh. Accordingly Haggai and Zechariah make no reference to the earlier attempt to rebuild the temple, which Samaritan opposition rendered abortive.

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[1] That the origin of the building was ancient seems to be indicated by the vague language of the writer. The existence of a diaspora even in the eighth century is suggested by a variety of passages in pre-exilian prophets. Cf. the notes in vol. i on Isa. xix. 19 foll., on which a useful light may perhaps be thrown.

[2] Since these words were written the writer has found that this inference has already been drawn by J. W. Rothstein in his monograph *Juden und Samaritaner* (1908), p. 13 foll.

It is now held by the majority of scholars that a considerable return of Jewish exiles from Babylonia did take place in the reign of Cyrus, and it probably continued in that of his immediate successors[2]. Both Zerubbabel and Joshua did not arrive unaccompanied. No temple restoration can be regarded as possible to the meagre, poverty-stricken population, tainted with the old semi-Canaanite traditions of the high places as well as the open polytheism which characterized the latter days of the old Judaean kingdom after the death of Josiah, and which his reformation was quite unable to extinguish. The high hopes which inspired both Haggai (ii. 4, 23) and Zechariah[1], and the enthusiasm with which both prophets hail Zerubbabel as the coming Messiah, were doubtless short-lived; yet they were only possible when we assume that new blood—that of the returned exiles who breathed the spirit of the Deutero-Isaiah—had entered into the decaying Jewish community and had vitalized it. Yet the task which confronted the restored exiles in the realization of their ideals was by no means an easy one. They had to reckon with men of a far different spirit, viz. the Jews who had not departed to Babylonia during the crises of 597 and the following deportation in 586. From Ezek. xxxiii. 24–29 we learn that they were prone to idolatry, murder, and dissolute practices, while viii. 5–18, in the form of a trance-vision, presents us with a strange spectacle of image-worship and animal portrayals in the temple of Jerusalem. To the student of the oracles of Jeremiah this is not in the least surprising, and when we come to examine the chapters in the Trito-Isaiah, lvii. 3–10, lxv. 2–5, lxvi. 3, 4, the impression will be confirmed that the reformation of Josiah's reign, of which we possess the reflex in the Book of Deuteronomy (see 2 Kings xxii, xxiii), was but transient and superficial in its effects. And we shall be still less surprised when we take up the interesting work of the late Prof. Sam. Ives Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*. The author there describes to us what he as well as previous explorers, such as Clermont Ganneau and others, have observed in their travels among the remoter regions of Syria and Palestine. Sacred stones and trees still remain objects of reverence. The local *nebi* or saint and the local demon play a far larger part in the daily life of the Bedawî of even this twentieth century in the country districts than the monotheism of Christian or Mohammedan. Mohammedanism and Christianity are but a thin veneer over beliefs and practices of hoary antiquity which cling to the soil and its people and stretch far back into an older past than the Old Testament itself. Comp. Kittel, *Studien zur Hebräischen Archäologie* (1908), p. 101 and footnote 2.

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[1] *Introd. to the O. T.*, § 21. 7 c.

[2] e. g. in that of Darius Hystaspis, as Zech. vi. 10 clearly indicates.

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[1] Note especially the language of Zechariah, 'I *have returned* to Jerusalem in mercy. My house shall be built in it' (i. 16; cf. viii. 3, 7–9).

That the old and primitive traditions of Semitic life and cultus persisted with extraordinary vigour in the days when the chapters comprised in 'Trito-Isaiah' were composed (circ. 460–445 B.C.) is obvious to the attentive reader, and furnish clear indications that they were written on Palestinian soil.

§ 2. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS PREVALENT IN JUDAEA IN THE DAYS OF THE TRITO-ISAIAH.

The opening verses of the Trito-Isaiah, lvi. 1–8, clearly reveal that they belong to an entirely new stadium of Jewish history as compared with the environment of the chapters in the Deutero-Isaiah which precede. In the latter we are in the midst of an exiled community, and are confronted by a turning-point in their history. Fresh vistas disclose themselves. The Babylonian land of exile is soon to be left behind, and the caravans are wending their way to the homeland. But here all is changed. For the present the exultant note of anticipation is not so often heard. The community has long been settled in its Palestinian home, and they are organized into a community. Sacrifices are offered at the Temple altar as well as the service of prayer (lvi. 7). Sabbaths are strictly kept (verse 6), and the prophet bids the foreigner and the eunuch welcome to the religious privileges of the sanctuary.

A new spirit breathes through these oracles. The music is frequently in the minor key. We have passed from the brighter world of noble ideals and happy anticipation to the darker region of disillusionment. The language of bitter and stern rebuke is often heard. We are dwelling amid the hard realities of an evil world. Sabbaths and fasts are celebrated, but the evils of a hollow formalism and social oppression are as manifest as they were in the days of Amos and Isaiah. Of this we have a remarkable example in chap. lviii, which breathes the same spirit of high social ideals of duty and of stern denunciation of Judah's social sins that characterized the pre-exilian prophets (Amos v; Isa. i, v). Men who conformed to the orthodox traditions of fasting or 'afflicting the soul,' and thought that they were meriting Divine blessing and favour thereby, were guilty of violent strife and the oppression of the poor. The language of chap. lix, like that of chap. lviii, discloses to us an entirely new set of circumstances which had intervened since the prophecies of the Return in chaps. xl–lv had been delivered. We are now in the presence of a settled religious community in the Judaean homeland possessed of a sanctuary with organized worship and definite traditions—but a community which had become degenerate. These new conditions could only have developed after a considerable lapse of time.

This conclusion is fortified by a comparison with the internal conditions disclosed by (*a*) Ezra and Nehemiah and (*b*) the prophecies of Malachi. As these facts have been already set forth by Prof. Driver in his introduction to Malachi, § 2[1], where the intervening history from the days of Zechariah to those of Nehemiah is succinctly narrated, it will not be necessary to go over the same ground here. As in the case of Malachi, the internal conditions of the Jewish community aroused a feeling of 'depression and discontent.' 'The return from Babylon had not been followed by the ideal glories promised by the second Isaiah; the completion of the Temple had not, as Haggai and Zechariah had promised, brought in the Messianic age; Jerusalem, instead of the population overflowing on all sides (Zech. ii. 4), was thinly inhabited (Neh. vii. 4; xi. 1) and, till 445, largely a ruin (Neh. i. 3, ii. 3, 17); bad harvests (Mal. iii. 11), troubles from neighbours (Ezra iv. 7–23; cf. Neh. iv. 2 f.), and general poverty (Neh. v) increased the disheartenment. A spirit of carelessness and indifference prevailed widely among the people[1]' (cf. in reference to priests and sacrifices Mal. i. 6–8, 13, 14, ii. 6, 7–9).

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[1] *Century Bible*, 'Minor Prophets,' vol. ii, p. 287 foll.

This close approximation of conditions, and more especially of the general tone of feeling, in Malachi and in the Trito-Isaiah, points to a close approximation of date. We are well within the era of degeneracy, 460–445 B.C. A day of crisis and terrible chastisement from Yahweh is apprehended: 'A day is coming, burning as an oven,' Mal. iv. 1 (iii. 19 Heb.). Similarly the Trito-Isaiah, lxvi. 15:

> 'For behold, Yahweh will come in fire—and like the whirlwind his chariots,
> Causing as retribution His wrath to fall in hot anger—and his rebuke in fiery flames.'

Another interesting point of contact between the Trito-Isaiah and the oracles of Malachi is the *denunciation of Edom* which finds a place in both. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the historical basis upon which the denunciation rests is meagre and obscure (Mal. i. 2–5, on which see Driver's notes, and Isa. lxiii. 1–6, with the introductory notes to this section below).

Moreover, the figure of a personal Messiah, which passes like a transient gleam across the last lyric utterance of the Deutero-Isaiah (lv. 3, 4) and became definitely associated by Haggai (ii. 21–23) and Zechariah (iv. 6–10, vi. 12) with the person of Zerubbabel, had long vanished. The conception of a personal Messiah has no place in the prophecies of better things in Malachi (iii. 16–18, iv. 2, 3 [iii. 20, 21 Heb.]) or in the lyric strains that herald the restoration of Israel (Nehemiah's advent) in the Trito-Isaiah (lx–lxii).

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[1] Driver, ibid., p. 293.

Lastly, Isa. lvii. 3–10, lxv. 2–5, and lxvi. 3, 4 clearly show that Judaean life in Palestine in the days of the Trito-Isaiah was tainted by the prevalence of modes of religious practice and cultus which were alien to the purer ideals of Yahweh worship established in the Deuteronomic code. Moreover, we are, in these later chapters of the collection, confronted by definite allusions to the Samaritan schism —references which become clear when we study the earlier chapters of Nehemiah, and place them by the side of the last two chapters (lxv and lxvi) of the Trito-Isaiah.

§ 3. THE STYLE OF THE TRITO-ISAIAH

is chiefly marked by its evident signs of dependence on the Deutero-Isaiah. This, however, applies rather to the phraseology than the structural form of the sentences to which attention has already been drawn on p. 35. The style of the Deutero-Isaiah is distinctively marked, individual and original. This cannot by any means be said of the Trito-Isaiah, whose indebtedness to earlier writers is conspicuous in every chapter. The influence of the Deutero-Isaiah is most evident, especially in the lyrical passages lx–lxii and other sections of similar character, as in lxvi. 10 foll. These will be found noted in the commentary. There are, however, other literary influences as well, which have moulded the diction of the Trito-Isaiah. One of these is the *Deuteronomic*. The expression 'keep' (or 'observe'), which is so characteristic of Deuteronomy (Heb.

shāmar), occurs five times in lvi. 1–8. 'Do that which is evil in the eyes of Yahweh' is a phrase which occurs in varied form in lxv. 12, lxvi. 4 (cf. lix. 15), and is specially Deuteronomic (see Deut. iv. 25, ix. 18, xvii. 2, xxxi. 29), and frequently recurs in those sections of the historical books (especially the Book of Kings) which are subject to Deuteronomic redaction[1]. Also the expression 'provoke to anger' by idolatrous practices, lxv. 3, is, as Cheyne remarks, specially Deuteronomic[2] (Deut. xxxi. 29, xxxii. 16: cf. Jer. vii. 18; 1 Kings xiv. 9, 15, xvi. 2, 7, 13 foll.). Other examples of Deuteronomic influence which are specialities of Hebrew diction may be found by the student of Hebrew in Cheyne's Introduction. Enno Littmann[3] calls attention to the infinitive with fem. ending (*-āh*) which occurs in lvi. 6 ('*to love* the name of Yahweh'; lviii. 2 '*to draw near* unto God). Such forms are very common in Deuteronomy (x. 15, xi. 33, 22, xix. 9, xxx. 6, 16, 20).

Equally manifest is the influence of *Ezekiel* both in diction and idea. Here we note a certain contrast between the Deutero-Isaiah and the Trito-Isaiah, though by no means so marked as Duhm would have us believe (compare the statement above in the Introduction to Deutero-Isaiah, p. 29 and footnote). The influence of Ezekiel is much more definite in the Trito-Isaiah. Compare, both as to diction and idea, Isa. lviii. 7 with Ezek. xviii. 7—'plead' (or 'urge one's cause'), *niph'al* of *shāphat*, in lxvi. 16; cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 22; 'abomination,' lxvi. 17, and 'abominable beast' (the same word *sheḳeṣ*) in Ezek. viii. 10; unclean flesh (*piggûl*), Isa. lxv. 4 and Ezek. iv. 14. The use of 'Son of Man' in Isa. lvi. 2 is quite in the special sense of man as a member of the human race in his relation to God so common in the oracles of Ezekiel. Also in reference to keeping the Sabbath in lvi. 2, 4, 6, we are reminded of the special importance attached to its due celebration in Ezek. xx. 13. The motive underlying lxvi. 19 foll. seems to be taken from Ezek. xxxviii foll. (see notes), and some of the race-names appear to be borrowed from the same source and Ezek. xxvii. Other instances might be cited; cf. Isa. lvii. 8 foll. and notes.

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[1] See the full list of particulars as to style in Driver's *Deuteronomy*, Introd., p. lxxxii (49). On *shāmar* see ibid. (68).

[2] *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, p. 372.

[3] *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaia*, p. 6.

There were likewise borrowings from other sources, as from *Jeremiah* (cf. lxv. 18, 19). These will be found by the student of the Commentary. It should also be noted that there are many words and phrases employed by the Trito-Isaiah which are altogether foreign to the diction of his great predecessor, the Deutero-Isaiah. These are to be mainly found in chaps. lvi–lix and in chaps. lxv–lxvi, and consist in special Hebrew words, for which the student is referred to the full information contained in the separate sections on those chapters in Cheyne's valuable Introduction (the reader of German should also consult Enno Littmann's monograph above cited, pp. 6, 7).

§ 4. REDACTION OF DEUTERO- AND TRITO-ISAIAH.

The chapters called the Trito-Isaiah, which do not include lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12 (11, Heb.)[1], belong to some date between 460 and 445 B.C. (advent of Nehemiah). Chaps. lx–lxii and lxv, lxvi may probably be assigned to a date very near the close of this period, while the remaining chapters of this collection probably belong to some earlier date. At what time, if ever, was any separate collection of the writings of the Trito-Isaiah formed? It is hardly possible to give a definite answer, and any conclusions that can be formed on the subject must, under our present conditions of knowledge, be very general and to a large extent hypothetical.

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[1] See the introduction to that section in the commentary, in which it is shown that this passage must be assigned to some date between 536 and 520 B.C., i.e. before the temple of Zerubbabel was built.

Two collections of Deutero-Isaianic prophecies were made either by the prophet who uttered them or by his disciples. The *first* collection (chaps. xl–xlviii) was formed shortly after the conquest by Cyrus of Babylon, and includes only the first of the Servant-poems. The *second* was formed not long after the first caravan of exiles had arrived in Palestine (viz. chaps. xlix–lv). It includes three of the Servant-poems, and among them the longest and last. It may well have been made after a certain reaction from the first high hopes had set in and the prophet reflected deeply on the great lessons to his race conveyed in the 'Servant-poems'; lv. 3, 4 appears to contain a distinct reference to Zerubbabel. During the rebuilding of the temple in the days of Haggai and Zechariah these collections must have enjoyed considerable popularity among a certain section of the population who had returned from exile.

We have seen how deeply they influenced the Trito-Isaiah. Probably when the oracles of the latter were gathered into a collection in the days of Nehemiah (or subsequently) the Deutero-Isaianic oracles were incorporated as well as the detached oracle lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12, though it is impossible to say why it is placed in the position where it stands. That this early collection of chaps. xl–lxvi was edited about 400 B.C. seems to be indicated by the insertion of li. 11, which is evidently borrowed from xxxv. 10. See note on the former passage [the note on the latter in vol. i needs correction]. As we have already shown, chaps. xl–lxvi existed as a separate collection about 300 B.C. This may be inferred from 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 foll. (see vol. i of this Commentary, Introduction, p. 70). It is possible that by that time this collection was redacted in the form in which we now have it. Or it may even be that there was a subsequent final redaction in which the strange pessimistic glosses to chap. xlviii were incorporated as well as others (cf. l. 11), including the terrible closing two verses of chap. lxvi.

THE TRITO-ISAIAH

ISAIAH LVI—LXVI

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

ISAIAH

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH

Thus saith the Lord, Keep ye judgement, and do **56** righteousness: for my salvation is near to come, and my

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II. THE TRITO-ISAIAH.

Chaps. lvi–lxvi, or Trito-Isaiah, composed between 460 and 445 B. C.

Chapter LVI. 1–8.

An assurance to Proselytes and Eunuchs.

It was prophesied in the Deutero-Isaiah that foreigners would unite themselves with Israel (xliv. 5; cf. the earlier utterance, xlix. 6). In the passage before us we clearly see the fulfilment of the anticipation. Foreigners had already entered into the covenant blessings of Yahweh's people (see Introd. to Deutero-Isaiah, § 5, p. 43; cf. Zech. ii. 11 [15 Heb.]). It is evident that those proselytes who had accompanied the Jews in their return to Palestine, or who had joined the Jerusalem community as foreign residents on Palestinian soil, were apprehensive that the enforcement of a more rigid and exclusive system would debar them from the privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed. It is manifest that an exclusive tendency had already revealed itself. Ezek. xliv. 6–9 certainly exercised a considerable determining influence over the future, as certain indications in the Deutero-Isaiah clearly suggest, lii. 1, 11 (as well as the remarkable parallels in the Code of Holiness incorporated in the Priestercodex). Moreover, the eunuchs who were of Israelite descent were also apprehensive. These had served as courtiers in the palace of the Persian Great King, and since they were rendered incapable of bearing children, they were regarded as subject to a Divine curse, according to the prevalent conceptions of the Semitic world which held childlessness to be an unspeakable calamity. They were as profitless as barren trees to the new community, to whom increase of population was vital. To both, the foreign residents and the eunuchs, the Divine word of comfort comes; let them be faithful to the Covenant and keep the Sabbath. The reference to the Sabbath both here and in lviii. 13 is instructive. We note the significant fact that ritual holds a larger place here than in the Deutero-Isaiah, in which the Sabbath is never mentioned. Ezek. xx. 13 (cf. Neh. xiii. 15) indicates that during the exile a new tradition had arisen in which severer restrictions were practised on

2 righteousness to be revealed. Blessed is the man that doeth this, and the son of man that holdeth fast by it; that keepeth the sabbath from profaning it, and keepeth

the Sabbath than in the earlier pre-exilian days, when Sabbath meant merely the weekly cessation of daily toil. At the same time, as Cheyne remarks, the writer of this passage appears to be more liberal than Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra ix. 1–4; Neh. xiii. 1–3), and in this respect approximates rather 1 Kings viii. 41–43.

1. This chapter begins abruptly, and has obviously no connexion with the preceding one (Deutero-Isaiah), which is filled with the happy anticipations of a new era which was to break upon the Babylonian exiles.

The word **judgement** here, or 'right,' is employed with reference to the ceremonial custom which was embodied in the Deuteronomic code. These legal requirements are called in the Book of Deuteronomy 'judgments' (*mishpātim*), Deut. iv. 45, xii. 1[1]. Similarly, 'righteousness' begins to have rather the legal than the ethical sense which belonged to the term in the older prophets. It means here conformity to law in the first part of the verse, in which human conduct is referred to, while in the latter part of the verse, where Divine dealing is the subject considered, 'righteousness' as a characteristic of God's action possesses the signification of conformity to the Divine redemptive purpose, and therefore naturally stands in parallelism with 'Salvation.' This conception of the word 'righteousness' is, as we have already seen, characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah (see Introduction, p. 37).

2. We note here the characteristic use of the expression **man** and **son of man.** The word 'man' (*ĕnôsh*) is man in his frailty and limitation—'mortal.' 'Son of man' also designates man as a member of the human race in his relation to God. It is the constantly recurring term of address by God to Ezekiel. Both expressions meet us in later literature. Notice especially Ps. viii. 4 (5 Heb.). The pronouns **this** and **it** in the opening clause are *proleptic*, i. e. anticipate the reference to the **Sabbath** and the abstinence from all evil which immediately follows. By the **evil** the writer expresses in one comprehensive and collective term all the vices which disgraced the Jewish Palestinian community in the later degenerate days of the Trito-Isaiah, quarrelling, violence, lying, deceit, injustice, to which the writer makes ample reference in the later chapters (lviii. 4–6, lix. 2–15).

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[1] Duhm also calls attention to the influence of Deuteronomy over the Trito-Isaianic writer in the characteristic use of the word 'keep' both in this and the following verses.

his hand from doing any evil. Neither let the stranger, 3
that hath joined himself to the Lord, speak, saying, The
Lord will surely separate me from his people: neither let
the eunuch say, Behold, I am a dry tree. For thus saith 4
the Lord of the eunuchs that keep my sabbaths, and
choose the things that please me, and hold fast by my
covenant: Unto them will I give in mine house and 5

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3. The clause **that hath joined himself to the LORD** (Yahweh) is considered by Duhm and Marti to be a later gloss imported from verse 6, where a similar expression occurs. This clause appears to involve a disturbance of the verse-structure of long lines of two short lines each resembling that which occurs in the Deutero-Isaiah. But it is very difficult to trace this verse-form after the close of verse 2. Moreover the suspected clause stands in the LXX version. We see, therefore, no sufficient reason for removing these words from the text.

The exile discipline had introduced the Jew to a wider world, and his attitude towards foreigners became thereby more tolerant and his interests more cosmopolitan. Even Ezekiel recognized the necessity of giving due place and privilege to the resident alien (Ezek. xlvii. 22). Cf. Isa. xliv. 5, xlv. 14, 23, lv. 5.

4. The Covenant here is hardly the New Covenant of Jer. xxxi. 31 foll. present to the mind of the Deutero-Isaiah xlii. 6 foll., xlix. 8, but rather the Covenant of the Deuteronomic type, which was ceremonial as well as ethical, Deut. xxix. 1, 9 [xxviii. 69 and xxix. 8 Heb.]. The R.V. rightly renders the Hebrew not by 'unto the eunuchs' but '*of* (i.e. with respect to) the eunuchs,' which the context shows to be the only possible interpretation.

5. A word of comfort to the eunuchs (contrasted with Deut. xxiii. 1 [2 Heb.]). Childlessness to the eunuch meant that he would leave no memorial in the form of posterity to perpetuate his name. In the case of Absalom a pillar was erected by him because he was destined to die childless, 2 Sam. xviii. 18. Yahweh here declares to the eunuchs that a memorial pillar of this kind shall be erected for them within the temple precincts. The R. V. here correctly renders the Hebrew original *yad* by 'memorial.' It literally means 'hand.' The ancient versions LXX, Targ., Pesh., Vulg., followed by Delitzsch, render this word vaguely by 'place,' a meaning for which lvii. 8 and Deut. xxiii. 13 afford no warrant. Gesenius and De Wette render by 'portion.' It is archaeology which finally settles the meaning. Marti notes the significant fact that on Phoenician and Punic monumental stones this figure of a hand is often found. See the

within my walls a memorial and a name better than of sons and of daughters; I will give them an everlasting
6 name, that shall not be cut off. Also the strangers, that join themselves to the LORD, to minister unto him, and to love the name of the LORD, to be his servants, every one that keepeth the sabbath from profaning it, and
7 holdeth fast by my covenant; even them will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon mine altar: for mine house shall be called
8 an house of prayer for all peoples. The Lord GOD

Carthaginian votive stones figured in Schröder, *Phöniz. Sprache*, Taf. xii (at the end of the work). This memorial in God's own House is to be a surer guarantee of an abiding name than posterity. For posterity after all may be cut off by the adverse chances of war or pestilence, but God's House abides.

Verses 6-8. A word of comfort to the foreign proselytes. These are described in a series of clauses as 'those who attach themselves to Yahweh in serving Him and loving His name.' **Name** here has its special Semitic connotation of personal presence and power; cf. Mal. iv. 2 (iii. 20 Heb.); Matt. vi. 9, xviii. 20; Acts iii. 16; Eph. i. 21, &c., since the utterance of the name was held to summon forth the potency of the Divine personality named. Stress is also laid on the careful maintenance by the proselyte of the Sabbath.

Verse 7 gives hint of a special importance in worship attached to prayer which emerges as the direct result of the exile. The exiled community were precluded by the local conditions of worship, which Deuteronomy still further restricted, from offering sacrifices to Yahweh (cf. xliii. 24 and note). This form of worship, however, prophetic teaching deprecated unless accompanied by an inward renewal and righteous conduct (Amos v. 9-12, 21-24; Isa. i. 11-17). Stress was laid on the ethical as distinguished from the ceremonial. Accordingly prophetic influence combined with the suspension of sacrificial offerings in Babylonia caused the exiles to devote themselves to the only form of worship open to them, viz. *prayer*[1]. The effect of this persisted, as we see in the present passage, after the return of the exiles to Judaea. *Prayer* in this verse takes which gathereth the outcasts of Israel saith, Yet will I gather *others* to him, beside his own that are gathered.

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[1] Cf. Dan. vi. 10.

All ye beasts of the field, come to devour, *yea*, all ye 9

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precedence of the material offerings of sacrifice. And the effect became still more far-reaching and affected the synagogal worship, which in the future was destined to exercise so deep an influence in the Jewish Diaspora, among whom sacrifices could have no place. Yahweh's sanctuary henceforth became to an increasing degree a 'house of prayer.' Moreover, it was to become—and here we see a manifest indication of the leaven of the Servant-poems (cf. xlix. 6)—a 'prayer-house for all peoples.' This last conception is unfolded in verse 8. In verse 7 for **accepted** read either 'acceptable' or 'favourably accepted.' In verse 8 it would be better, in place of **outcasts**, to read *dispersed* (i. e. those driven forth into exile). The verb is used in the same sense in Jer. xl. 12, and the expression seems to have been derived from Isa. xi. 12. In addition to *him*, i. e. Israel already dwelling in Palestine, and also in addition to *his gathered Israelite exiles*[1] (R. V. 'his gathered ones'), others are to be included. The reference is evidently to the Gentile proselytes.

CHAPTERS LVI. 9—LVII. 13.

A scathing denunciation of neglectful rulers and idolatrous people.

We pass into an entirely new section. From words of reassurance and comfort to the eunuch and the proselyte we are suddenly transported into a stern denunciation which evidently stands in no relation to what immediately precedes. We have a severe rebuke of the sluggishness and selfishness of the rulers of the Jewish community in Canaan. These reck not that they bring righteous men to misery, but pursue the even tenour of their greed and drunkenness (lvi. 9—lviii. 2). Then follows a description of idolatrous practices. In many cases the text is corrupt and the meaning enigmatic (lvii. 3-13).

In the earlier days of criticism (preceding 1890) this entire passage was a baffling problem to the critics, who regarded xl-lxvi as almost entirely the product of the exile. It was not until a closer analysis of these chapters had definitely assigned lvi-lxvi to the post-exilian period that any clear light was shed on the problem. It was not surprising that Eichhorn, Bleek, Ewald, and even Kuenen[2] and Dillmann, thought that we had

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[1] 'His gathered ones' is not a parallel phrase (or added gloss, as König takes it) to 'him.' Perhaps a copula has dropped out.

[2] Kuenen, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung: Die prophetischen*

10 beasts in the forest. His watchmen are blind, they are

suddenly stepped back into pre-exilian times. It would seem as though we were standing in the midst of the darkest times of idolatry and syncretism in the eighth or the seventh century. The large number of points of contact in language between this section and Jeremiah are noted in Cheyne's careful survey in his *Introduction*, pp. 318-320. It is not surprising that Ewald's keen eye noticed this. In his *Propheten des Alten Bundes*[2], iii, p. 103, he institutes a comparison between this section and Jer. v. 7-9, 29, ix. 8. He draws the conclusion that the prophet of the exile (to whom Ewald, like most critics of his time, assigned chap. lxv) perceived that there were manifest tendencies towards idolatry in the days in which he lived, and judged that he could not do better than quote the words of warning of an older prophecy of the pre-exilian period. The parallels with Jeremiah led Ewald and others to fix on the reign of Manasseh with its deep religious declension as the period to which this old prophecy belonged. More recent criticism has shown that it is to the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah rather than to Jeremiah we must look for the historic parallels as well as to the situation disclosed by such passages as Mal. ii. 11, iii. 5; cf. Neh. v. 2-11, xiii. 23 foll.; cf. Ezra ix. 11—x. 11. That the phraseology of Jeremiah and Ezekiel sometimes recurs in the Trito-Isaiah we shall find to be characteristic of this post-exilian document, which is filled with literary reminiscences both from the Deutero-Isaiah and from earlier writers. We may assign to the present section some date subsequent to 460 B. C. It reflects the conditions that prevailed immediately before the advent of Ezra and Nehemiah.

9 is an ironical invitation (apparently from Yahweh) addressed to the wild beasts of the field and forest to come and devour the cultivated land. They have an excellent opportunity, for the watchmen are slumbering. The metrical structure of this poem consists of stanzas containing each four long lines, each line consisting of the two portions in the form of the well-known Ḳînah or elegiac measure, with three accentual beats in the first portion and two in the second:

'All beásts of the fiéld, come to devoúr—all beásts in the wóod.'

Forms with archaic terminations are employed to express 'beasts' and 'field,' which remind us of the same characteristic

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Bücher, p. 133, holds that lvi. 9—lvii. 11*a* are a pre-exilian passage which the author of verses 11*b*-20 quotes and delivers as an address of warning to his contemporaries—a view not essentially different from that of previous critics.

all without knowledge; they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; dreaming, lying down, loving to slumber.
Yea, the dogs are greedy, they can never have enough; 11

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forms in other post-exilian literature, viz. P (Gen. i. 24), and seem to have been an affectation of style at that period. It is hardly possible to identify the 'wild beasts' with any special community (e. g. the Samaritans) or race. It may have been a general designation of Israel's foes.

10. Probably we ought with Duhm to substitute the Hebrew for '*my* watchmen' for the obscure form which stands in the original, which the LXX interpreted as an imperative ('watch ye,' or 'behold'). The latter part of this line in our Hebrew text is obviously defective. The expression 'know not' (R. V. **without knowledge**) requires an infinitive verb in Hebrew to supplement it. The metre is certainly improved by it, and the LXX shows that a verb 'to show understanding' (*φρονῆσαι*) should be added. We may therefore follow Duhm and Cheyne in completing the line thus:

> 'My wátchmen are áll of them blínd—know not hów to give heéd' (*hābîn*, cf. verse 11).

The term 'watchmen' is so frequently employed in prophecy to designate the prophets (cf. Jer. vi. 17; Ezek. iii. 17; xxxiii. 7, &c.) that there is no need to include under this term the rulers of the people as some commentators prefer to do. These degenerate watchmen are compared to dogs that are too lazy and sleepy to bark at the intruder. Whether the dogs here are thought of as house-dogs or the hounds that guard the flock (Job xxx. 1) is not directly stated. But the latter may be definitely concluded from the mention of 'shepherds' in the following verse. The 'watchmen,' i. e. the prophets, are not alert to make their warning voice heard at the approach of danger to the state, as God's true prophets should do (Ezek. xxxiii. 6), but are 'maúndering[1], lýing still—lóving to slúmber.'

11. These degenerate watch-dogs are still further described. The verse should be rendered thus:

> 'Yea, the dógs are stróng in áppetite—know not hów to become satiated.
> Even théy the shépherds—know not hów to give heéd.
> All of them have turned to their own course—each and all to his own gain.'

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[1] The verbal form in the original appears to be unique, LXX render 'dreaming,' Symm. 'visionaries.' The Arabic parallel form means 'talk drivel,' 'rave.'

and these are shepherds that cannot understand: they
have all turned to their own way, each one to his gain,
12 from every quarter. Come ye, *say they*, I will fetch wine,
and we will fill ourselves with strong drink; and to-morrow
shall be as this day, *a day* great beyond measure.

57 The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to

The text in the last two long lines is by no means certain, as a reference to the LXX will show. We have followed in the second line the slight emendation proposed by Dillmann. The reconstruction adopted by Duhm and followed by Cheyne is purely hypothetical. The LXX read the word rendered **shepherds** (*rōʿîm*) as the Hebrew for 'evil ones' (*rāʿîm*). Our Massoretic Hebrew text was obviously right in reading the original as they did, for the expression 'shepherds' is thoroughly appropriate to the context, and here signifies the elders or rulers of the people, as contrasted with the watch-dogs of the flock, which represent the watchmen or prophets. This word for 'shepherd' (*rōʿeh*) is frequently employed in the O. T. to designate ruler or king (2 Sam. v. 2, vii. 7; Jer. ii. 8, iii. 15, xxiii. 1, 4; Ezek. xxxiv. 2 foll., xxxvii. 24; Mic. v. 3; Nah. iii. 18; Ps. lxxviii. 71; Zech. xi. 5). The same word in Assyrian, *rêʾû*, is constantly used in this sense of *ruler* (and the abstract *reʾûtu* in the sense of 'rule'). The first part of this long line seems to be metrically too short. The third long line appears uncertain at its close when we compare the LXX. The last word rendered above in R. V. **from every quarter,** and in R. V. marg., quite correctly, 'one and all[1],' is somewhat strange, and there is no equivalent for it in the LXX rendering.

12 is entirely omitted in the LXX (except in inferior MSS.). This is not, however, a sufficient reason for regarding it as a later addition. The freshness and force of its phraseology and its adaptation to the context are strong reasons for accepting it as original. It is a vivid representation of the speech of one of the careless rulers who glories in a good carouse:

> 'Come, let me fetch wine—that we may drink our fill of
> strong drink!'

CHAPTER LVII.

Verses 1–2 are a continuation of the same theme viewed from another aspect. It describes the ruin of the victims of misrule

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[1] The same idiom occurs in Gen. xix. 4; Ezek. xxv. 9, xxxiii. 2; Jer. li. 31; cf. Gen. xlvii. 2. The Hebrew original means literally 'from his end,' a condensed expression for 'from one end to the other' (cf. Exod. xxvi. 28), hence it means 'all without exception.'

heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil *to come*. He entereth into peace; they rest in their beds, 2
each one that walketh in his uprightness.

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and gross negligence. Righteous men, the devoted followers of God, perish while none pay any heed.

1–2. Emphasis belongs to the word **righteous**, which stands first in the sentence in the original in order to bring out the contrast with the careless intoxicated ruler.

The 'righteous' here corresponds to the 'men of devoted piety' in the following parallel clause, who in the later days of the Maccabees (168 B. C. and after) meet us under the name of the *Ḥasîdîm*, the forerunners of the Pharisees. The rendering 'merciful' is misleading, and the alteration supplied in R.V. marg. 'godly' is certainly an improvement. The original properly means 'men of piety' (*ḥesed*). *Ḥesed* is frequently used in the O. T. in the sense of loving-kindness. When used in reference to God it expresses somewhat the same thing as the Latin *pietas*, viz. man's attitude of loving devotion to his God.

The last long line includes the first clause of verse 2, as the shorter portion of the elegiac line thus:

> 'For because [1] of the evil the righteous one has been carried off—enters into peace.'

The word *Kî* in Hebrew, rendered here **for**, can also bear the meaning 'that' (ὅτι). The latter is the meaning assigned to it by R. V., who connect the sentence with the previous line, 'while none take heed (or 'observe,' R. V. 'consider') that the righteous is taken away.' Either construction may be adopted. The **peace** of course means the peace of the grave, as the following words clearly imply:

> 'They rest upon their beds—going on their straight course.'

The number changes from the singular of the previous line to the plural in this, lapsing back into the singular in the closing portion (lit. 'going on *his* straight course'). The **beds** are synonyms for the graves in which the righteous rest (cf. Ezek. xxxii. 25; Job iii. 13 foll.). 'The straight course' means the life of *uprightness*, as the R. V. understands it. But it must be confessed that the

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[1] We have rendered the Heb. *mippènê* 'because of' rather than 'from the presence of.' Cf. the usage in Gen. vi. 13; Exod. viii. 20; Judges vi. 6; Ezek. xiv. 15. The R. V. renders 'from the evil (to come).' We prefer the interpretation of R. V. marg.

3 But draw near hither, ye sons of the sorceress, the

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phraseology is strange and suggestive of corruption in the text, and this suspicion is certainly confirmed by the LXX, who render verse 2, 'His grave shall be in peace; he has been carried off from the midst,' from a much briefer text, the last clause ('going on his straight course') being altogether omitted, either because it was absent from the earlier Hebrew copies which they used and was inserted in later ones as a gloss, or because it was not understood. From the metrical point of view the latter seems not improbable, and it appears to be suggested by the tameness of expression in the Greek rendering.

Verses 3–13 refer to the idolatrous practices which prevailed among the Jewish population in Palestine. The denunciation is now directed to another class of the people than the leaders in Jerusalem, without any definite indication of who they are. This, however, we can easily gather from what follows as well as from the references in other portions of the O. T. (2 Kings xxiii. foll., Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Ezra, and Nehemiah). They consisted of those who had resided in the land of Canaan during the period of the exile, and were by no means in sympathy with the rules of conduct observed by the returning exiles, and constituted a serious hindrance to Reform. They were in friendly alliance with the Samaritans, and desired to perpetuate the lax usages in cultus and intermarriage with Canaanite populations which the Deuteronomic legislation was designed to prevent (Deut. vii. 1–4).

3–5. The new strophe is addressed in scathing terms of rebuke to those who practice the heathen rites which prevailed in Canaan from of old. Magic went hand in hand with idolatrous ritual, and, since these practices of magic and necromancy were largely carried on by women (Hastings' *DB.*, art. 'Magic,' p. 208, left-hand column *ad fin.*), the devotees of magical or, more properly, *soothsaying* practice are called in accordance with Semitic idiom **sons of the sorceress**[1]. The Hebrew word rendered here 'sorceress' properly means the female 'Soothsayer' (see art. 'Soothsayer' in Hastings' *DB.*, p. 601). These practices had been definitely forbidden by the Deuteronomic legislation (621 B. C.) more than 150 years previous to the date when these words were in all probability written (Deut. xviii. 9–15). The source of these Canaanite practices was probably in the main Babylonia, but that they came from Arabia as well seems to be indicated by Jer. xlix. 7; cf. Obad. 8.

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[1] LXX *υἱοὶ ἄνομοι* = 'wicked (lawless) ones' suggests the Heb. text בְּנֵי עָוֹן as Ottley indicates; but the reading of our Heb. text is preferable.

seed of the adulterer and the whore. Against whom do 4
ye sport yourselves? against whom make ye a wide
mouth, and draw out the tongue? are ye not children of
transgression, a seed of falsehood, ye that inflame your- 5
selves among the oaks, under every green tree; that slay

3. The writer follows the conceptions of Hosea in regarding the Israelites who pursued such idolatrous practices as guilty of faithlessness to Yahweh, who is portrayed in Hosea i–iii (cf. Ezek. xvi. 3 foll.) as Israel's husband, whom Israel deserts. Hence the alternative epithets with which verse 3 closes. These, however, are based on the reading of the LXX[1], which the R.V. rightly prefers to that of the Massoretic Hebrew text.

4. The opening words form the shorter part of the long elegiac line whose first and longer portion closed the previous verse. The question 'against whom do ye disport yourselves?' in your wild abandonment to the dissipations of a licentious heathenism, is an indignant exclamation followed by others descriptive of the scornful attitude—'opening wide the mouth,' 'extending the tongue' (cf. Ps. xxii. 7 [8 Heb.], xxxv. 21)—directed against the faithful follower of Yahweh that is evidently alluded to under the interrog. **Whom?** We have here depicted just that spirit of antagonism on the part of the old Jewish inhabitants towards the home-coming exiles (who were pious followers of the pure prophetic religion of Yahweh) that is reflected in the Book of Nehemiah iv. 1 foll. (iii. 33 foll. Heb.), in which are described the scorn and resistance of the Samaritans and their adherents towards Nehemiah and his measures of reform.

5 is a reference to the unbridled sexual licence that characterized the worship of the High Places in the dark days that intervened between the time of Haggai as well as Zechariah and the advent of Ezra and Nehemiah, when the state of degeneracy in the reign of Manasseh appeared to revive. Duhm, followed by Cheyne and Marti, rejects this verse as an insertion on insufficient grounds, whether metric or otherwise. That it forms an extra couplet to the usual four long-lined stanza is rather an indication that we have here an additional and defective stanza, i. e. with two lines lost (perhaps omitted on account of their ceremonial allusions). Though the metric length seems irregular in two instances, the irregularity may be paralleled in other verses of this extract, e. g. lvi. 10 *b*, lvii. 1 *b* in the original.

The word here rendered in R. V. **oaks** should be translated

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[1] i. e. וְזוֹנָה instead of וַתִּזְנֶה.

the children in the valleys, under the clefts of the rocks?
6 Among the smooth *stones* of the valley is thy portion;
they, they are thy lot: even to them hast thou poured
a drink offering, thou hast offered an oblation. Shall I

'terebinths.' The LXX confused it with the like word meaning 'gods,' and therefore mistranslated it by 'idols.' On the sacrifice of children to the varying deities called Ba'al (a general designation for any deity residing in and owning a sacred spot), cf. Jer. xix. 5; Ezek. xxiii. 39. This terrible rite was specially characteristic of Moloch worship (Jer. vii. 31, xxxii. 35, &c.). The chief place for such sacrifices was the valley of Hinnom (*Gê-Hinnôm*, later Gê-henna, a designation in later Judaism of Hell), south of Jerusalem.

6. The translation of the R. V. above is correct. The rendering 'smooth places' (Gesenius, De Wette, Hitzig) is pointless. Ibn 'Ezra, Kimḥi, Lowth, Ewald, Delitzsch, and recently Cheyne and Marti, concur in the rendering given above. In the original there is a fine alliterative play of words between that which stands for 'smooth stones' and for 'portion' which cannot be well reproduced in our language. The 'smooth stones' are the water-worn boulders of the rocky defile which in the hoary antiquity of mankind, and especially of Semitic heathendom, served as stone-symbols which also embodied a divine *numen* or deity. See art. 'Pillar' in Hastings' *DB*. Upon these primitive upright stones the blood, or in some cases the oil, of the sacrificial offering was poured or smeared (cf. Gen. xxviii. 18). The religious significance of the smooth stones is made clear by the line which follows in this verse:

> 'Also to thém hast thou poúred forth a drink-óffering—
> brought up óffering of meál.'

Here the **drink-offering** of which the deity was supposed to partake consisted of the blood of the slaughtered victim. Such drink-offerings presented to foreign deities, represented by rough upright blocks of stone, this writer, like the Psalmist who wrote Ps. xvi. 4[1], utterly reprobates. The 'offering of meal' in the latter part of the line is expressed in Hebrew by a term (*minḥah*)[2] which is used in post-exilian literature (e. g. the Priestercodex)

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[1] Both the language and ideas of this Psalm render it highly probable that the writer belonged to the same age and religious community as the Trito-Isaiah; see Bäthgen's introductory remarks.

[2] See Driver's full note on this term in Mal. i. 10 (*Century Bible*, Minor Prophets, vol. ii).

be appeased for these things? Upon a high and lofty 7
mountain hast thou set thy bed: thither also wentest
thou up to offer sacrifice. And behind the doors and 8
the posts hast thou set up thy memorial: for thou hast
discovered *thyself* to another than me, and art gone up;

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to designate the vegetable as opposed to the flesh or bloody offerings (*zebhaḥ*). This distinctive use of the term, however, is not maintained in pre-exilian Hebrew, where *minḥah* simply means a sacrificial gift whether of flesh or meal (cf. Gen. iv. 3–5—J, where both the offering of Abel and that of Cain are called *minḥah.*) Here we see an indication of the post-exilian origin of this chapter. These idolatrous rites, exclaims the writer, are the portion and lot of you, the faithless Israelites of Palestine, who are opposed to the true religion of Yahweh. Contrast the attitude of the faithful follower of Yahweh in Ps. xvi. 5.

The last clause of the verse should be rendered 'on account of these am I to find my satisfaction?' But Duhm, followed by Cheyne and other critics, suspect this as a later gloss.

7. We pass from the valley to the mountain height. We know that mountains were often sanctuaries, as the proper names Ḥermon, Baal Zephon, &c., clearly show. In the days of Ahab and his Syrian campaigns, Yahweh, in the opinion of Israel's Northern foes, was regarded as a God of the mountains. Here of course the reference is either to the idolatrous or to the syncretic worship on the mountains, regarded by this writer, as by Hosea, in the light of unfaithfulness to Yahweh, or harlotry. In accordance with this conception we may interpret the 'bed' in the first long line of this verse.

8. We have here references to ritual which are very obscure. What is meant by the Hebrew word here rendered **memorial**? The context, which is full of ritual terms and allusions, leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that we have in this word a similar expression. Some hold that it designates a magic symbol, the figure of a protective demon or deity. We are led to this conclusion by the mention of the **doors** and **door-posts**. The threshold of a sanctuary was held to be a place of peril to the worshipper, and needed safeguarding against demons (see illustrations in the latter part of the note on Isa. vi. 2). We might therefore understand the word for 'memorial' to mean some symbolic figure or device which was placed behind the door-post, whether of house or sanctuary, as a deterrent to the demon. Duhm, on the other hand, considers that some phallus-image was intended, and supports this view by a reference to Ezek. xvi. 17 (note especially the last clause). That both here

thou hast enlarged thy bed, and made thee a covenant with them; thou lovedst their bed where thou sawest it.
9 And thou wentest to the king with ointment, and didst

and in the passage from the symbolic chapter of Ezekiel we have an allusion to the custom prevailing among the agricultural population of Palestine corresponding to the Priapean *hermae* in Europe is not improbable, and the coincidence of phraseology with Ezekiel both here and elsewhere lends colour to this view. But the indications of serious corruption in the text render the path of interpretation far from easy. For the LXX must have made their rendering of the clause which immediately follows 'thy memorial' from a completely different Hebrew text, whether it be mistranslated or not: 'Thou didst suppose that if thou withdrewest from me, thou wouldst win some advantage.' We can therefore only regard Duhm's attempt to emend and translate our Massoretic text as purely hypothetical:

> 'For owing to it [i. e. the phallus-image] thou didst uncóver and go úp—madest bróad thy béd.'

In the following line 'and thou didst make for thyself [a covenant] with them' does not give any satisfactory sense. Duhm's emendation harmonizes with Ezek. xvi. 32 foll., which describes the strangely inverted relation between Israel and her paramours. The elaborate and highly wrought parable of Ezek. xvi was evidently in the mind of the writer, as a striking example will presently show. Duhm therefore emends the text, and translates thus:

> 'And thou didst búy for thysélf of thóse—whose íntercourse thou didst lóve.'

The last line of this difficult verse is mutilated, and only the shorter half of the elegiac line has been preserved in our Hebrew text. But the LXX rendering points us the way to the missing first portion of the line which it preserves. It is an obvious echo from Ezek. xvi. 25 (last clause):

> ['And thou didst múltiply thy hárlotry with thém]—didst behóld the *phállus*[1].'

9. The word rendered **king** is really the Ammonite **deity** here pronounced Melech, properly Milk or Milcom. The pronunciation increase thy perfumes, and didst send thine ambassadors far off, and didst debase thyself even unto hell. 10 Thou wast wearied with the length of thy way; yet saidst thou

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[1] The word 'phallus' or *membrum virile* is here represented by the euphemism 'hand' in the original, the significance of which was first pointed out by Döderlein. See Enno Littmann's note in his *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaia*, p. 17. The same euphemism 'hand' meets us in the Avesta.

Moloch (Moloch) is really artificial, being due to the substitution of the word *bōsheth*, 'shame,' whose vowels came to be applied to the consonants M-l-ch(k). The word *bōsheth* was not infrequently employed in substitution for heathen deities, as Ba'al (e.g. in the names Ishbosheth, &c.). From Ezra ix. 1 we learn that even the priests and Levites of Palestine followed Ammonite cults.

Here, again, Ezek. xvi comes to our aid in the restoration of the text. Ezek. xvi. 4 gives us, as Cheyne suggests, a far more probable reading than the tame Hebrew word for 'wentest.' Accordingly we should follow Cheyne in rendering:

> 'Thou didst also anoínt thyself for Mélech with óil—and
> didst úse many pérfumes.'

for Melech means 'in honour of the god Melech.' The LXX strangely blunder in their rendering of the word for 'perfumes,' which they confuse with a similar word meaning 'distant.' The reference of these lines is to the homage in cultus paid to the god. The conception here is the same as that which runs through the preceding verses as well as Ezek. xvi, based on Hos. ii. 13 (15 Heb.), the foreign deities worshipped by faithless Israel being treated as paramours. The last line should be rendered:

> 'And thou séntest thine énvoys afár—yea, déep down to
> Hádes.'

—i. e. distant pilgrimages were made to the shrines of Melech and other foreign deities. Not content with this, the Palestinian Jews were guilty of practising the dark acts of necromancy and of making offerings to the spirits of the underworld (cf. Isa. viii. 19 and note thereon). Marti, in his comment on this last clause, thinks that there may be a reference here to the cult of the Egyptian deity of the Lower World, Osiris, which was carried in Phoenicia.

10. The first line should be rendered as concessive:

> 'Though thou wast wearied with thy much journeying—
> thou saidst not "despaired of"' (i. e. 'tis vain).

The line that follows is once more enigmatic, and it is doubtful whether 'thy hand' (see R.V. marg.), which is the literal rendering of the original, should be translated 'thy strength' as in the R.V. rendering given above, or whether it bears the obscene sense which attaches to the term in the closing line of

not, There is no hope: thou didst find a quickening of
11 thy strength; therefore thou wast not faint. And of
whom hast thou been afraid and in fear, that thou liest,
and hast not remembered me, nor laid it to thy heart?
have not I held my peace even of long time, and thou
12 fearest me not? I will declare thy righteousness; and as

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verse 8 above (so Enno Littmann in his monograph *Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaia*, p. 16 footnote).

11. The questions are intended to reveal the utter worthlessness of these objects of idolatrous worship which had seduced the Israelites from allegiance to their true object of reverence, Yahweh.

> 'And at whóm didst thou feel distréss and féar—that thóu
> shouldst play fálse?'

In the last line of this verse the LXX suggest a better vocalization of our Hebrew text than that which is favoured by our Massoretic version[1] (rendered in R. V. 'of long (or olden) time'). Accordingly read with Duhm and Cheyne:

> 'Surely I remained dumb—and hid [mine eyes]
> . . . . . yet me thou fearedst not.'

The pathos of the passage is restored to us through the emendation suggested by the LXX. While Israel pursues the utterly vain and debasing objects of her worship, Yahweh, her true Lord and Husband, remains silent and veils His eyes at her misdeeds. The spirit of the passage is that of Hosea (cf. chaps. i-iii).

12-13. But at length Yahweh breaks silence. A judgment is coming stern and sure. It is by no means certain whether we should read with our traditional Hebrew text **thy righteousness,** or follow important LXX authorities ℵ (according to the hands of two correctors), A, and Q[2] in reading 'my righteousness.' If we read the former, 'I will make known thy righteousness' can only be understood ironically, as Jerome and Kimhi, followed by Rosenmüller and other commentators (including Duhm), under-

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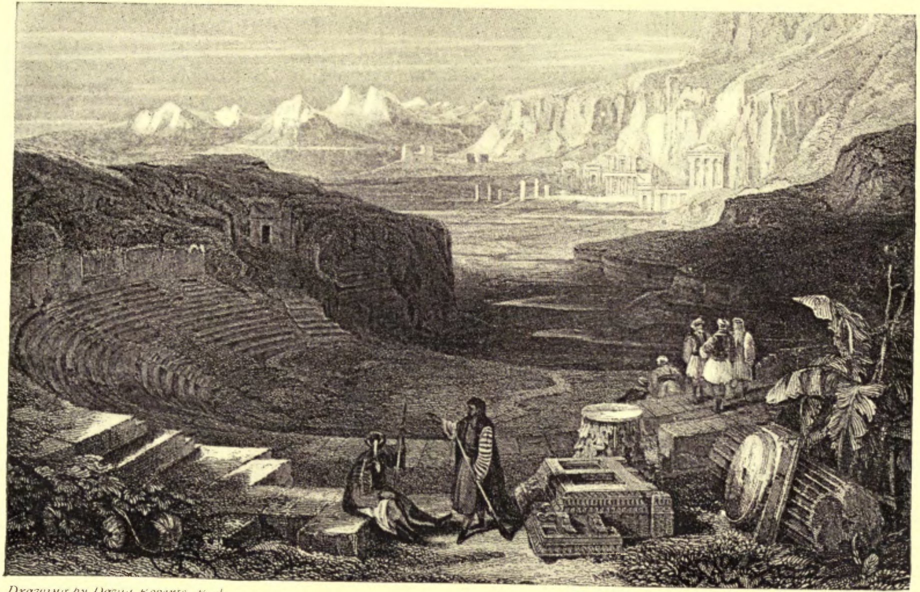
[1] *παρορῶ* = [עיני] מַעְלִים 'hiding my eyes.' The object is omitted in Ps. x. 1. It is quite possible, as Duhm's metrical arrangement suggests, that the object 'my eyes' has been dropped out of the text.

[2] For explanation of these terms (due to Tischendorf) see Swete's *Septuagint*, vol. i, p. xxi, as well as xvi (*ad fin.*) in explanation of the asterisk.



Drawing by David Roberts, R.A.

RUINS OF PETRA (EDOM)

for thy works, they shall not profit thee. When thou 13
criest, let them which thou hast gathered deliver thee;
but the wind shall take them, a breath shall carry them
all away: but he that putteth his trust in me shall possess
the land, and shall inherit my holy mountain. And he 14

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stood it. On the other hand, 'my righteousness' yields a perfectly good sense, and this reading is adopted by Peshitto, Lowth, and formerly by Cheyne. The 'righteousness' which Yahweh is about to display then stands contrasted with Israel's evil works (i. e. idol-images, cf. xli. 26-29), and will be manifested in the judgment which will hereafter overtake them, to which verse 13 refers.

The text of this verse is, however, far from certain. The Hebrew word, which is rendered somewhat clumsily by **them which thou hast gathered,** and more conveniently by 'thy collections[1]' (i. e. of idols), is extremely doubtful. Oort suggests the more ordinary term 'thy abominations' as an emendation, which Cheyne adopts. But the LXX read quite a different word in their Hebrew original, viz. 'in thy affliction[2],' and on the whole this improves the parallelism. Accordingly, connecting the close of verse 12 with verse 13, we should read:

'And they shall not profit thee when thou criest-in-
distress—nor[3] deliver thee in thine affliction.
All of them shall a blast carry aloft—a breath take them;
But he that seeks refuge in me shall inherit the land—
shall gain possession of my holy hill.'

Here **they** and **them** in the first two lines refer to the idols or **works** of Israel's hands. In the last two lines the contrast is sharply drawn between the corrupt dwellers in Palestine, the 'false brethren,' and the true followers of Yahweh whom the former oppressed (Neh. i. 3), and almost compelled to flee from the country (cf. Isa. lxvi. 5). These latter are assured of the final possession of God's holy hill Zion. This last line forms a natural transition to what follows, but it is also an integral portion of, and an appropriate close to, the preceding elegiac poem shall say, Cast ye up, cast ye up, prepare the way, take up the stumblingblock out of the way of my people.

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[1] Duhm understands this to mean the collections or gatherings of the harlot's (i. e. Israel's) hire. Either view may be supported by a reference to Mic. i. 7.

[2] *ἐν τῇ θλίψει σοῦ*, Heb. בְּצָרָתֵךְ.

[3] The force of the negative in the preceding clause continues in this.

15 For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart

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of denunciation. Considerations of metre clearly point to this conclusion.

Verses 14–21. *The promise of Divine help to the faithful followers of Yahweh who are oppressed and afflicted.*

This poem is evidently in the style of the Deutero-Isaiah. Its opening is an obvious echo of xl. 3; cf. xlix. 11.

14. And he shall say. The speaker is evidently Yahweh, as the immediately following expression 'my people' clearly indicates. The Vulgate (followed by Lowth) would punctuate the verb differently, and render 'And I will say.' But neither this change nor an altered punctuation of the copula (which makes it a Waw consecutive) meaning 'And I said' is any aid to sense. Metrical considerations, as well as the connexion of this poem with the preceding, render it probable that we have here a redactional link, perhaps based on xl. 6 (Duhm), which might well be removed from the text.

On the phraseology cf. xl. 3 and note. The **stumblingblock** consisted in the moral and other impediments to a return of the pious exiles who still remained in Babylonia and the restoration of a spiritual theocracy in Zion. The poem which precedes this clearly illustrates that the hindrances in the main consisted in an impure life and cultus arising from admixture, chiefly through marriage, with foreign Canaanite populations. A large part of the activity of Ezra and Nehemiah was devoted to the removal of these obstructions (Ezra ix, x; Neh. xiii. 1–3, 23–31). To this of course must be added the opposition of the Samaritan community and their allies (cf. Neh. ii. 19—vi. 14).

15. The LXX after the word for 'eternity' had an extended text: 'holy among holy ones is His name, dwelling highest among holy ones.' It is hardly probable that this represents the original text, even if it were metrically conformable. It is obviously an extension, reflecting the angelology of a later day, and based on the shorter original text which we have before us.

For **I dwell in the high and holy place** substitute the rendering 'I dwell in the height and as holy one.' The height here is heaven, Yahweh's real and proper abode. Compare the same

of the contrite ones. For I will not contend for ever, 16
neither will I be always wroth: for the spirit should fail

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use of the word for 'height' in chap. xl. 26; cf. xxiv. 18, 21; Ps. vii. 8, xviii. 17. The same word (*mārôm*) is employed in Jerem. xxxi. 12, Hab. ii. 9, of the mountain height of Zion. But that is obviously not the meaning here (comp. lxvi. 1). The other attribute 'holy' is used in the sense which it bears in Isa. vi. 3; in fact it was Isaiah who was the first to lay stress on this term (*Ḳādôsh*) as the expression of Yahweh's ethical greatness, purity, and inaccessibility (see note on Isa. vi. 3). The expression 'Holy one of Israel' passed from the Proto-Isaiah to the Deutero-Isaiah, and the same word 'holy' reappears here.

The next clause introduces a contrast, and the copula which commences it should be rendered accordingly: 'Yet with the crushed and humbled in spirit, to revive the spirit of the humbled, and to revive the heart of the crushed.' Once more we note the strains of the Deutero-Isaiah, especially the recurrence of the ideas of chap. xl. The contrasted ideas of xl. 15–18, 22–23, 26, on the one hand and of xl. 11, 29–31 on the other are brought within the compass of this single verse—God's infinite greatness meeting man's limitations, poverty, and need. The 'crushed' and 'humbled' spirit was the prevailing attitude of mind in the days of Nehemiah (cf. Neh. i. 3) among the returned Jewish exiles and their sons who had come back to Zion inspired with the splendid ideals and hopes to which the Deutero-Isaiah had given utterance, but had suffered bitter disillusionment during the weary decades that had passed by marked by reaction, the dominance of old idolatrous practices, and the continued obstacles placed by the old inhabitants, sustained by Samaritan intrigues, in the path of spiritual progress and reform in worship. Of the spiritual declension we have clear indications in Mal. i. 6–8, 13 foll., ii. 2 foll., 8 foll., 11 foll. In fact the attitude of contrition which this verse commends (in the Trito-Isaiah) finds its exact obverse in Mal. iii. 15 foll., where the opposite spirit, which congratulates the presumptuous and worldly, is condemned. It is not with them that God's spirit dwells, but rather with those whom the rich and powerful oppress, 'the hireling, the widow—and the fatherless' (Mal. iii. 5), as well as with the pious follower of Yahweh who walked before Him in mourning garb (Mal. iii. 14; see Driver's note in *Century Bible*).

16 states the grounds of Divine sympathy with the afflicted and humble to which the preceding verse gave expression. It is God's purpose to *revive*, not to destroy by continued judgments of wrath, as the exiles might well have imagined from the sad history of the past, and especially of the last sixty years, which had ex-

17 before me, and the souls which I have made. For the
iniquity of his covetousness was I wroth and smote him,
I hid *my face* and was wroth: and he went on frowardly
18 in the way of his heart. I have seen his ways, and will
heal him: I will lead him also, and restore comforts

cited a feeling of utter despair. For **should fail** read 'faints away' or preferably (with Cheyne) 'would faint.'

17. The grounds for the past discipline of Divine wrath are here given. The social oppression which prevailed in the Hebrew population of the eighth century (Isa. v. 7-9, see Introduction in vol. i, pp. 42 foll.) continued in the fifth, as Zech. vii. 8 foll. indicates and Mal. iii. 5 and Neh. v clearly prove. If we read the text as it stands before us in the traditional Hebrew version and render it as above, which is the interpretation of most commentators, including Kittel and Duhm, we have here an evident reference to the rapacity of the rich and their oppression of the poor, to which chap. lviii bears abundant testimony (verses 3, 4, 6, 9). Unfortunately it is by no means certain that we have the original text. The LXX render: 'Owing to sin I have afflicted him *a short time*.' Accordingly Cheyne adopts the Hebrew for 'a short time' in the place of the word for 'his covetousness[1],' and renders: 'For his guilt I was wrath for a moment.' The following clause is more idiomatically translated: 'and smote him, concealing (my face) in wrath.' The word rendered 'froward' in the next clause is a favourite one in Jeremiah, and means 'unfaithful,' 'rebellious' (Jer. iii. 14, 22; cf. xxxi. 22, xlix. 4).

Here 'hiding the face' from a person is the reverse of 'lifting up the countenance upon' him (= showing him favour, Num. vi. 26; cf. Prov. xvi. 15).

18. Though God has seen Israel's rebellious ways in the past, yet there is to be healing rather than chastisement. The words of comfort in these verses are evidently addressed to the faithful and repentant portion of the Zion community, who are sharply distinguished from the wicked and unfaithful (cf. verses 20, 21) who persist in their evil ways.

Duhm would place the opening words of this verse in connexion with the last clause of the previous one, and withdraw the expression 'saith the Lord (Yahweh)' from the latter part of verse 19, where there is a like ending through an error of the scribe. We should then render thus:

> 'And he went on rebellious in the way of his heart—18. his ways have I seen, saith Yahweh.'

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[1] רֶגַע (properly 'a moment') in place of בִּצְעוֹ.

unto him and to his mourners. I create the fruit of the 19
lips: Peace, peace, to him that is far off and to him that
is near, saith the LORD; and I will heal him. But the 20
wicked are like the troubled sea; for it cannot rest, and
its waters cast up mire and dirt. There is no peace, 21
saith my God, to the wicked.

Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, **58**
and declare unto my people their transgression, and to

This is an ingenious and not improbable rearrangement. 'His ways have I seen' will then mean I have marked his evil courses. The next line will then begin: 'Yet I will heal him.' The rest of the verse unfolds the idea of God's healing and restorative comfort to those who are faithful and penitent.

19. The personal pronoun 'I' in the original might easily have been dropped out of the text, as Marti has shown. **I create the fruit of the lips**—the fruit of the lips in this case being joyful gratitude in place of the silent sorrow of the mourners (cf. Jer. xxxiii. 11; Prov. xi. 31, xii. 14—we have also parallel conceptions in the following chapters of the Trito-Isaiah, lx. 20*b*, lxi. 3). In the following clause the word 'peace' is to be construed as the object governed by 'create' in the clause that precedes. 'Near' and 'far off' designate the Jews of Palestine and those of the diaspora respectively. Probably Duhm is right in regarding the last clause of this verse as added by scribal error (cf. previous verse).

20-21. A far different destiny than God's peace awaits the unrepentant wicked. Their state is compared to a 'storm-driven sea,' in never-ceasing motion, and impure in its products. The well-being ('peace') of God's true and faithful servant can never be the lot of the unrighteous.

CHAPTER LVIII.

A denunciation of social wrong-doing. Righteous conduct more necessary than fasting and ceremonial.

This chapter shows the evident influence of the eighth-century teaching (cf. especially Amos v and Isa. i) as to the vital demands of God. The form of the opening verse shows that the writer was deeply impressed by Ezek. xxxiii. 1-9, that it was the duty of the prophet like a faithful watchman to warn his people of danger, i. e. in this case to announce clearly to the nation its besetting sins (cf. Mic. iii. 8).

1. The prophet is commanded to 'call out with the throat,' i. e. with loud clear voice so that the utterance sounds abroad with

2 the house of Jacob their sins. Yet they seek me daily,
and delight to know my ways: as a nation that did
righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their
God, they ask of me righteous ordinances, they delight
3 to draw near unto God. Wherefore have we fasted, *say
they*, and thou seest not? *wherefore* have we afflicted our

trumpet-tones. With the metaphor of the trumpet that sounds the war-alarm cf. Ezek. xxxiii. 3, 5, 6.

2. R. V. rightly interprets the opening copula of the original as adversative 'yet.' The opposition which is thereby implied is that though the nation is sinful yet it is not irreligious so far as external forms are concerned. The Jewish community, though morally debased, takes an interest in ceremonial. The pronoun 'me' is emphatic:

> 'Yet 'tis me day by day they are seeking—and in knowing my ways they take pleasure.'

way here, like the Arabic *ṭarik*, has a ritual significance, cf. Amos viii. 14. The Hebrew verb for 'know' bears here, as frequently, the meaning 'take interest in' or 'concern oneself about' some object, Gen. xxxix. 6[1], Prov. xxvii. 23, Job ix. 21; and in reference to God's providential care for man, Ps. i. 6, xxxi. 7 (8 Heb.), xxxvii. 18, cxliv. 3; Jer. i. 7; Neh. i. 7; Amos iii. 2. The past tenses **did** and **forsook** should be replaced by presents 'does' and 'forsakes.' They correspond to what might be regarded as *gnomic* perfects in the Hebrew (Gesen.-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*^{26}, § 106. 2 *c*). Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 40 (*c*), calls this 'perfect of experience.' Respecting the use of the terms 'righteousness' and 'ordinance' (R. V. marg. 'judgment') in reference to ritual see note on chap. lvi. 1.

3 introduces the complaining query of the people: 'We fast, but for what purpose? God seems not to pay any heed to our religious observance.' 'Thou seest it not'—this was evidently the inference which the Jewish community drew from the depressing conditions under which they laboured. What these conditions were the reader may discover for himself from Prof. Driver's Introduction soul, and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, in the day of your fast ye find *your own* pleasure, and exact all your

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[1] Potiphar 'knew' not anything in his household, i.e. took no active interest or concern in anything, since he left the supervision in the hands of Joseph. Similarly we must interpret Paul's use of 'know' in 2 Cor. v. 21. Christ had obviously an *intellectual* apprehension of sin. St. Paul meant that sin stood outside Christ's moral sympathies.

to Malachi (*Century Bible*, Minor Prophets, ii, p. 293). They included bad harvests (Mal. iii. 11) as well as the general poverty indicated in Neh. v. It seems to have been expected that as the result of this fasting some alleviation or deliverance from troubles would be granted. It is not improbable that there is implied in this complaint a reference to the oracle delivered more than seventy years previously by Zechariah (viii. 19-23), that the sorrowful fasting would be changed into days of joy. And yet, after so many years, the fasting still continued and there was no deliverance from evil.

The institution of fasts of sorrowful remembrance in commemoration of the various tragic events in the reign of Zedekiah, when Jerusalem was besieged and captured, dated from the early days of the exile, as we gather from Zech. vii. 3-5, viii. 19. Zechariah refers to four distinct fasts of this kind in the last-mentioned passage (on which see Driver's note). From this time forth fasting as well as prayer at grave crises becomes a distinguishing note of Hebrew worship (Ezra viii. 21 f., ix. 5 foll., x. 6; Neh. i. 4; Joel i. 14). This stress which was laid upon fasting and prayer probably arose among the Babylonian exiles and diaspora. We find it also among the Aramaic-speaking Jews near Syene (Assouan). The recently-discovered Aramaic papyri (published by Sachau, 1907) describe the destruction by the Egyptian priests of the God Ḥnûb of the temple to Yāhû (Yahweh) erected by the Jewish community at Yeb. Whereupon, as the document says, line 15, 'we with our wives and children wore mourning apparel, fasted, and prayed to Yāhû the Lord of Heaven.' This document with the events it describes was probably nearly coeval with the prophecies of Joel just half a century after the date when the present chapters in the Trito-Isaiah were written [1].

The answer of Yahweh to the complaining appeal of the people

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[1] The papyrus fixed its own date as the seventeenth year of Darius Nothus (Ochus), i. e. 408-407 B. C., while the destruction of the temple at Yeb took place in the fourteenth year, i. e. 411-410 B. C. Now the prophet Joel iii. 19 (iv. 19 Heb.) prophesies desolation against Egypt for the outrages committed against the Jews. These outrages are evidently connected with the very events detailed in the papyrus, and thus this recently-discovered document serves to confirm the conclusion to which internal evidence leads Cornill (*Einleitung*[5], p. 203), Nowack, and others that Joel was composed at some date subsequent to Nehemiah.

4 labours. Behold, ye fast for strife and contention, and
to smite with the fist of wickedness: ye fast not this day
5 so as to make your voice to be heard on high. Is such
the fast that I have chosen? the day for a man to afflict

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is that the fasting is after all mere hollow form resting on no basis of moral life:

> 'On your fast-day you are finding occupation—and all your workmen you are pressing on[1].'

your own pleasure is an inadequate rendering. The Hebrew word for 'pleasure' used in the original came in later Hebrew to mean 'engagement,' 'occupation,' 'business,' somewhat as the Latin *studium*, originally 'desire,' comes to mean 'pursuit.' The passage implies that the fasting had become a mere formality. The thoughts and energies of the worshippers were engaged in their daily pursuits of gain instead of devotion and prayer.

4. All your fastings involve no moral renewal, but are accompanied by quarrelling. Probably we should connect the **fist of wickedness** with the forcible compulsion to labour by which the wealthier members of the Jewish community sought to coerce the poorer to toil on the holy fast-day. The picture presented in this as well as the previous verse seems to anticipate in some degree the scenes in the temple depicted in Mark xi. 15 foll.

The words **on high** (properly 'in the height') contain in the original the same term as in lvii. 15, 'high (place)' or height, viz. God's celestial abode[2].

5. 'Shall such be the fast that I choose—a day on which man
afflicts himself?
Is it to bow one's head like a rush—while one spreads out
sackcloth and ashes as a bed?
Is it that you would call a fast—a day well-pleasing to
Yahweh?'

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[1] Hardly strong enough rendering of the Heb. verb (*nāgas*) which is employed of driving slaves to their task-work. The participle is used of the taskmaster (with the lash), Exod. iii. 7, v. 10, 13 foll. In Job xxxix. 7 it is used of an animal driver (cf. following verse).

[2] The LXX evidently had a different text before them, for they render: 'and smite with fists the humble; wherefore do ye fast unto me as to-day, that in distress your voice may be heard?' We may conjecture that they had the text before them וְהִכִּיתֶם בְּאֶגְרֹף הָרָשׁ לָמָּה תָצוּמוּ כַיּוֹם לִי לְהַשְׁמִיעַ בִּצְעָקָה קוֹלְכֶם, which is both intelligible and rhythmic. Yahweh answers the people's impatient query in verse 3 by another in somewhat similar form, which is continued in verse 5 quite harmoniously.

his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a rush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the LORD? Is not 6 this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the bands of the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is 7

The verb in the original, which is rendered 'spread out as a bed,' is the same as that which is employed in Ps. cxxxix. 8, 'though I make my bed in Hades.' The general meaning of the interrogatives (which are rhetorical in character and anticipate a negative answer) is that these mere externalities[1] of worship accompanied by the exhibition of selfish rapacity are *not* well-pleasing to Yahweh nor a fast of which He approves. This is a remarkable forecast of one of the essential elements of Christ's teaching and closely approximates His denunciations of dissembling ('hypocrisy').

6. After the negative statements involved in the preceding interrogations, which show what the fast of which Yahweh approves is *not*, there follows a *positive* declaration of what that fast actually should be. The latter is expressed here in the negative interrogative form: 'Is not this the fast that I choose ...?' In the Hebrew text we have an incomplete line. Fortunately the text employed by the LXX helps us to complete it: 'saith Yahweh of Hosts.'

> 'Is not thís the fást that I chóose—[saith Yahweh of Hosts],
> To unloóse the wícked bónds—to set frée the bánds of the yóke.'

In the second portion of the last long line of this verse it would be best to follow (with Duhm) the LXX in reading the second pers. sing. instead of plur. 'that *thou* break.' This brings the verse into harmony with the following, which has the second pers. *sing.*

The word rendered **oppressed** properly means 'broken.' We

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[1] The forms of lament here portrayed are funereal in character. The sackcloth and ashes were the ordinary features of funeral obsequies; see *Primer of Hebrew Antiquities* (R. T. S.), p. 146. It is probable that the small collection of 'Lamentations of Jeremiah' arose in connexion with these 'fasts of sorrowful remembrance' (see note on verse 3 above), and were recited on these occasions. The characteristics of language and contents (see Cornill's *Einleitung*^{5}, pp. 258 foll., in the German edition now translated) harmonize with this hypothesis.

it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou
8 hide not thyself from thine own flesh? Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy healing shall

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note how the spirit of Christ's Gospel breathes through this and the following verse, Matt. v. 7, Luke xiv. 13, &c.

7. The same conception further developed. God's acceptable fast involves the accompaniment of a high ethical life such as shares its advantages with others, e. g. that of 'dealing (properly 'breaking') one's bread to the hungry.' The Hebrew verbal form translated **that are cast out** has been a source of difficulty. The LXX renders it by 'roofless,' i. e. unsheltered, homeless. Hitzig translates it by 'banished as rebels,' on the assumption that it is derived from a verb which means 'to rebel' (*mārad*), but this interpretation is hardly possible. It is more probable that we should punctuate the verb differently and regard it (with Buhl) as an active (Hif'il) participle (cf. Gen. xxvii. 40) of a Hebrew verb (*rûd*) which means 'to roam about in distress[1].' The line may accordingly be rendered:

> 'Is it not breaking thy bread to the hungry—and that thou
> bringest the wandering unfortunates home.'

flesh here means 'kindred,' as in many O. T. passages (Gen. xxix. 17, xxxvii. 27; Judg. ix. 2; 2 Sam. v. 1, &c.).

8. If your fasting is accompanied by a life characterized by such acts of love and sympathy, the bright future foretold by the prophets (Isa. xi, lv; cf. chaps. lx, lxi) will dawn. The phrases **go before thee, be thy rearward** (close up thy procession in the rear) are obvious echoes of the earlier inspiring oracles of the Deutero-Isaiah. They evidently fit the connexion of the original passage lii. 12 (where the situation presupposed is that of a pilgrim-caravan issuing forth from Babylon for the old home-land) rather than that of the present one composed in Palestine amid depressing conditions about eighty years afterwards. Not improbably such

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[1] Duhm is disposed to regard the Hebrew form in our text as an abstract plural meaning 'homelessness,' i. e. the position of a roving wanderer. The other Hebrew word which we have rendered 'unfortunates' (R. V. 'the poor') he would remove as a later gloss. No warrant for this is to be found in the LXX, who translate the suspected word by 'poor.' Nor can Duhm safely cite Lam. iii. 19 and i. 7 (where the plural is by no means certain) as a valid basis for his abstract *plural* form meaning 'homelessness.'

spring forth speedily: and thy righteousness shall go
before thee; the glory of the LORD shall be thy rear-
ward. Then shalt thou call, and the LORD shall answer; 9
thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am. If thou
take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting
forth of the finger, and speaking wickedly; and if thou 10
draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted
soul; then shall thy light rise in darkness, and thine

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phrases as well as many others from the Deutero-Isaiah passed current among the Jews of a later time and became proverbial.

The word here rendered **healing** (*arûchah*) has a very special meaning, and denotes the new layer of flesh which forms over a wound, in Arabic *arîcat* (properly something which extends over). It is a term not found in the Old Testament earlier than Jeremiah (viii. 22, xxx. 17, xxxiii. 6). See Delitzsch's commentary on this passage and Driver's explanatory note on Jer. viii. 22 at the end of his *Book of the Prophet Jeremiah*, p. 352; also Rosenmüller's Scholia *ad loc.* (viz. Isa. lviii. 8).

9. The opening line should express protasis and apodosis thus:

> 'Then, when thou callest, Yahweh will answer—when thou
> criest, He will say, "Here am I."'

For the stretching out of the finger as an expression of contempt cf. Prov. vi. 13. Gesenius has pointed out that in Arabic there is a denominative verb *ṣabaʿa*, derived from this same word that stands in the original for 'finger,' meaning to point the finger in reproach against some one (see Freytag's Lexicon). Latin literature gives us parallels, Pers. ii. 33, Juven. x. 53, Martial ii. 28. 2, &c. Probably we are to understand that this expression of scorn was directed by the rich and arrogant against the poor and lowly (cf. verse 4).

10. The reading **thy soul** is by no means certain. Some Hebrew MSS. read 'thy bread.' The translation in the LXX combines both readings in the curious manner of a 'conflate reading' of both Hebrew texts: 'and givest the bread from thy soul to the hungry.' It seems fairly clear that the word 'soul' in the following clause has been imported by the error of a scribe into this. The true reading in all probability was 'thy bread.' To render with A. V. and R. V. **draw out thy soul** or with R. V. marg. 'bestow . . . that which thy soul desireth' are violent expedients. Accordingly render:

> 'And (if) thou hand out thy bread to the hungry—and
> satisfy the afflicted soul,

11 obscurity be as the noonday: and the LORD shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in dry places, and make strong thy bones; and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not.
12 And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called The repairer of

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Then thy light shall break forth in the darkness—and thy gloom as the midday.'

11. The happy results that ensue are described still further. It is impossible to be quite certain that we have the original text before us. The plur. form rendered **dry places** (A. V. 'drought') is only found in this passage, though a kindred word is translated in Ps. lxviii. 6 [7 Heb.] by R. V. 'parched land.' But the LXX depart so far in their rendering that it is difficult to reconstruct a text which shall take account of both our Massoretic text and the rendering of the Greek translators. Commentators are content to follow the former. The Hebrew text rendered above **make strong thy bones** is extremely doubtful. The LXX render 'thy bones shall be made fat.' Secker has made the ingenious suggestion, which Duhm, Marti, and Cheyne have adopted, to reconstruct the text on the basis of xl. 29, 31 and render, 'Thy strength will He renew.' The changes involved are comparatively slight, and when we consider the frequent reminiscences of the Deutero-Isaiah in this series of chapters, they cannot be deemed improbable. The verse closes with the picturesque comparison of a garden intersected with water-channels that never run dry ('deceive,' R. V. 'fail'). Here, as in xli. 18, **spring of water** should be 'water-channel' (Cheyne 'conduit'). See the writer's note with Assyrian parallels in Schrader, *COT.*, vol. ii, pp. 311–13.

12. 'And one [lit. they] shall build of thee the ruins of old time.' This would mean that from the sons of the Jewish community, here collectively addressed in the singular, the shattered remnants of the past shall be reconstituted. But the expression is certainly strange. The LXX rendered the verbal form as a passive, 'age-long desolations shall be built'; and Ewald favours this interpretation. It would probably be safer to emend and read with Duhm, 'and *thy people* shall build the ancient ruins,' or to follow Weir and Cheyne in reading 'and thy sons shall build . . .' The language in this verse is again remarkably reminiscent of the Deutero-Isaiah (cf. especially xliv. 26).

repairer, literally 'waller-up,' the original being a participial

the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in. [If thou 13
turn away thy foot from the sabbath, from doing thy
pleasure on my holy day; and call the sabbath a delight,

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form of the Hebrew denominative verb from the subst. 'wall.' The metaphor was suggested to the mind of the poet by the dismantled state of the walls of Jerusalem—the ruined condition in which they were left by the Babylonian armies in 586 B.C. about 130 years previously. It was this ruined condition of the city which so deeply oppressed the mind of Nehemiah (Neh. i. 3, ii. 2, 3).

Verses 13–14 are a later addendum. The metrical form (a long line of two equal parts with three accentual beats in each part) is here the same as in the previous twelve verses, but the rhythm is not so well preserved and the spirit is wholly different. In the former the stress is laid on merciful conduct; in these two verses it is placed on Sabbath maintenance. Marti thinks it even exceeds that of Neh. ix. 14; Exod. xvi. 23. It is true that Sabbath maintenance had begun to acquire a special importance during the exile period since the time of Ezekiel (xx. 12, 20, xxii. 8, xxiii. 38). Yet it is to be noted that no mention of it is made in the Deutero-Isaiah nor in the early post-exilian times of Haggai and Zechariah (i–viii), neither of whom refer to the Sabbath, nor even later the prophet Malachi. Though Isa. lvi. 2 shows that, as we approach the days of Nehemiah, its due observance began to assume greater importance, it was not till the time of that reformer that the hallowing of the seventh day became the fixed and cardinal feature of Jewish ceremonial observance. Henceforth is sharply distinguished the strict and minute observance of the Sabbath in post-exilian Judaism from the more genial practice of pre-exilian Hebrew religion which made it festal, recreative, and a relief from toil [1].

13. Here the conception of a holy space is applied to time. The Sabbath is regarded as a sanctuary which the human foot, pursuing its ordinary avocations, must not profane. The foot is to turn back so as not to desecrate it. For the R. V. **from doing**

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[1] It should be observed that it is not possible to accept Jer. xvii. 19–27 as genuine. That it is a later insertion has been recognized by critics since Kuenen. See Cornill's discussion of the passage. Probably it was composed in the days of Nehemiah. As to pre-exilian practice note Amos viii. 4, 5, where we observe that it was a rest day from trade and other forms of work. Hos. ii. 11 (13 Heb.) indicates its genial festive character (in both passages in connexion with the New Moon). Also note 2 Kings iv. 23.

and the holy of the LORD honourable; and shalt honour it, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own
14 pleasure, nor speaking *thine own* words: then shalt thou delight thyself in the LORD; and I will make thee to ride upon the high places of the earth; and I will feed

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thy pleasure substitute the rendering 'so as *not*[1] to do thy business.' The Hebrew word *hephes*, properly 'pleasure,' here has the meaning (in later Hebrew) 'occupation,' 'business'; cf. above verse 3 and note.

The text that follows is far from clear, and this is almost certainly due to its want of soundness, as a comparison with the LXX reveals. LXX render 'and shalt call the Sabbath a delight, holy unto thy God, shalt not set (literally 'lift') thy foot to work nor speak a word in anger from thy mouth[2]. This is quite intelligible, and the idiom 'lift (or set) thy foot to,' &c. is found in Gen. xxix. 1.

Taking our traditional Hebrew text as a basis, the strange expression **holy of the LORD** can hardly be explained otherwise than as an epithet of the Sabbath. If we follow the guidance of the LXX we should have to amend it into 'holy unto thy God,' and regard the following word 'honourable' in the Hebrew text (which the LXX omit) as simply due to dittography. Duhm suggests an ingenious alternative by comparatively slight emendations of our Hebrew text which make the parallelism complete:

> 'And callest the Sabbath a delight—and the new moon of Yahweh an object of desire.'

doing thine own ways means 'carrying on thy daily pursuits.' It must be confessed that the concluding phrase 'speaking [thine own] words' is somewhat obscure. It might be either taken to mean, as Duhm interprets it, 'gossip,' 'talk idle words,' 'deceive' (as in Hos. x. 4), or, more probably and in consonance with the preceding clause ('finding thy business'), we should interpret the expression as meaning 'make proposals' or 'state thy bargain'; cf. Gen. xxiv. 33.

14. Earthly power and affluence are to be the reward of scruthee with the heritage of Jacob thy father: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.]

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[1] Probably the Hebrew preposition meaning 'from' (*min*) has dropped out before the infinitive form (= 'to do'). So LXX.

[2] Evidently founded on a very different text in the original. We might reconstruct it on the basis of closest approximation to the Massoretic in the last two clauses: וְלֹא תִשָּׂא לְמַעֲשֶׂה רַגְלְךָ וְלֹא מִפִּיךָ בְּקֶצֶף תְּדַבֵּר דָּבָר.

Behold, the LORD's hand is not shortened, that it **59**
cannot save; neither his ear heavy, that it cannot hear:
but your iniquities have separated between you and your 2
God, and your sins have hid his face from you, that he

pulous maintenance of the Sabbath. The spiritual level of verses 1–12 is not reached in this concluding verse. In fact we descend to a lower plain. The rewards set forth in verses 11 and 12 are very different. Here again (verse 14) comparison with the LXX suggests a different Hebrew original in the earlier part of the verse. Notice the echo of Deut. xxxii. 13, xxxiii. 29.

CHAPTER LIX.

There are several points of contact between this chapter and lviii. 1–12. The strain of rebuke contained in the latter is continued here. Moreover, it deals with the same mental attitude of discontent with Yahweh's dealings with His people which is presupposed in the preceding chapter. 'God is indifferent to your depressed condition,' you say; 'though your fasts are still maintained and you are diligent in ceremonies of worship' (lviii. 2, 3); God is as mighty as ever and as accessible to prayer; but it is your own unrighteous life that stands between you and the fulfilment of your prayers and the dawn of better times.

1. Probably we ought to regard the opening clauses as expressing a comparative according to the well-known Hebrew idiom:

> 'Behold, Yahweh's hand is not too short to help—nor His ear too dull-of-hearing [lit. heavy] to hear.'

With the latter clause cf. vi. 10.

2. The real cause of God's lack of succour is not Divine impotence, but your own moral depravity that has alienated God from you and has been a barrier to the blessings He would confer. 'Your sins have hid His face[1],' i. e. have caused Him

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[1] In the original not '*His* face' but simply 'face,' as though it were a personal designation of Yahweh, just as in lxiii. 9, where it stands in parallelism with 'angel' (or messenger) (see note on the passage). We seem here to have a movement—though a nascent tendency only—towards the hypostases of later Judaism (*mêmrâ*, *shechînah*, &c.). For it must be remembered that the conception of the 'face of God,' viz. of Ba'al, meets us in the Phoenician proper

3 will not hear. For your hands are defiled with blood,
and your fingers with iniquity; your lips have spoken
4 lies, your tongue muttereth wickedness. None sueth in
righteousness, and none pleadeth in truth: they trust in
vanity, and speak lies; they conceive mischief, and bring
5 forth iniquity. They hatch basilisks' eggs, and weave the

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to withdraw His favour from you. This is generally expressed by a personal subject. In other words, *God* is said to hide His face; cf. viii. 17.

3. We are reminded of Isa. i. 15. For **wickedness** it would be more accurate to read 'dishonesty.'

4. The oppression of the poor by the rich in courts of law was an old vice of the pre-exilian days (cf. Introd. to vol. i, p. 43). As the R.V. (marg.) indicates, the ordinary Hebrew word for 'call' here means sue at law, i. e. summon to trial as plaintiff (cf. the Latin *vocare in ius*); cf. Job v. 1, xiii. 22. This verse should be rendered:

> 'There is no one who sues with uprightness—none who goes to law with honesty,
> Relying on falsity and uttering deceit—conceiving bale and bringing forth evil.'

Verses 5-8 are a highly-wrought elaboration in varied picturesque similes of the same theme, viz. the social conditions of treachery, oppression, and violence, which afflicted the Jewish community at this time. Duhm and Cheyne regard them as a later addition. Marti holds that it was borrowed from some moralizing treatise.

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names. 'Face of Baal' is the equivalent of the deity Tanit in the Carthaginian votive inscriptions (see Schröder, *Phöniz. Sprache*, pp. 260 foll., and the remarks on p. 181). It is also found in the old Canaanite place-name Penuēl (Peniel), meaning 'Face of God.'

On the other hand, the LXX (cod. Alex.) evidently had a somewhat different text in their original—'on account of your sins He has withdrawn *His* face from you so as not to *have compassion*' (וּמֵחַטֹּותֵיכֶם הִסְתִּיר פָּנָיו מִכֶּם מֵרַחֵם, where apparently the מ of the opening word has dropped out through the same character that preceded it, viz. (in the LXX copy) of אלהים). Duhm regards 'between you and your God' and 'from you that He will not hear' as added glosses that disturb both metric rhythm and parallelism of clauses. The variant readings in the LXX lend some colour to this view, and suggest that the glosses assumed different forms.

spider's web: he that eateth of their eggs dieth, and that
which is crushed breaketh out into a viper. Their webs 6
shall not become garments, neither shall they cover
themselves with their works: their works are works of
iniquity, and the act of violence is in their hands. Their 7
feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent
blood: their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity; desolation
and destruction are in their paths. The way of peace 8
they know not; and there is no judgement in their
goings: they have made them crooked paths; whosoever goeth therein doth not know peace. Therefore is 9
judgement far from us, neither doth righteousness over-

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5. web in the original means properly 'gossamer-threads.' This verse merely gives forcible illustrations derived from the animal world of the last clause of the preceding verse, 'conceiving bale and bringing forth evil.' The illustrations remind us of those derived from animal life in the Book of Proverbs (cf. especially xxx. 18–31) or of Job (chap. xxxix).

6. The products of their activity serve no useful purpose, but are mischievous in their result.

7. The same idea is still further developed. Unprincipled avarice works out its ends in violence and even bloodshed. This verse is quoted with various other O. T. citations by St. Paul in Rom. iii. 13–18. The preceding verses are a free citation by the Apostle from Ps. xiv. 1–3. In the Cod. Alex. and margin of Vatican Codex of LXX the entire Pauline body of quotations is incorporated into the text of Ps. xiv. 1–3.

8. For **there is no judgement in their goings** it would be more accurate to translate with Cheyne, 'there is no justice in their tracks.' The Hebrew word **peace** properly means well-being, security of life; but is used here in the ethical sense of the well-being that ensues from righteousness and a well-ordered life of obedience to God. The word **know** has here the connotation which belongs to the term in lviii. 2, on which see the note.

The gnomic character of these verses 5–8 is evident to the reader. Verse 9, which immediately follows, succeeds verse 4 quite as naturally as verse 8.

9. The prophet here confesses in the name of the Jewish community (thus using the 1st pers. plur.) their sense of evil. For the vague word **judgement** substitute 'justice' or 'right,' to which 'righteousness' stands in synonymous parallelism in the

take us: we look for light, but behold darkness; for
10 brightness, but we walk in obscurity. We grope for the
wall like the blind, yea, we grope as they that have no
eyes: we stumble at noonday as in the twilight; among
11 them that are lusty we are as dead men. We roar all
like bears, and mourn sore like doves: we look for
judgement, but there is none; for salvation, but it is far

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next clause. As in verse 4, so here the reference is to the gross injustice perpetrated in Jewish tribunals, where the oppressed suitor 'looks for the light' of equity and redress for his wrongs and for the 'bright rays' of plain and truthful dealings, but finds that he is walking in the gloomy and uncertain paths of false dealing, intrigue, and chicanery.

10 develops this conception of the gloomy and uncertain ways to which the preceding verse alludes. The metaphor is that of a blind man who feels his way. The Hebrew verb rendered **grope** is only used in this passage, but its existence is fairly certain as well as its meaning by comparison with the same corresponding form in classical Arabic. According to our text we have the same verb in the following parallel clause (so also LXX). This is not usual in Hebrew poetic style. Consequently, the suggestion of a slight emendation whereby in the latter clause another verb, used in Deut. xxviii. 29, is employed, has much to commend it. Cf. the use of the verb (or its collateral) in the vivid description of the blind Isaac in his interview with his wily son Jacob, Gen. xxvii. 12, 21, 22. Accordingly with Koppe, Oort, Duhm, and Marti render:—

> 'We grope like the blind by the wall—and like eyeless men feel our way.'

The text in the latter part of the next line is very doubtful. The Hebrew word translated above **them that are lusty** (lit. 'stout' or 'fat') has exercised the speculative ingenuity of many learned commentators whose interpretations it would be a waste of time to record. The word is obviously corrupt, for (1) it is found nowhere else, (2) there is not a trace of it in the LXX. Our only safe course here is to follow Cheyne, and render:—

> 'We stumble at midday as in the twilight. . . . like the dead.'

11. The lamentations of the oppressed are compared to the moaning of bears or the cooing plaint of doves. Substitute, as before, 'right' or 'justice' for **judgement** with the expression

off from us. For our transgressions are multiplied be- 12
fore thee, and our sins testify against us: for our trans-
gressions are with us, and as for our iniquities, we know
them: in transgressing and denying the LORD, and 13
turning away from following our God, speaking oppres-
sion and revolt, conceiving and uttering from the heart
words of falsehood. And judgement is turned away 14
backward, and righteousness standeth afar off: for truth
is fallen in the street, and uprightness cannot enter.

'mourn sore (better 'moan') like doves'; cf. Isa. xxxviii. 14; Ezek. vii. 16.

12. The lament of the people voiced by the prophet (verses 9 foll.) now takes the definite form of a confession to God of the people's sin. The expression **our transgressions are with us** means 'they are fully present to our minds,' are consciously realized by us,' as the following parallel clause renders clear: 'we know them' (i. e. are conscious of them).

13. The forms of sin against God are more specially described as 'rebelling against and dealing falsely with Yahweh, withdrawing from following after our God, giving utterance to oppression and revolt.'

For **uttering** it would be more accurate to render 'meditating.' The two words in the original[1] are alliterative: 'conceiving and concocting' would fairly reproduce the assonance.

14. The qualities *'Right'* (R.V. **Judgement**), *Justice* (Righteousness), *Truth* and *Uprightness* are here personified. The word for **truth** might also be rendered 'faithfulness,' 'honour.'

> 'Right is forced back—and Justice stands afar,
> For truth stumbles in the market-place—and uprightness is unable to enter.'

The scene of this tragedy is the tribunal of an oriental town, which was usually the large open space (here called 'market-place' for lack of a better term) called in Hebrew *rehôb* which was close to the gates (Neh. viii. 1, 3, 16; 2 Chron. xxxii. 6). Here the people assembled (Job xxix. 7), public orators delivered their harangues, (Prov. i. 20), and in ordinary times children disported themselves (Zech. viii. 4), and travellers spent the night (Gen. xix. 2; Judges xix. 15).

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[1] The punctuation of the Massoretic text confuses the sense. The LXX version as well as verse 4 shows that the forms should be punctuated as *Ḳal* absol. infin.

15 Yea, truth is lacking; and he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey: and the LORD saw it, and it
16 displeased him that there was no judgement. And he saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercessor: therefore his own arm brought salvation

15. is lacking, properly 'is left behind.' We might render 'is missing,' 'is not to be found':—

> 'And honour is not to be found—and one who avoids evil exposes himself to plunder.'

Verses 16-20 are closely linked to the preceding. Yahweh views with grief and astonishment the forlorn condition of the oppressed in the Jewish community of Jerusalem. Accordingly He advances in His own person to punish His foes and bring deliverance to His faithful followers that cry for Justice[1].

16. The language in the opening of the verse echoes in a remarkable manner that of the Deutero-Isaiah (l. 2), whose phrases were evidently current and familiar in the generations that followed him. But the situation of the Trito-Isaiah was strongly contrasted. The thoughts of the Deutero-Isaiah were fixed on a foreign deliverer, Cyrus, who is to be God's servant in effecting a deliverance from Israel's *external* troubles. Here the evils are *internal*, and the deliverer who is to remedy the *internal* disorders of the Jewish state fails to arise. Therefore Yahweh Himself advances to the rescue. On the other hand, there is a striking parallel between this as well as the following verses and lxiii. 1-6, where Yahweh again appears as a warrior and there is none to aid (lxiii. 3):—

> 'And when He saw that there was no one—and was amazed that there was none to interpose,
> Then did His arm help Him—and His righteousness sustained Him.'

Here, again, we have the conception of Divine righteousness combined with the idea of Divine might that renders it victorious with which we were made familiar in the study of the Deutero-Isaiah (see Introduction, § 4, p. 37).

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[1] The present writer cannot concur with Stade (*Gesch. Isr.* ii, p. 81) in separating 15 *b* ('and when Yahweh saw it, He was displeased,' &c.)-20 from the preceding, though several good authorities (Kosters, Cheyne, Gressmann, and Enno Littmann) follow him. As Marti clearly shows, the arbitrary process recommended severs in twain what is a well-knit whole in its sequence of ideas, though unfortunately in verses 18 foll. seriously defective in text.

unto him; and his righteousness, it upheld him. And 17
he put on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet
of salvation upon his head; and he put on garments of
vengeance for clothing, and was clad with zeal as a cloke.
According to their deeds, accordingly he will repay, fury 18
to his adversaries, recompence to his enemies; to the

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17. Following out this conception of Yahweh as a warrior-hero, familiar to ancient Israel (Exod. xv. 1, 3, 6, 7, &c.; Deut. xxxii. 41 f.; Judges v. 4, vii. 20), and not infrequently set forth in the Deutero-Isaiah (xlii. 13, xlix. 24 foll., lii. 10), God is represented as girding Himself for the battle, but the 'weapons are not carnal but spiritual,' and directed against hostile moral influences. Qualities regarded as clothing to the personality is a familiar mode of expression among O. T. writers (cf. lxi. 3, 10), and the metaphor of this verse is borrowed by St. Paul in Eph. vi. 14, 17 as well as in 1 Thess. v. 8 (with variation). The word **clothing** (Heb. *tilbôsheth*) is very questionable. (1) It is only found in this passage; (2) it spoils the metre of the verse by overweighting the line; (3) it was obviously absent from the Hebrew copies of the LXX, and is omitted also in the Vulgate; (4) it is a wholly unnecessary *addendum*. Accordingly, we have good reason for following Lowth, Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti in rejecting it as a gloss. Therefore render:—

> 'And He clad himself with righteousness as a breastplate—
> and a helmet of victory[1] (salvation) was on His head.
> And he clad Himself with retribution's apparel—and wrapped
> himself in jealousy as a tunic.'

18. according . . . accordingly, both in the rendering and in the original, is very awkward. The Hebrew word is found in lxiii. 7, but its repetition is very suspicious, and the same remark applies to the repetition of the word 'recompense.' A glance at the LXX reveals that our text has been confused, and unduly extended perhaps by conflate readings. It is very difficult to reconstruct the text. Cheyne's might be accepted as the best provisional attempt. He translates:—

> 'In proportion to [their] deserts will He render a recompense—wrath to His adversaries, disgrace to His enemies.'

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[1] The R. V. here has the right construction (which is also that of LXX) rather than R. V. marg.

19 islands he will repay recompence. So shall they fear
the name of the LORD from the west, and his glory from
the rising of the sun: for he shall come as a rushing
20 stream, which the breath of the LORD driveth. And a
redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn

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19 is a continuation of the sentence that precedes, recording the effects of Yahweh's action:—

> 'So that they shall fear Yahweh's name from the West (evening)—and from the sunrise His glory.
> For it shall come like a dashing stream—which the blast of Yahweh impels[1].'

rushing, or 'dashing,' is probably correct (so LXX). The alternative rendering given in R. V. marg., 'a stream *pent-in*,' is due to the derivation of the adjectival form from another verb. Some critics prefer by a slight emendation to render 'they shall *see* Yahweh's name[2]' instead of 'they shall fear, &c.,' which stands in our text and is supported by the LXX. The alteration is quite needless, and is no improvement to the sense. The reading of our Hebrew text is moreover sustained by Ps. cii. 15 (16 Hebrew), which seems to be an echo of this passage.

20. The text of this verse has come down to us in two distinct traditions. The LXX render:—

> 'And there shall come owing to Zion the redeemer and shall turn away (back) rebellion from Jacob[3].'

In St. Paul's quotation of the passage (Rom. xi. 26) 'from Zion' appears to indicate that the redeemer would come from Zion itself. The LXX seem to render by 'owing to' or 'on account of' from a desire to reconcile the two different traditions embodied in two different texts. Follow the LXX in deleting 'saith the Lord' (Yahweh), which overweights the metre.

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[1] Lit. 'drives into flight.' A. V. rendering (placed in R. V. marg.), 'When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him,' is based on Targ., Pesh., and Jewish commentaries. It disturbs the sequence of ideas, and recent commentators do not support it.

[2] Duhm supports this view by lxvi. 18, 19, lx. 3, but none of these passages contain the expression 'see the *name*.' To 'see the *glory*' or outward manifestation of Yahweh's person is a quite natural and ordinary expression. On the other hand, 'fear' may be quite naturally linked with both objects.

[3] In Hebrew וּבָא מִצִּיּוֹן גֹּאֵל וְהֵשִׁיב פֶּשַׁע מִיַּעֲקֹב. St. Paul's quotation 'from Zion' (Rom. xi. 26) clearly shows us how the original should be restored in the copy used by the LXX.

from transgression in Jacob, saith the LORD. [And as 21
for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the LORD:
my spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have
put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor
out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of
thy seed's seed, saith the LORD, from henceforth and for
ever.]

Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of 60

The other tradition is that of our Hebrew Massoretic text translated in the R. V. above. In that translation substitute '*re*turn' for 'turn,' i. e. are converted. This latter tradition appears to us intrinsically more probable than that on which the LXX is based (followed by Duhm), which seems to be a later version originating from later internal conditions of the Jewish community.

It is impossible to dissociate the person of Nehemiah from this *gôēl* or 'redeemer,' just as Zerubbabel is naturally suggested by the 'prince and commander' of lv. 4. He was in all probability the inaugurator of the light of which the following chapter speaks.

21. This verse is prosaic and not metric. Moreover, its reference to the covenant, as Duhm points out, seems based on the language of the Priestercodex (Gen. ix. 9, xvii. 4). It has all the appearance of being a later addition incorporated in an earlier collection. See p. 238.

CHAPTERS LX-LXII.

A lyric collection, probably composed on the occasion of Nehemiah's advent to Jerusalem in 445 B. C., when a new and happier era of progress and religious reform dawned on Israel. Both style and contents clearly show that Deutero-Isaianic material has been employed.

CHAPTER LX

is a poetic exaltation of the New Jerusalem and its heritage of glory and blessing, which strongly reminds us of the Deutero-Isaiah (liv, lii. 1 foll., xlix. 14 foll.). It is to be irradiated by the light of the Divine Presence, and is to be enriched with the treasures of foreign peoples. Its inhabitants shall be righteous citizens, who shall form a strong and victorious theocracy. Not a word is said about a Messianic King.

The poem in Duhm's arrangement falls into ten strophes of four long lines (each a distich) in every strophe. Verse 12 has all the appearance of being a later prosaic addition.

1–3. *First strophe* (verses 1–3) portrays Jerusalem in the hour

2 the Lord is risen upon thee. For, behold, darkness
shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the peoples:
but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall
3 be seen upon thee. And nations shall come to thy

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of early sunrise. Its mountains catch the first rays, while the surrounding earth and its inhabitants are enveloped in the gloom of night.

1. The city is here addressed as a woman (cf. xlix. 18, li. 17, lii. 1 foll., liv. 1), apparently lying prostrate on the earth (suggested by the ruined walls and buildings) in the humiliation and sorrow of the preceding night of gloom (cf. li. 17)[1]. She is bidden to rise at the visitation of the coming light of her emancipation and glory. According to Duhm the perfects here 'transport us into the future,' and apparently are to be regarded as prophetic perfects. This we hold to be a wrong explanation. Marti rightly takes them as ordinary perfects, describing what has just been consummated. This is indicated by the preceding imperatives 'rise,' 'shine.' 'Shine' here means, as Rosenmüller interprets it, *sereno sis animo* (following Kimḥi, Koppe, and Eichhorn):—'Greet the morn which has arisen with a glad heart.' That the light of this new day is associated in the mind of the writer with the advent of Nehemiah, 445 B.C., is exceedingly probable.

2. The future tenses **shall arise . . . shall be seen** should be replaced by *present*. Moreover, **upon thee** in the original is emphatic, and stands contrasted with the Gentile **peoples** who are involved in deep darkness. Accordingly render:—

'For see! darkness covers the land—and gloom the peoples,
But on *thee* gleams Yahweh, and His glory appears upon thee.'

The contrast reminds us of the episodes that preceded and accompanied the exodus (Exod. x. 22, 23 E). We have already had occasion to note that the Deutero-Isaiah recalled the events of that early time of Israel's deliverance from Egypt (Isa. xlviii. 21, li. 10, 11, lii. 12).

3. The light which shone on Zion attracts the Gentile nations and their monarchs from their world of gloom. For **rising** substitute 'ray.' We have again a Deutero-Isaianic echo in this reference to Gentile potentates; cf. xlix. 7, 23 [lii. 15].

Strophes 2–4 (verses 4–9) portray the advancing crowd of Jews of the Diaspora and of Gentiles that bring their wealth to Jerusalem.

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[1] LXX *φωτίζου, φωτίζου, Ἱερουσαλήμ* is based on a different text in which the second imperat. (*ôrî*) is repeated. This is a Deutero-Isaianic trait (see p. 35). The addition of the name Jerusalem is probably a gloss.

light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. Lift 4
up thine eyes round about, and see: they all gather
themselves together, they come to thee: thy sons shall
come from far, and thy daughters shall be carried in the
arms. Then thou shalt see and be lightened, and thine 5
heart shall tremble and be enlarged; because the abundance of the sea shall be turned unto thee, the wealth

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4. The beginning of this verse is obviously borrowed from xlix. 18, while the latter part of the verse is varied from xlix. 22. Both here and in lxvi. 12 the 'side' or 'hip' is the part of the body on which the young (in this case the daughters) are carried, as is usual in the Orient. The LXX render 'thy daughters shall be carried on *shoulders*,' as in xlix. 22 (to which it is possible that their Hebrew text conformed). For the R. V. rendering **arms** substitute that of the R. V. marg. 'side.'

The word rendered here **carried** is not the same as that which is employed in the parallel xlix. 22, but another of finer significance, which is especially used in reference to those who tend children; 'nursed,' R. V. marg., fairly expresses it.

5. R. V., rightly, **then thou shalt see,** with LXX and other ancient versions, as well as Saadiah, Ḳimḥi, Rosenmüller, and many subsequent commentators; and this is evidently what is intended by the Massoretic Hebrew punctuation. On the other hand, there are numerous Hebrew MSS. which have a slightly different punctuation whereby the verbal form comes from a different stem, 'Thou shalt fear,' and it has been supposed that the following clause supports this meaning (so Ibn 'Ezra, Lowth, Gesenius, Oort, and others). But the verbal form which immediately follows renders this improbable. Accordingly we should translate :—

> 'Then shalt thou see and beam[1] (with joy)—and thy heart shall tremble and expand.'

The expression beam or shine with joy will be found in Ps. xxxiv.

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[1] A. V. follows another meaning of the Hebrew root (in reality a distinct root) which occurs in Isa. ii. 2, meaning 'flow' (cf. *nāhār,* 'river'). 'Flow together' will then mean the same as the Hebrew word for 'dissolve' or 'melt' (Deut. xx. 8; Isa. xiii. 7, xix. 1; Nah. ii. 11, &c.), only it does not mean 'flow in *fear,*' but as Döderlein interprets it, *tum tremes prae laetitia,* 'then wilt thou tremble for *joy,*' in harmony with a subsequent clause. This, however, simply involves a tame repetition of the same conception.

6 of the nations shall come unto thee. The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; they all shall come from Sheba: they shall bring gold and frankincense, and shall proclaim the
7 praises of the Lord. All the flocks of Kedar shall be

5 (6 Heb.), while the conception of trembling with exultation will be found in Jer. xxxiii. 9, and that of expanding with joy in Ps. xxv. 17, cxix. 32. The opposite idea is that of shrinking with dismay. 'The wealth of the sea,' as the following clause indicates, means not merely the products of islands or lands bordering on the sea, but also the merchandise carried in ships.

6. A vast stream of trading Arab caravans, laden with gold and fragrant incense-resins, makes its way to the holy city from the Midianite region Epha (cf. Gen. xxv. 2, 4 and Bennett's note in 'Genesis' of the *Century Bible*). On Sheba see above note on chap. xliii. 3. Cf. Gen. x. 7. This land in South Arabia, now called *Yemen* (which properly, like the Hebrew *yāmîn*, means 'South'), was celebrated in very early times as the region from which the fragrant resin called *lebhônah* (frankincense) was obtained. Cf. Jer. vi. 20. Its chief use was in sacrificial worship (Lev. ii. 1, 16; Isa. xliii. 23) even as late as the days of Virgil ('centumque Sabaeo ture calent arae'). According to Pliny the chief rendezvous for the trade was Sabota in Hadramaut, from which the caravans started for Gaza. LXX (Codex A and Sinaitic) add the words 'and precious stones,' in accordance with Ezek. xxvii. 22. This is an obvious gloss to our Hebrew text. Metrical considerations dispose Duhm, Marti, and Cheyne to omit the words 'they shall bring gold and frankincense.' The further extension in LXX gives some colour to this view. Some later scribe wished to specify the products of Sheba or Sabaea, which were well known[1]. Cf. 1 Kings x. 2; Ps. lxxii. 15; Ezek. xxvii. 22.

The word **multitude** in the original properly means *abundance* or overflow (applied to water in Job xxii. 11, xxxviii. 34, to animals, i. e. horses, in Ezek. xxvi. 10, and to human beings in 2 Kings ix. 17).

Even these foreign traders that flock to Jerusalem proclaim Yahweh's praises, i. e. his glorious deeds; cf. chap. lxiii. 7.

7. Respecting **Kedar** and **Nebaioth** see note on Isa. xxi. 16

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[1] Whether the frankincense, gold (and precious stones, LXX) formed an integral part of the text or not, they must be mentally supplied. They seem necessary to give adequate meaning to the last clause of the following verse, 'adorn my beauteous house.'

gathered together unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee: they shall come up with acceptance on mine altar, and I will glorify the house of my glory.
Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to 8

(vol. i). Both belonged to North Arabia, and in Gen. xxv. 13 are called sons of Ishmael. Kedar is a wealthy pastoral tribe (Jer. xlix. 29) famous for its archers (Isa. xxi. 16 f.). In Gen. xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 3 we read of Nebaioth as giving Esau one of his wives. We might infer from this its near neighbourhood (prob. E.) to Edom. Kedar lay still farther to the East. (Driver on Gen. xxv. 13.)

This verse continues the thought of the preceding, and discloses the motive for these foreign arrivals. The products brought by the trading caravans from Sheba, which the Hebrew text supplies, as well as the flocks which come from Northern Arabia for sacrifice, were to enhance the dignity and splendour of Yahweh's worship. Following the LXX we should render in the last clause from a purer text: 'And my beauteous[1] house *shall be adorned.*' This involves the change of only a single character.

Fourth Strophe. Verses 8-9 now portray the return of the Jewish diaspora like clouds of birds seeking their home-land as doves back to the old dovecote[2]. They even come from distant shores transported on vessels of large tonnage to convey their stores and valuables.

8. fly as a cloud is expressed by an alliterative phrase in the original, which we might represent by '*cleave* their way as a *cloud.*' The metaphor is held by the Targum to express 'swiftness.' It paraphrases 'who come like swift clouds and pause not.' Similarly Dillmann, Kittel, and Marti consider that the simile is intended to express speed. Rosenmüller, however, is probably right in holding that the 'cloud' here is rather intended to express the conception of *vast numbers.* He cites as a parallel Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 60 in reference to bees—

'obscuramque trahi vento mirabere *nubem*';

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[1] Perhaps we should follow the LXX still further and read 'my house of *prayer*' (תְּפִלָּתִי) as in lvi. 7; on the other hand, the reading of our existing Hebrew text '*I* will adorn' has a close parallel in verse 13 (last clause).

[2] In place of 'to their lattice-windows' LXX had a different text, 'with their young ones.' Houbigant suggested עַל־אֶפְרֹחֵיהֶם (a reading of which Lowth approved) as the LXX original. The idea expressed is that of the return of the scattered Jews from their foreign abodes accompanied by their children.

9 their windows? Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first, to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their gold with them, for the name of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel, because

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The poet seeks to express the conception of *multitudes* of home-coming Jews bringing with them their little ones like a mighty swarm of birds that darken the sky. Cf. verse 6 above.

9. The rendering **wait for me** is based on the punctuation of the Massoretic text, which here accords with the LXX rendering. The verb is regarded as a *Pi'el* form, and this finds support in such Deutero-Isaianic passages as xlii. 4, li. 5.

But there is probability in the conjecture originally put forth by Luzatto that we should read the verbal form not as a *Pi'el* but as a *Nif'al*. This involves no change in the characters of the text but only in the pronunciation. This seems to be suggested by the interesting parallel, Jer. iii. 17. We should then render 'Yea, unto me the coast-lands (i. e. their inhabitants) *gather themselves*.' Delitzsch argues that if we adopt this modification we should go further and read *goyîm* ('foreign nations') in place of *îyyîm* in our text (meaning 'coast-lands')[1]. But this does not improve the sense. Verses 8-9 (forming the fourth strophe) refer to the home-coming Jews, while it is the preceding strophe (verses 6-7) which refers to the *foreign* caravans from Arabia. On the other hand, the ingenious conjecture *ṣiyyîm*, 'ships,' proposed by Duhm and adopted by Cheyne, restores to us the parallelism, and prepares us for the otherwise abrupt introduction of Tarshish vessels :—

> 'Yea, unto me ships assemble themselves—and the Tarshish vessels first.'

Both Duhm and Marti assume that **their silver and gold** means the wealth possessed by the Gentiles, which is wholly contrary to the plain sense of the passage, in which the possessive 'their' evidently refers to Zion's sons[2], whom the Tarshish ships have

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[1] Cf. above xli. 5 and LXX, which read *goyim* for *îyyîm*. See p. 67 and footnote.

[2] Duhm's assumption that the Jews in exile were not wealthy is by no means borne out by the evidence. They probably carried out the instructions of Jeremiah's epistle (Jer. xxix), and, after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, were in many cases very loth to leave the land where they had settled and prospered. In the deportations of 597 and 587-6 it was the most energetic portion of the race that

he hath glorified thee. And strangers shall build up thy 10
walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee: for in
my wrath I smote thee, but in my favour have I had
mercy on thee. Thy gates also shall be open continually; 11
they shall not be shut day nor night; that men may
bring unto thee the wealth of the nations, and their

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brought in great numbers to the coast of Palestine. On **ships of Tarshish** see note in vol. i, p. 103 (on Isa. ii. 16); cf. also p. 262. The silver and the gold are destined for the adornment of the temple to do honour 'to the name of Yahweh.' Here 'name,' as elsewhere, means *personal presence.*

Fifth Strophe (verses 10, 11). We here pass from the Jewish returning exiles to the Gentiles once more (as in the third strophe). The foreigner is to serve the Jew in performing the manual labour of building up the ruined walls (cf. lxi. 4; Neh. i. 3), a trait which once more reminds us of the Deutero-Isaiah (cf. xlv. 14). Even kings of foreign peoples are to bring the wealth of their lands to enrich Jerusalem.

10. The change from God's former attitude of stern disciplinary wrath to one of loving compassion is another echo from the Deutero-Isaiah (liv. 7, 8). Cf. also lvii. 17, 18.

11. The **gates** to which this verse refers were at this time in a state of ruin (Neh. i. 3, ii. 3), and had probably remained in the condition in which the armies of Nebuchadrezzar had left them in 586 B. C. (cf. 2 Kings xxv. 9). The verbal form employed here continues the future tenses of the preceding verses (5–10). The restoration of the walls to which verse 10 refers may be assumed to have reached completion. The gates, which have now been erected[1], are thrown open wide day and night to receive the unceasing stream of foreign wealth.

Instead of the *passive* partic. which closes this verse, rendered **led** (so LXX and other versions including Targ.), recent commentators (Duhm, Grätz, Cheyne, Kittel, and Marti) prefer to read the *active* partic. 'their kings leading [them].' It is argued that this is more in accordance with verses 3 and 10, which do not represent the kings of foreign races as occupying this servile position. But

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were carried off into exile (2 Kings xxiv. 14, xxv. 12). The poverty of Israel was to be found in Palestine and not in the diaspora. Cf. also note on lv. 2, and Kent, *Hist. of the Jewish People*^{7}, p. 38 f.

[1] The decorative details of 'carbuncles' (LXX crystals), contained in liv. 12, are not here given, though the LXX addition of 'precious stones' in verse 6 above would lead us to anticipate it.

12 kings led *with them*. [For that nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations
13 shall be utterly wasted.] The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the fir tree, the pine, and the box tree together; to beautify the place of my sanctuary, and
14 I will make the place of my feet glorious. And the sons of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee;

against this it might be argued (*a*) that the verses just mentioned are not inconsistent with the reading of the partic. as a passive. In verse 3 they may be regarded as the kings of subject races brought by compulsion to swell the triumph of Israel. (*b*) We might regard it as another Deutero-Isaianic trait in accord with xlv. 14[1]. (*c*) Verse 12, which most critics rightly regard as a prosaic addition (contained in the LXX), may have been added with express reference to the *passive* participial form. (*d*) The traditional reading is in accord with verses 14 foll.

12. The spirit of this prosaic addition is that of Zech. xiv. 14-19.

13. Israel shall be able to command the supply of the finest varieties of timber like the Assyrian conquerors of old; cf. xli. 19, and see note on Isa. x. 19 *ad fin.*, vol. i, p. 166. As a matter of actual history we may infer from Neh. ii. 8 that timber was supplied by the Persian keeper of the Royal Parks for Nehemiah's use.

place of my feet is an expression borrowed from Ezek. xliii. 7, where 'place of the soles of my feet' stands in parallelism with 'the place of my throne,' just as here it stands synonymous with 'place of my sanctuary.' For **make . . . glorious** substitute 'do honour to.'

14. The LXX here omit an entire clause, 'and shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet,' and it is certainly quite possible that it was added as a later extension of the text. It mars the strophic arrangement; accordingly, Duhm omits it:—

> 'And there shall come to thee bending low—the sons of those
> that oppressed and despised thee,
> And shall call thee Yahweh's city—Zion of the Holy One of
> Israel.'

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[1] We might then suppose that the compulsion to serve Israel was applied (in the thought of the writer) by Persia, just as Cyrus is assumed to apply it in the case of Egypt and Ethiopia; cf. xliii. 3, xlv. 14. Certainly without the strong arm of Persia the reforms of Nehemiah and Ezra would not have been consummated under the existing collocation of conditions.

and all they that despised thee shall bow themselves
down at the soles of thy feet; and they shall call thee
The city of the LORD, The Zion of the Holy One of
Israel. Whereas thou hast been forsaken and hated, so 15
that no man passed through thee, I will make thee an
eternal excellency, a joy of many generations. Thou 16
shalt also suck the milk of the nations, and shalt suck
the breast of kings: and thou shalt know that I the
LORD am thy saviour, and thy redeemer, the Mighty
One of Jacob. For brass I will bring gold, and for iron 17
I will bring silver, and for wood brass, and for stones
iron: I will also make thy officers peace, and thine

Strophes 7-10 (verses 15-22) portray the future transformation of Zion from its previous physical and moral desolation and abandonment into external exaltation and splendour, and into internal purity and moral order in which God shall be its everlasting light.

15. so that no man passed through thee (in the original ‘without one that passes by’) is not the expression used in the text employed by the LXX, who read *‘ōzēr* for *‘ōbhēr*, ‘without *helper*’ (or ‘with none to help’), a more usual phrase (cf. Ps. lxxii. 12, &c.). It is, moreover, sustained by the following verse, which then points back to this: ‘I, Yahweh, am thy Saviour.’ ‘Without one that passes by’ would mean that in former times Jerusalem was comparatively deserted, and there was no traffic—no caravans or travellers—that passed through the city. The town and its neighbourhood were in decay. This was the condition of Jerusalem with its ruined walls prior to Nehemiah's advent.

16. This verse possesses little originality. The first part is a modification of xlix. 23, while the latter part, ‘and thou shalt know, &c.,’ is an almost exact copy of the latter part of xlix. 26. This verse merely expresses in graphic metaphor the idea already presented in verse 11, that the wealth of foreign nations shall be brought in to adorn Jerusalem.

17. The more precious metals shall take the place of the cheaper. Gold takes the place of the baser metal, bronze, and silver of iron. We have here the current rhetorical phraseology descriptive of an age of prosperity. Cf. 1 Kings x. 21, 27; Duhm would excise the line ‘and in place of timber bronze, and instead

18 exactors righteousness. Violence shall no more be
heard in thy land, desolation nor destruction within thy
borders; but thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy
19 gates Praise. The sun shall be no more thy light by

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of stones iron' as a later addition which gives the strophe a line in excess. It is contained, however, in the LXX.

The word **officers** is expressed in the original by an abstract feminine collective 'officialdom.' 'Peace' might be taken as a pregnant phrase signifying—devoted to the well-being of the Jewish community and living in friendship with them. **Exactors** (R.V. marg. 'taskmasters') are to behave justly to those with whom they have to deal. This is the interpretation underlying the LXX version, and it is quite possibly the correct one. The writer may in fact have been thinking of Persian officers or Jewish rulers appointed by the Persian court as the officials who are to be on friendly terms with the Jewish population, though this is not expressly stated, since it would be somewhat out of harmony with the tone of national self-exaltation expressed in verses 10-14 and 16 above. On the whole it is more probable that Duhm, Kittel, and Marti are right in making 'peace' and 'righteousness' as the direct objects of the verb:—

> 'I will make peace as thy magistracy and righteousness as thy taskmasters.'

The new era of peace and righteousness, which was now about to dawn, stands contrasted with the black shadows of violence and injustice which darkened the immediate past portrayed in lvi. 10, 11, lvii. 1, lviii. 4 foll., lix. 3-9.

18. These shadows of the past—violence and destruction—shall pass away from the land in which the city is situated. In token and attestation thereof significant names are to be given to the newly-built walls of the city, *Victory* and *Praise*. Probably this last trait of names bestowed on walls and gates is borrowed from Babylonia, for we know that 'in Babylon one of the great encircling walls bore the name *Imgur-Bêl*, "Bel is propitious," while the other was called *Nimitti-Bêl*, "Foundation of Bel"' (Schrader, in *COT.*, i, p. 174, on 1 Kings vii. 21, which refers to the names of the two pillars of Solomon's temple, *Yāchîn* and *Bō'az*).

Verses 19-22. These closing verses depict the moral excellence of this new City of God where God shines as the everlasting light. There is an immense growth in population.

19. Yahweh's eternal presence illuminates and glorifies the city, and His light takes the place of sun and moon. Cf. Rev. xxi. 23, xxii. 5.

day; neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee: but the LORD shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory. Thy sun shall no 20
more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself: for the LORD shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended. Thy people also 21
shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land for ever; the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified. The little one shall become 22
a thousand, and the small one a strong nation: I the LORD will hasten it in its time.

The spirit of the Lord GOD is upon me; because the 61

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20. The same conception is repeated in varied language. As Yahweh's presence is the city's constant and unchanging light that is to the inhabitants both sun and moon, it may be said that their sun never sets and their moon is always full and never wanes. Cf. the thought of Jas. i. 17.

21. The moral consequence of Yahweh's abiding and illuminating presence is the universal spread of righteousness: 'All thy people are righteous,' and the further consequence flows: the soil becomes the possession of the people for ever (cf. Ps. xxxvii. 29). For 'His planting' in the *Kethîbh* (Hebrew *written* consonantal text) we have in the *Krê* (or what was *read* in the Synagogue) and some MSS. as well as in Targ., Pesh., and Vulg. the better reading 'My planting' [LXX 'guarding (*nōṣēr*) the plantation'].

22. For **thousand** Duhm and Marti substitute 'a tribe.' The original Hebrew *eleph* is interpreted as a quite distinct word from the same form used as a numeral. This view, however, does not commend itself to us as so probable, nor has it the support of the LXX. *Eleph*, meaning 'clan,' or perhaps 'tribe,' seems an inadequate equivalent to 'a powerful nation' in the parallel clause. On the other hand, 'thousand,' like 'myriad,' is used as a general expression for a large number.

CHAPTERS LXI and LXII

may be regarded as a connected whole, following naturally upon chap. lx, and dealing with the same theme, the advent of a glorious future for the Jewish state. While the previous chapter (lx) presents innumerable points of contact with and resemblance to the Deutero-Isaiah, these two following chapters are in several points reminiscent of the Servant-poems as well as of other

Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-

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analogous passages in the Deutero-Isaiah. Thus we might compare lxi. 1 with xlii. 1, 3 (also l. 4, xlix. 9), lxi. 7, 8 with Deutero-Isaianic xl. 2 (also lv. 3), lxii. 10 foll. with the Deutero-Isaianic passages xl. 3, 10, xlix. 22, xlviii. 20. On the other hand, the announcement of a day of vengeance from our God, lxi. 2, 5 stands in contrast with the spirit of the 'Servant-songs.'

The speaker expressly declares himself to be a prophet charged with the high mission of preaching a message of good news to the afflicted and heart-broken and of deliverance to the captives, the advent of a year of Divine favour and comfort for the sorrowing. The century-old desolations are to be repaired (lxi. 4). These happy days of Jerusalem's glory have not yet arrived. Meanwhile God's messenger will not cease his exhortations until their advent (lxii. 1). A strain of exultant anticipation follows, resounding with Deutero-Isaianic echoes (verses 6 foll., 10 foll).

Chap. lxi **1.** From the introductory remarks above it will be clearly seen that the view of the older expositors (Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Nägelsbach, Orelli) that it is the servant of Yahweh who is here speaking (as in xlix. 1 foll., l. 4 foll.) is quite untenable. Some of the traits, it is true, remind us of that earlier portraiture of the preceding century. The spirit of God is upon him to bring comfort to the broken-hearted and lead the prisoners out of the dungeon (cf. xlii. 1. 3, 7, xlix. 9, l. 4); yet it is quite obvious that the present passage regards the speaker who is anointed by God as an individual. There are no indications which identify him with an Israelite community; still less that the blessing which he is about to bring upon the world is to be wrought out by his own sufferings and death, and that it is to bring God's light to the Gentile as well as the Jew (xlix. 6, l. 6 foll., liii). Moreover, 'the day of vengeance of our God' (verse 2) is not an expression that the Servant of Yahweh would use. Here it is an individual who speaks, viz. the writer himself, and he simply *proclaims* the advent of happier days, and does not indicate by a word that he is himself bringing about the nobler era which is to dawn.

anointed here is of course purely metaphorical, and symbolizes the endowment of the prophet with the special powers of the Divine spirit to which the preceding clause refers. Respecting the origin of this conception of the word *anoint*, see 'Messiah' in Hastings' *DCG.* vol. ii, p. 171.

The word here rendered **meek** (Heb. *'ānāw*) is often used in later Hebrew literature (chiefly in the Psalms) in the sense of 'humble,' submissive to Divine authority; but where it occurs in

hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the
opening *of the prison* to them that are bound; to proclaim 2
the acceptable year of the LORD, and the day of ven-

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earlier literature (as in Amos ii. 7, viii. 4; Isa. xi. 4) both context and parallelism show that it means not 'meek,' 'submissive,' but 'suffering,' 'distressed,' 'miserable.' In other words, it has the same signification as the closely similar Hebrew adjective '*ʿānî*.' It may indeed have been confused with this word, and some textual critics would make the slight change into this adjectival form. It is quite possible that this change should be made here (as the LXX 'poor' appears to indicate).

bind up the brokenhearted, as the surgeon binds up the gaping wound, a metaphor occasionally used by the pre-exilian Isaiah, i. 6, iii. 7.

The word **liberty,** in the original *dĕrôr*, employed by the prophets of the sixth century (Jeremiah, Ezekiel) as well as by later writers, is probably a loan-word from the Babylonian *durâru.*

The compound form in the original rendered **opening**[1] has been variously interpreted, as the R. V. and R. V. marg. indicate. The Hebrew verb is properly used of the opening of the eyes (Gen. xxi. 19; 2 Kings vi. 20; Isa. xlii. 7, &c.), in one case opening of the ears (xlii. 20). Accordingly Dillmann is thoroughly justified in rendering, 'and to the captives clear vision' (or with R. V. marg. 'opening of the eyes'), the underlying conception being that confinement in the dark dungeon places the captives in the position of blind men[2].

2. The day of vengeance introduces a jarring note into the serene harmony of this passage, and it may be noted that in the synagogue at Nazareth Jesus, in the opening of His ministry, read those verses which portray the character of His own message, but omits this jarring note (Luke iv. 18 f.). The 'day of vengeance' is evidently directed against the children of the mixed marriages, the heathen schismatics and Samaritans, towards whom the invective of the Trito-Isaiah is so constantly uttered; cf. lvi. 9, foll., lix. 18 foll., lxv. 11-15, &c.

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[1] What is called a lengthened or *Peʿalʿal* formation, Ewald, § 157 *c*; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*^{26}, 84*b*, rem. 36.

[2] Duhm, who severely criticizes this view, has no justification for his rendering 'and casting off chains to those who are bound,' unless the text be altered to פְּתֹחַ (cf. Nif. in li. 14) or פַּתֵּחַ in place of the doubtful *Peʿalʿal* form which stands there. The LXX render 'recovery of sight to the blind,' which partly supports our traditional text. Probably the Greek translators read in their text לְעִוְרִים פְּקֹחַ.

3 geance of our God; to comfort all that mourn; to appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them a garland for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; that they might be called trees of righteousness, the planting
4 of the Lord, that he might be glorified. And they shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former

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3. The opening clause halts, and lacks an object to the verb. It seems, moreover, to be metrically too short. There appears, therefore, to be some ground for accepting the proposed addition of the word for 'joy' (*sâsôn*) after the verb 'appoint' (so Houbigant and Lowth). Duhm, followed by Cheyne, would cancel out the entire opening clause as an added gloss. Thus we should read: [verse 2] 'To comfort all who mourn—to give them a festal turban instead of dust (ashes).' The word rendered here 'festal turban' (*peēr*) is used in Hebrew to designate the ornamented headgear of a priest (Exod. xxxix. 28; Ezek. xliv. 18), of a bridegroom (as below in verse 10), or of a distinguished lady of fashion (Isa. iii. 20). Verse 10 in this chapter points to the fact that the writer was thinking of a bridegroom's festal turban. There is an alliterative play of words in the original between this word for 'turban' and that for 'dust,' which cannot easily be reproduced in English. Duhm reproduces it appropriately in German by 'Putz statt Schmutz.' Dust was cast upon the head or men wallowed in it as a token of mourning (2 Sam. xiii. 19; Jer. vi. 26):—

> 'The oil of joy in place of mourning—a vestment of praise instead of an exhausted spirit.
> And they shall be called oaks of righteousness—Yahweh's plantation that He may glorify Himself'—

is the more exact rendering of the concluding part of this verse. The 'oil of joy,' or the oil which is expressive of gladness, is a reference to the Oriental custom of anointing the person with oil on festival days or weddings or other special times of rejoicing, Amos vi. 6; Ps. xxiii. 5, xlv. 8; Luke vii. 46. The oaks or terebinths of righteousness are expressive not so much of luxuriance as of endurance and strength symbolized by the vivid metaphor of mountains in Ps. xxxvi. 6 (7 Heb.). The conception of the restored and revived community as God's plantation seems to have reference to the ideas of lx. 21, which have just preceded.

4. These ideas appear to underlie this verse. The righteous people who inherit the land shall build up the now century-old ruins. The verse which follows this would lead us to conclude

desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the
desolations of many generations. And strangers shall 5
stand and feed your flocks, and aliens shall be your
plowmen and your vinedressers. But ye shall be named 6
the priests of the LORD: men shall call you the ministers
of our God: ye shall eat the wealth of the nations, and
in their glory shall ye boast yourselves. For your shame 7

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that the actual work of building would be executed by foreigners pressed into the service in accordance with lx. 10.

5. The word rendered **plowmen** is properly a more general term, and signifies 'tillers' of the soil. Stade, in his *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, ii, p. 86, regards verses 5 foll. as a later insertion 'calculated to lower the expectations of the prophet down to the level of the later carnal ambitions for Israel's supremacy in the Messianic kingdom.' Apart from the development of Isaiah criticism and the definite assignment of chaps. lvi–lxvi (Trito-Isaiah) to a later epoch, Stade's criticism loses all point when it is recognized that this 'lower level of carnal ambitions' may be found in the Deutero-Isaiah (chaps. xl–lv) itself in xliii. 3 f., xlv. 14 f., xlix. 22 f.

6. As contrasted with the foreigners, who discharge the menial duties of manual labour, the Jews shall have priestly offices assigned to them. In place of **in their glory shall ye boast yourselves**, R. V. marg. renders 'to their glory shall ye succeed,' and this latter interpretation is adopted by Duhm ('into their glory shall ye pass'), who here follows the Jewish commentators Saadia, Rashi, and the modern expositors Hitzig and Ewald, as well as others[1]. But this sense appears very hazardous, and the reading adopted by the R. V., which is rendered 'shall ye boast yourselves[2],' is preferable.

7. The LXX appear to have had a very different text before

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[1] This is based on the assumption that the Hithpa'el תִּתְיַמָּרוּ is derived from ימר = מור as the form הֵמִיר = הֵימִיר in Jer. ii. 11, meaning 'exchange' (with בְּ of the object for which the exchange is made); hence to 'change' in general sense, 'pass' as Ps. xlvi. 3.

[2] תִּתְאַמָּרוּ. On the other hand, the ingenious suggestion of Cheyne, תִּתְהַדָּרוּ, based on Prov. xxv. 6 (cf. Isa. lxiii. 1), is worthy of consideration. We might then render, 'Ye shall adorn yourselves with their glory.' LXX *θαυμασθήσεσθε* might be held to confirm this since תֶּהְדַּר in Lev. xix. 15 is rendered by *θαυμάσεις*.

ye shall have double; and for confusion they shall rejoice in their portion: therefore in their land they shall possess double: everlasting joy shall be unto them.
8 For I the LORD love judgement, I hate robbery with iniquity; and I will give them their recompence in truth, and I will make an everlasting covenant with them.
9 And their seed shall be known among the nations, and their offspring among the peoples: all that see them

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them, and there are besides many variants. These, as well as internal indications, show that our Hebrew text has been seriously corrupted. The general sense of the passage is fairly clear. It is that inasmuch as the Jews during exile and subsequently have suffered at the hands of strangers double that which was their due (cf. Jer. xvi. 18), they shall now receive a double compensation in their own land. On the whole, Marti, who adopts one of Klostermann's emendations, gives us the most probable reconstruction of the text[1], which may be rendered 'Because their shame was in double measure—and contumely and despite (lit. spitting) were their portion.'

8 expresses the moral ground of Israel's vindication and his double recompense for former ills. In order to give increased weight to this utterance Yahweh is suddenly introduced as the speaker. This alternation between Yahweh and the prophetic speaker is not infrequent in the Trito-Isaiah. Cf. below, lxii. 6.

The word *'ôlah*, 'burnt offering' (R. V. marg. following A. V.), is an evident misreading of the text adopted by the Vulg. as well as the Jewish expositors Ḳimḥi, Rashi, and Ibn Ezra. The LXX show that the Hebrew characters should be read *'awlah*, 'iniquity,' as the R. V. correctly render the word. Cf. lix. 3.

Verses 9, 11 describe the high place and moral worth of the future Israelite community among the nations of the world, described under the metaphor of a seed which buds forth into luxuriant life. The two verses form an evident sequence interrupted by the intrusion of verse 10, which forms a natural conclusion, not so much of this chapter as of the following. See below.

9. For **acknowledge** substitute 'recognize.' The word for **offspring,** which again meets us in lxv. 23, is a favourite expression shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed which the Lord hath blessed.

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[1] תַּחַת כִּי בָּשְׁתָּם מִשְׁנֶה וּכְלִמָּה וָרֹק חֶלְקָם. Here וָרֹק is merely an echo of l. 6. With 'everlasting joy' cf. xxxv. 10 (li. 11).

I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my soul shall be 10
joyful in my God; for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe

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of the Deutero-Isaiah, xlii. 5, xliv. 3. It is doubtful whether it was employed before the exile period.

10. This verse, with its distinct metaphor of the bride and bridegroom, evidently has a place apart from verses 9 and 11. Its figurative allusion brings it into close relation with verses 4 and 5 in chap. lxii. On the other hand, its rhythmic form is not adapted to that of the short poem, verses 4–9, in the following chapter (*ḳînah* metre). Accordingly we should prefer to place it after lxii. 3, or at the close of chapter lxii, instead of the present one, since the metaphor appears to be reminiscent of verses 4, 5, and is closely connected with verse 3 in that chapter (see notes below).

Render our Hebrew text: 'As the bridegroom sets (on his head)[1] the tiara.' Moreover, the Hebrew word for **robe** should properly be rendered *tunic*. On the *me‘îl* or tunic see *Hebrew Antiquities*, p. 47. Both text and rendering are far from certain. The LXX evidently read the verbal form as a masc. in the second clause as well as the first (viz. *ya‘deh*), making Yahweh the subject of the verb in both, and the object (unexpressed) the first pers. sing. pron. clearly indicated in the beginning of the verse:—

> 'As a bridegroom He sets a tiara (on my head)—and as a bride He arrays me with jewels[2].'

To this text we give the preference. The speaker is obviously the restored Israel or the glorified Zion of the following chapter, and not the prophetic speaker of lxi. 1. The structure of the whole verse is thereby made homogeneous. Duhm correctly observes that in the Massoretic text the two parts of the verse 'do not fit specially well together.'

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[1] The R. V. (marg.) 'decketh as a priest' is based on the traditional Hebrew text, which can hardly be accepted, as the use of the verb is unprecedented. LXX justify the reading of Bredenkamp and Klostermann, *yāchîn*, which we have adopted. The LXX also render 'tunic of *joy*' (*sāsôn*, cf. verse 3, or *simḥah*, in place of *ṣedāḳāh*). Read also יַעְטֵנִי with Bredenkamp and Dillmann, and render by the present 'he covers me' (not 'covered').

[2] Reading עֲדִי in place of the inappropriate כליה.

of righteousness, as a bridegroom decketh himself with a garland, and as a bride adorneth herself with her jewels.
11 For as the earth bringeth forth her bud, and as the garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth; so the Lord God will cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before all the nations.

62 For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until her righteousness go forth as brightness, and her salvation as a lamp that
2 burneth. And the nations shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory: and thou shalt be called by

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11. The growth of this fair and luxuriant seed of Israel, to which verse 9 refers, is not one of external splendour only, but of internal and moral growth in righteousness. We seem to hear in this verse the welcome echo of Jer. xxxi. 31 foll.

Chap. lxii is obviously connected by its first three verses closely with the preceding. The prophet will not keep silence till the day of Jerusalem's glory arrives.

1. It has been assumed from early times (Targ., Ibn 'Ezra, and Kimḥi), and by many modern expositors, such as Delitzsch and Orelli, that Yahweh is here the speaker, since we read of God's silence and rest in xlii. 14, lvii. 11, lxiv. 11, lxv. 6. But this testimony is far from decisive; and the assumption that Yahweh is the speaker introduces great confusion into the passage, since he is spoken of repeatedly in the third person (verses 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9). The passage only becomes intelligible when we assume that here, as in lxi. 1, the speaker is some prophet and he declares that he will not cease his exhortations to his fellow countrymen and his intercessions with Yahweh (cf. verses 6, 7 below and Luke xi. 5-10) till Zion's righteousness, i.e. the victorious vindication of his right (cf. xli. 2, 26, xlv. 13 and notes), is made manifest. For **lamp** substitute 'torch.' Here the conception of 'right' (rendered 'righteousness' in R.V.) involves the idea of the triumphant vindication of 'right' (see Introduction to Deutero-Isaiah, p. 37). This is clearly shown in the parallel clause, where the word for 'salvation' may be more appropriately rendered 'victory.'

2. Zion is here addressed. Her coming glory is to be made visible to all the foreign nations and kings, and in consequence she is to be greeted with a new name which Yahweh will bestow.

a new name, which the mouth of the LORD shall name.
Thou shalt also be a crown of beauty in the hand of 3
the LORD, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God.
Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken; neither shall 4
thy land any more be termed Desolate: but thou shalt be
called Hephzi-bah, and thy land Beulah: for the LORD

We have been already made familiar with this conception of special names bestowed on cities, walls, or gates, lx. 14, 18 (with note). Cf. also Jer. iii. 17, xxxiii. 16; Ezek. xlviii. 35, and also Rev. ii. 17. What this new name is to be is not definitely said. From verse 3 we might infer that this brief poem (verses 1–3), if continued, would have contained the name 'Yahweh's crown.'

3. The idea of this verse may have been borrowed from the beautiful utterance of Isaiah respecting Samaria (xxviii. 1). Jerusalem, like Samaria, was a natural fortress, and the walls which crowned the hill suggested the figure of a crown. The tutelary deities of foreign towns were frequently represented as wearing the crown upon the head consisting of city walls. Here the crown is placed in Yahweh's hand. If we connect this with lxi. 10, in the form in which it is preserved in the LXX, the motive appears fairly evident. The 'bridegroom' is to be crowned by Yahweh with the 'tiara of proud towers,' a prophecy of the coming achievement of Yahweh's servant Nehemiah. The entire conception was probably suggested in part by the Deutero-Isaianic passages liv. 6, 11, 12.

Verses 4–9. The preceding short poem is broken off and succeeded by another which is in the familiar long lines of the *ḳînah* or elegiac measure consisting of three strophes or stanzas of five lines each (or two verses each of our Hebrew text). The theme is a variation on the preceding verses, but unlike them it draws a contrast between the past and the present of Jerusalem. Deutero-Isaianic motives appear here, as in the rest of this chapter. In this poem we clearly discern the influence of liv. 4–8; cf. xlix. 14–16.

4. Duhm is fully justified in removing the useless repetition of the phrase **any more be termed** added by a gloss-writer to the second portion of the opening line. By this removal the elegiac metre is restored:—

> 'Thou shalt no more be called "forsaken"—nor thy land "desolate."'

The R. V. appropriately substitutes the meanings of the proper names. *Ḥephṣîbah*, 'my delight is in her,' and *Beʿûlah*, 'married.'

5 delighteth in thee, and thy land shall be married. For as a young man marrieth a virgin, so shall thy sons marry thee: and as the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee.

6 I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem; they shall never hold their peace day nor night: ye that
7 are the LORD's remembrancers, take ye no rest, and give him no rest, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem

The relation of Yahweh as husband to the land and its people, familiar to students of the O. T. (cf. especially Hosea i-iii and Ezek. xvi), underlies this passage.

5. It is quite evident that the Hebrew text and its equivalent in our rendering is due to a corrupted text which destroys both sense and parallelism. Accordingly we follow Lowth and Koppe in reading :—

> 'For as a young man weds a virgin—so thy Builder[1] weds thee;
> And as bridegroom's joy over bride—so thy God rejoices over thee.'

The original text may have influenced Ps. cxlvii. 2. The conception of Yahweh as builder of Jerusalem refers to the community as well as the city walls; cf. Gen. xvi. 2 (Heb. and R. V. marg.). The ideas of the verse are Deutero-Isaianic; cf. l. 1, lii. 8, and liv. 4 and notes.

6-7. The second strophe (verses 6-7) begins with an utterance of Yahweh which ends with the words 'day nor night.' This introduction of Yahweh as spokesman without any preliminary words is characteristic of the Trito-Isaiah; cf. above lxi. 8. Here the watchmen whom Yahweh appoints are not prophets but celestial ministers who make it their duty to be 'remembrancers' of the Heavenly Monarch. This office of 'remembrancer' existed in the Hebrew court (cf. 2 Kings xviii. 18, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8) and also in the court of Persian kings. These watchmen or remembrancers are to be persistent in reminding Yahweh of His own promises, an evident allusion to the earlier utterances of the Deutero-Isaiah (xliv. 26, 28, xlix. 16, cf. Zech. i. 16). For '*upon* thy walls' a more

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[1] Reading יְבָעֳלֵךְ בֹּנֵךְ, which is in reality a restoration of punctuation rather than text. The corruption must have entered into the Hebrew text fairly early, for it underlies the text of the LXX. Cf. xlix. 17.

a praise in the earth. The LORD hath sworn by his 8
right hand, and by the arm of his strength, Surely I will
no more give thy corn to be meat for thine enemies;
and strangers shall not drink thy wine, for the which
thou hast laboured: but they that have garnered it shall 9

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correct rendering would be '*over* thy walls.' The preposition is connected with the verbal form (participle) rendered 'watchmen'; cf. in original Hebrew 1 Sam. xxvi. 16; Prov. vi. 22; Job xiv. 16 ('watch' over). The walls were then, as we know, in a ruinous condition (Neh. i. 3, ii. 3).

It will be observed that the address is here made, in the concluding line of verse 6, to the angelic ministers of the heavenly court by the prophetic speaker (cf. lxi. 1). On these angelic members of the celestial retinue see xl. 3 and note. This is of course no more than the conception of Yahweh's martial retinue implied in the old Hebrew designation *Sebāōth* (cf. Isa. i. 9 and note); see 1 Kings xxii. 19 foll. Probably in the exile, and certainly in the post-exilian period under Persian influence, angelology assumed a highly developed form in Jewish belief.

Duhm remarks with truth that whereas in the Deutero-Isaiah Yahweh is the eager and enthusiastic agent of Israel's deliverance, and Israel is backward or at least indifferent, in the Trito-Isaiah the converse is the case, for Yahweh's attitude towards Israel is one of reserve.

8. But it cannot be described as one of indifference, for He has sworn by His mighty arm to assist Israel against his foes. The latter are no longer to live on the produce of the country, the corn and wine, but the Jewish cultivators of the land shall enjoy the produce of their toil. This verse clearly presupposes the residence of the Jew not in the Babylonian land of exile, but in his Palestinian home, which becomes the prey of the invader (cf. i. 7). Who are the foes? Hardly the Persians, for the attitude neither of the prophets of Yahweh (Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah) nor of Nehemiah was ever hostile to the Persian power, nor have we any evidence that Persia oppressed Israel at this period. There is more probability in the supposition that the **enemies** and **strangers** (foreigners) refer to the hostile and largely foreign Samaritan population (cf. lxvi. 5 and note; compare the closely analogous passage to this lxv. 22). More probable still is the hypothesis that the Edomites are here referred to whose invasion of Judaea since 597 B.C. was a bitter memory to the Jew (see notes on Isa. xxxiv, vol. i, p. 344). Mal. i. 2–5 affords a strong presumption in favour of this view.

9. The same conception developed. The produce of the field

eat it, and praise the Lord ; and they that have gathered
it shall drink it in the courts of my sanctuary.
10 Go through, go through the gates ; prepare ye the way
of the people ; cast up, cast up the high way ; gather
11 out the stones; lift up an ensign for the peoples. Behold,
the Lord hath proclaimed unto the end of the earth,
Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation
cometh ; behold, his reward is with him, and his recom-

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is offered in the sanctuary and eaten in its precincts, and not in the home of the worshipper, in accordance with Deut. xii. 17, 18. This clearly shows that residence in the Palestinian homeland, where the temple was erected, is presupposed in this chapter.

10. Go through the gates. According to Dillmann the gates of Babylon are meant, and the prophetic words are addressed to the exiles who were still living in Babylonia. The subsequent clauses then follow in natural order. A highway is cast up for the caravan of exiles who have passed out of Babylon to cross over to the homeland.

On the other hand, this involves a sudden change of the *mise en scène* from Jerusalem to Babylonia, which would be more probable in the Deutero-Isaiah than under the presuppositions of this chapter, where the scene is definitely laid in Jerusalem and the homeland. In the preceding verse reference is definitely made to the temple in Jerusalem. Accordingly most recent critics assume that the gates are those of the Jerusalem temple into which the returning exiles are to enter. This, however, involves us in a very awkward inversion of the actual order of ideas. For the casting up of the highway for the exiles should naturally *precede* and not follow the entrance within the temple-gates. On these grounds we regard the opinion of Dillmann as the more probable, and this view is confirmed by the following considerations. (*a*) Though verses 10 foll. are also of the same Ḳinah or elegiac metre as verses 4–9, they are no longer arranged in five-lined strophes. (*b*) From the singular fem. of the address to Zion we pass to the masc. plur. of the address to the Jewish people. (*c*) The writer is evidently thinking of the further bands of exiles who were to reinforce their predecessors of earlier post-exilian times, and who, as we learn from Ezra viii, entered Jerusalem in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. This verse is most obviously based on Deutero-Isaianic phrases ; cf. xl. 3, xlix. 22. No reference, however, is made to the desert. This trait is omitted as in lvii. 14.

pence before him. And they shall call them The holy 12
people, The redeemed of the LORD: and thou shalt be
called Sought out, A city not forsaken.

Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed gar- 63

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12. We have once more new names bestowed on Zion, evidently suggested by the closely analogous names of Hos. ii. 1 (3 Heb.); cf. i. 6, 9. Note that they are distinct from the new ones of verse 4 above, being the reverse of the old (cf. Hos. i. 6–9, ii. 19–22).

CHAPTER LXIII.

Verses 1–6 may be regarded as a dramatic poem denouncing a Divine judgment of vengeance on Edom. The writer, in a highly pictorial description, represents Yahweh as a warrior dripping with blood as He arrives from the battle-fields of Edom, and declaring that He alone, without any other to aid Him, has been engaged in a day of vengeance, and has trodden down and mangled his foes in slaughter, since it is the year of deliverance for His people.

There are interesting points of contact between this section and other portions of the Trito-Isaiah to which Cheyne in his *Introduction to Isaiah*, p. 348, calls attention. Of these the most remarkable is verse 5 with its close verbal parallel in lix. 16. Moreover, 'the day of vengeance' in verse 4 is repeated in xxxiv. 8. In chapter xxxiv, which is a denunciation of doom against Edom, we have a striking analogy to the present chapter (see vol. i, p. 341 f.). Lastly, the same expression occurs in lxi. 2 (cf. lxii. 8 and note).

We are so imperfectly informed respecting the external relations of Judah during this period to the nations that surrounded Palestine, and our knowledge respecting Edom in particular is so scanty, that it is impossible to make any definite assertion respecting the date of this oracle. The following considerations, however, may guide us to a conclusion:—(*a*) Isa. xxxiv is more elaborate in character and style than the present brief dramatic poem, and its apocalyptic features (note especially xxxiv. 3–10 and the reference to the 'book of Yahweh' in verse 16) point to some later date; and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that we have in verse 8, and also in verse 2 (where God's wrath is directed against all nations, cf. lxiii. 6), traits that are borrowed from this dramatic poem. (*b*) It is impossible to dissociate this poem from Mal. i. 2–5. In the latter Edom is described as recovering from his past humiliations and re-erecting his kingdom, which God threatens with destruction. This recovery of Edomite power we might connect, as Enno Littmann suggests in his ments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel,

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useful monograph[1], with an aggressive movement into the Negebh, which would be sure to call forth the wrath of the Jew and his thirst for vengeance so powerfully reflected in this poem. Duhm, it is true, holds that at this time only the Samaritan community can be regarded as the real enemies of Yahweh, and that the Edomites in their humiliated and chastised condition can hardly be taken into account. But this is an extreme and very one-sided conclusion to derive from Mal. i. 2-5, due in large measure to the views which Duhm has adopted from Lagarde and which will be detailed below. Littmann ingeniously suggests that the ally whom Yahweh seeks against Edom (see verse 5) is a covert allusion to Artaxerxes. 'Formerly Yahweh had found a helper in Cyrus, but no such help was to be found in the present king of Persia.' Whether the overthrow of the Edomites, to which this short poem refers, is to be connected with the war of the Nabataeans with Edom about 460 B.C., cannot be confidently asserted. Consequently we cannot assign to this poem the date 458 with the same confidence as Littmann in his monograph. It seems, however, to be fairly probable that the writer of lix. 15 foll., i.e. the Trito-Isaiah, was also the writer of this oracle.

Lagarde has raised an entirely new issue by his proposed emendations which Duhm and Marti have adopted. These textual alterations have the effect of eliminating all reference to Edom from the passage. It becomes after this literary manipulation a denunciation of Divine vengeance against the enemies of Israel in general. But against this view there are two, if not more, very serious objections :—(*a*) The parallel passage, Isa. xxxiv, dealing with Edom clearly suggests by its close analogy an intimate connexion with the present poem. Cheyne's argument, therefore, in his *Introduction* has some weight that if Duhm admits the manipulation of the text in this passage whereby Edom is eliminated, a corresponding manipulation should be effected in chap. xxxiv. This, however, Duhm does not venture to attempt. (*b*) Both Gressmann and Littmann have pointed out that we have the characteristic punning of prophecy in the play of *ādôm*, 'red,' and Edôm, which also meets us in the patriarchal story (Gen. xxv. 30). We should also have it in Boṣrah, one of the towns of Edom, and *bōṣēr*, 'grape-gatherer,' if the latter were read in place of the former. Consequently, if we banish Edom from the text, these characteristic alliterations vanish likewise. All who are acquainted with Hebrew literature will hold that this consideration does not tend to heighten the probability of the view held by Duhm and Marti respecting this

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[1] *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaia*, p. 35.

marching in the greatness of his strength? I that speak
in righteousness, mighty to save. Wherefore art thou 2
red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that

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passage. (*c*) The historic groundwork of such a vengeance on Edom is patent to any student of O.T. literature from the Book of Genesis onwards; see the introductory notes to chap. xxxiv.

1. Here, as Cheyne remarks, we have a dramatic scene, as in Ps. xxiv. 7–10. The chorus sees a mighty heroic warrior-form marching from Boṣrah (cf. xxxiv. 6 foll.). There is a dialogue between the chorus-leader and Yahweh[1]. Duhm and Marti follow Lagarde's emendation and render the opening line of the verse:—

> 'Who is this that cometh stained red—glowing deeper red
> in garments than a grape-gatherer[2].'

The parallelism of the opening line is not certainly improved by this process. Nor is the emended line true to fact or to the images suggested by the rest of the poem. For it is not so much the grape-gatherer who becomes stained with the grape-juice as the treader of grapes. Moreover, the rest of the poem speaks of the treader of grapes (*dōrēch*) and not the grape-gatherer (*bōṣēr*). Cf. verses 3 and 6.

The word **marching** (or more precisely 'stepping') is the rendering of the Hebrew word *ṣō'ēd* substituted for the word *ṣō'eh* of our Hebrew traditional text, i. e. 'bending' or 'bent' (in Isa. li. 14, employed of an exile bent under the weight of chains), obviously unsuitable for a victorious warrior. The Vulgate *gradiens* sustains the proposed emendation[3].

2. Our Massoretic text evidently implies *ādōm* as a subst. = 'redness.' But it is extremely doubtful whether the word is ever used in Hebrew as anything else than an adjective. Accordingly, we prefer to render (with LXX):—

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[1] This is exhibited in the rendering appended below.

[2] Instead of מֵאֱדוֹם 'from Edom,' Lagarde, Duhm, and Marti read מְאָדָּם, used in Nah. ii. 4, meaning 'stained red.' As Edom is thus eliminated in one clause, it is necessary to operate on Boṣrah in the other. Hence the proposed change to מִבֹּצֵר, 'than a grape-gatherer.' Boṣrah (Bozrah) was the ancient capital of Edom, the modern Buṣaire (see Bädeker, *Palästina*³, p. 153). Wetzstein in Delitzsch's *Isaiah*³, p. 704, identifies it with Petra.

[3] It is to be noted that the LXX omit the word in question in their rendering.

3 treadeth in the winefat? I have trodden the winepress
alone; and of the peoples there was no man with me:
yea, I trod them in mine anger, and trampled them in
my fury; and their lifeblood is sprinkled upon my gar-
4 ments, and I have stained all my raiment. For the day
of vengeance was in mine heart, and the year of my
5 redeemed is come. And I looked, and there was none

> 'Wherefore is thine apparel[1] red—and thy garments as of one that treads the wine-press?'

Respecting the wine-press, see note on Isa. v. 2. **Winefat** in R. V. should be 'wine-press.'

3. The last line should be rendered:—

> 'And their juice besprinkled my garments—and all my raiment I sullied.'

The word for 'juice,' *nēsaḥ*, occurs here only. The translation 'life-blood' is hardly warranted, though that is the thing symbolized. The LXX in their rendering here diverge considerably from our traditional Hebrew text, probably with the design of avoiding the strong anthropomorphisms.

Verses 4–6. The overthrow of Edom is regarded as only the beginning of Yahweh's day of vengeance on the nations—none of whom have come to aid in Edom's overthrow. Persia is included, though the name is not mentioned. Cf. xxxiv. 2.

4. The rendering 'redemption' (so LXX) should be substituted for **redeemed.** While the latter is possible and is adopted by Duhm, the former, being an abstract, stands in closer parallelism with the corresponding abstract 'vengeance' of the preceding clause[2]. Here we note that the conception of redemption has hardened in the interval since the days of the Deutero-Isaiah, when it signified the deliverance from exile. Here the reference is to the victory whereby the Palestinian Jews were to achieve their conquest as well as compensation for former injuries over their neighbouring foes. For **was** (in my heart) substitute 'is' with R. V. margin. The prophet means that Yahweh had in His mind foreordained this special time of retribution on Edom and other races. Cf. the close parallel in xxxiv. 8.

5. The emphatic words in this verse are best exhibited by the

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[1] The preposition in לִלְבוּשֶׁךָ should be deleted as due to dittography.

[2] Abstracts in Hebrew (as 'life,' 'darkness,' &c.) are frequently expressed by plural forms. See Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*^{26}, § 124. 1.

to help; and I wondered that there was none to uphold: therefore mine own arm brought salvation unto me; and my fury, it upheld me. And I trod down the peoples 6
in mine anger, and made them drunk in my fury, and I poured out their lifeblood on the earth.

[I will make mention of the lovingkindnesses of the 7

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rendering: 'But 'twas my arm that helped me and my wrath that sustained me.'

6. This repetition of idea as well as phraseology in verse 3 is somewhat characteristic of the Trito-Isaiah; cf. lx. 19, 20, lxii. 4. For **made them drunk** substitute R. V. marg., 'brake them in pieces[1].'

The dramatic character of this brief poem is best shown by its reproduction in the following dialogue form:—

Chorus. 'Who is this that cometh from Edom—stained glowing red from Bozrah,
This one stately in his apparel—stepping in the fulness of his might?'

Yahweh. ''Tis I who pronounce in the cause of right—mighty to help.'

Chorus. 'Wherefore is thine apparel red—and thy garments as of one that treads the wine-press?'

Yahweh. 'The wine-press have I trodden alone—and of the nations no one was with me.
So I trod them in my wrath, and trampled them in my hot anger . . .'

(The utterance of Yahweh continues to the end of verse 6, which closes with the incomplete line:
'And I spilled their juice on the ground . . .')

CHAPTER LXIII. 7—LXIV 12 (11 Heb.).

This passage is of a very different character from the preceding. It is a sustained appeal to Yahweh on the people's behalf to fulfil His earlier promises of love to Israel. Cheyne (*Introd. to Isaiah*, p. 349) calls it 'a liturgical thanksgiving, confession of sin and supplication.' It commences by commemorating God's deeds of mercy and love to His people shown in His personal sympathy and preserving care (verses 7-9). They rebelled, however, against

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[1] The slight variant of Targ. and some MSS. וָאֲשַׁבְּרֵם, 'and I broke them in pieces,' instead of 'I made them drunk' (see R. V. marg.), sustains the parallelism and is advocated by nearly all commentators.

Lord, *and* the praises of the Lord, according to all that the Lord hath bestowed on us; and the great goodness

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Him, and this conduct provoked a change in God's demeanour to His people, which now became one of hostility. This change, however, in God's attitude brought back to the recollection of His people the great events of Israel's deliverance from Egypt under Moses and the crossing of the Red Sea (10–14). Commemoration of God's dealings in the past passes into entreaty that He would look down in compassion on Israel's present state, when the sanctuary has been trodden down by their adversaries (15–19). There succeeds an agonized cry that God would intervene with His mighty power as He did in the past (lxiv. 1–5). A confession of sin, uncleanness, and weakness follows as well as an acknowledgment of God's supremacy and an appeal to stay His wrath in view of the abject condition of His people. Jerusalem and its temple are in a state of desolation (cf. lxiii. 18 with lxiv. 10, 11 (9, 10 Heb.)).

This section is characterized by considerable vividness and power, but it is encumbered with serious problems textual and critical as well as metric. With reference to *metre* Budde in *ZATW.*, vol. xi (1891), p. 241 foll., had pointed out that lxiii. 7–12 (first part) revealed the familiar elegiac (Ḳinah) measure, though omissions such as 'toward the house of Israel' in verse 7 are necessary in order to maintain the due metrical length. Some of these modifications are supported by the LXX. But when Duhm, who adopts Budde's view, extends this metre to the close of verse 16 such drastic modifications (including the addition of two half-lines) are adopted that Kittel is fully justified in regarding the attempt as very questionable. Marti confesses that it is impossible to make lxiii. 15 foll. conform to the same verse-measure as the preceding verses lxiii. 7–14. Duhm, on the basis of metre, divides the entire section into two parts, viz. lxiii. 7–16 of five strophes in the elegiac measure of five long lines each and lxiii. 17—lxiv. 12. But lxiii. 17—lxiv. 12 (11 Heb.) are in a quite different measure, consisting of the ordinary double lines, yet closely connected with the preceding part and evidently contemplating the same set of untoward circumstances. This is clearly seen when we compare the retrospective glance in lxiii. 11–14 with lxiv. 3, 4 (2, 3 Heb.), and lxiii. 8 with lxiv. 8 (7 Heb.) as well as lxiii. 10 with lxiv. 6 (5 Heb.). In both parts the tone of feeling towards the past and the present is the same.

It is the historic situation revealed in lxiii. 18 and lxiv. 10, 11 (9, 10 Heb.), which depict the temple of Jerusalem as in ruins and burned with fire, that has occasioned the widest diversity of opinion among critics. We have, fortunately, owing to the brilliant restoration of text by Marti in the beginning of lxiii. 18, no longer toward the house of Israel, which he hath bestowed on

any need to occupy ourselves with the utterly baffling phrase in the original rendered, 'My holy people possessed it but a little while' (R. V.), of which various other interpretations have been given. See note on the passage below.

Duhm, who contends that the entire collection of oracles lvi–lxvi belongs to the years that immediately precede the advent of Nehemiah, finds no difficulty in assigning the present section to the same period. The foes are the Samaritans who have wrought this destruction of the sanctuary. But neither in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, nor in the oracles of Malachi, nor in the other sections of the Trito-Isaiah, have we the slightest warrant for assuming that such an event occurred between the years 460 and 445 B. C.

The destruction of the temple, to which reference is made, must have taken place after or before this interval. Cheyne would place it in the reign of the tyrannical Artaxerxes Ochus, 359–338 B. C., but Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 7, § 1, to which we are referred, gives no support to this view. If we are to find such an event in post-exilian times, it might rather be identified with the destruction of the city by Ptolemy Soter, 320 B. C.[1], but our knowledge of this period of Jewish History is far too precarious, and the link which connects it with Pss. lxxiv or lxxix is as hypothetical as that which connects it with the present passage. On the other hand, Sellin would assign this devastation of Jerusalem and its temple to the period 515–500 B. C., i. e. after the erection of the temple by Zerubbabel. But for this we have absolutely no warrant. Indeed the motive for this assumption is that it affords a foundation for Sellin's identification of Zerubbabel with the 'Servant' of Deutero-Isaiah, whose disappearance from the scene of history after the time of the prophet Zechariah is supposed to be due to this very catastrophe, which completed the ruin of the Messianic hopes connected with this descendant of David.

On the whole, the theory of Gressmann and Littmann[2] has most in its favour. It assigns the composition of this passage to the period 538–520 which immediately followed the return of the exiles, when, in the words of Haggai, God's 'house was lying waste' (i. 4, 9), and the returned exiles were suffering from them according to his mercies, and according to the

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[1] Appian Syr. 50, cited by G. A. Smith, art. 'Jerusalem' in *Enc. Bibl.*, col. 2,426.

[2] See Gressmann, *Ueber die in Jesaia, c. lvi–lxvi, vorausgesetzten zeitgeschichtlichen Verhältnisse* (1898), pp. 21–23; Enno Littmann, *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Trito-Jesaia* (1899), pp. 36–39.

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drought and the bitter disappointment of their ardent hopes. lxiii. 18, as restored by Marti's reconstruction, and lxiv. 10, 11 (9, 10 Heb.) will then naturally refer to the condition of the city and temple as it had remained since the destruction wrought by Nebuchadrezzar in 586 B.C. Accordingly this section must be separated from the rest of the Trito-Isaiah, which belongs to a much later date. And this view as to the date of this section is strongly confirmed by the close similarity in the tone of the retrospect in lxiii. 10, lxiv. 4, 6 with that of Zech. vii. 11-13, viii. 10, 13, 14. With the 'holy and beautiful house,' lxiv. 11 (10 Heb.), cf. 'the holy mountain,' Zech. viii. 3; and with the 'great zeal of Yahweh for Zion' in Zech. viii. 2 cf. 'Thy zeal and deeds of prowess,' for which the writer yearns in lxiii. 15. It is evident that the Zechariah passage (see especially Zech. viii. 3-17) was composed a few years later when the clouds had rolled away and the temple rebuilt by Zerubbabel seemed to be the harbinger of a new era.

Despite the adverse criticism of Marti in his commentary (p. 400) the facts of language collected by Littmann in his monograph (p. 39) sustain the view which is here advocated. Moreover this conclusion gives some support to the contention that the foundation of the temple in the days of Cyrus, to which Ezra iii refers, did not take place in reality till the time of Darius Hystaspis, to which the oracles of Haggai and Zechariah assign this event, a view which has been recently advocated by Rothstein in his monograph *Juden und Samaritaner*, pp. 15 f., 20.

Marti's own solution of the problem is to regard lxiv. 10-12 (9-11 Heb.) as well as lxiii. 15 foll. as a later addition added to the poem in the early days of the Maccabees, when the Temple was at least partially burnt and the land devastated (1 Macc. iv. 38), while the rest of the poem he would assign to the same period as the Trito-Isaiah generally, i.e. the middle of the fifth century before Nehemiah's advent. Such a proceeding appears to us artificial and arbitrary; lxiv. 10-12 (9-11 Heb.) form a natural climax to verses 6-9 (5-8 Heb.). It would even be better to follow the extreme course of Grotius and Houbigant, who assigned the entire section to the early days of the Maccabaean persecution.

7-14. *Retrospect over Yahweh's past dealings with His people.*

7. The speaker is the poet as one of the people seeking relief from the depression of the present outlook by recalling God's deeds of mercy in the olden time[1].

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[1] Duhm omits the clause (with Budde) 'toward the house of

multitude of his lovingkindnesses. For he said, Surely, 8
they are my people, children that will not deal falsely:
so he was their saviour. In all their affliction he was 9
afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them: in
his love and in his pity he redeemed them; and he bare

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8. Instead of **for he said** render 'and said.' The clause is simply a continuation of the preceding 'hath bestowed, &c.'

9. A striking reminiscence of Exod. xxiii. 20–23 (E), cf. xxxiii. 14 (J) especially when the text is divested of what appears to be corruption by dittography. As the text stands before us with its Massoretic punctuation and appended note we are confronted by two traditions. The written text (*Kethîb*) may be rendered (see R. V. marg.): 'In all their adversity he was no adversary.' The passage was not, however, so understood in the Jewish synagogue (*Ḳrê*), and it is to this tradition the rendering in A. V. and R. V. given above is due. The Hebrew negative *lô* is here, as elsewhere (cf. ix. 2 Heb. and xlix. 5, &c.), taken as a preposition with its pronominal affix (= 'to him'). This, followed by the impersonal verb, means 'he was afflicted.' Commentators are divided between these two interpretations. Ibn 'Ezra, Luther, Ewald, Hitzig, and Delitzsch adhered to the former. Targum and Jerome, followed by Rashi and mainly by Gesenius, adhered to the latter[1]. What we hold to have been the original text with its rendering is given below (footnote). It is hardly surprising that the

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Israel' on metric grounds. He also follows the LXX in omitting the copula before *rab*, which he regards as an adjective, an epithet of Yahweh, 'Yahweh great in goodness.' The LXX ('good judge') punctuate רָב טוּב instead of our רַב טוּב. LXX read and render 'bestowed on *us*' in *both* places in this verse (so Duhm); 'bestowed on *them*' presupposes the clause 'toward the house of Israel' contained also in the LXX.

[1] Duhm and Cheyne follow the hint of the LXX and read צִר (= צִיר) in place of צָר, and render 'Not a messenger or angel—'twas His Presence that saved them.' Now the LXX connected the beginning of this verse with the end of the preceding 8 . . . 'he became to them a deliverer, 9, from all affliction. Not messenger nor angel, but the Lord Himself saved them.' But close inspection of the Hebrew text reveals the presence of dittography and corruption. Parallelism is simplified by restoring the text מִכָּל־צָרֹת מלאך פניו הוֹשִׁיעָם. 'From all afflictions the angel of His Presence saved them; in loving and sparing them *He* redeemed them.'

10 them, and carried them all the days of old. But they rebelled, and grieved his holy spirit: therefore he was turned to be their enemy, *and* himself fought against
11 them. Then he remembered the days of old, Moses, *and* his people, *saying*, Where is he that brought them up out of the sea with the shepherds of his flock? where is he

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leaders of the Jewish synagogue, guided by a spiritual instinct, were led to deviate from their text into the expression of a beautiful evangelical truth near to the heart of Christianity.

10. yet they (of all people in the world), whom Yahweh in his love and compassion had saved, rebelled against Him. The pronoun is here emphatic, as in chap. i. 2. God's holy spirit became thereby embittered and transformed into an attitude of hostility. On this passage the apostolic admonition is based (Eph. iv. 30). Cheyne calls attention (*Introd.* p. 352) to the beginnings of a tendency revealed in this verse to hypostatize God's Holy Spirit, parallel to that of His Presence in the preceding verse.

11. The words **Moses** and **his people,** which are found in our Hebrew text, have no place in that of the LXX. This would seem to imply that there was a gap in the line which our Hebrew text has filled up. Cheyne notes the parallel to Deut. xxxii. 7, and would regard this as a reminiscence of that passage. We might therefore restore thus:—

> 'Then [Israel] remembered the days of old—[the years of past ages, saying:]'

This is, however, only ingenious conjecture. But it probably comes nearer to the original than the traditional Hebrew text. It is safer to continue the rendering of our Hebrew text (with a slight modification which the LXX suggest):—

> 'Where is he that brought up from the sea the shepherd of His flock;
> Where is He who put within him His holy spirit[1]?'

That the shepherd of Yahweh's flock was Moses is quite obvious, and there was no need for the gloss-writer to anticipate the name

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[1] The Massoretic note which reads 'shepherds' of His flock, in order to give, presumably, some due place to Aaron, is a curious refinement. Nor is it easy to see why the singular masc. pron. suffix of the original of 'within him' (lit. 'in his midst,' cf. Ps. li. 10 [Heb. 12]) should be referred by the LXX and all who follow them to the 'flock' or people, on the basis of Num. xi. 17, which is quite as good evidence for the interpretation here adopted.

that put his holy spirit in the midst of them? that caused 12
his glorious arm to go at the right hand of Moses? that
divided the water before them, to make himself an ever-
lasting name? that led them through the depths, as an 13
horse in the wilderness, that they stumbled not? As the 14
cattle that go down into the valley, the spirit of the LORD
caused them to rest: so didst thou lead thy people, to
make thyself a glorious name. Look down from heaven, 15

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in the clause with which he filled up the lacuna in the first line of this verse. The sea here obviously refers to the Red Sea. The events portrayed in Exod. xiv (J, E) were evidently before the writer's mind. This interpretation appears fairly clear. Yahweh's power is here described as bringing Moses, the leader of Israel's host (shepherd of Yahweh's flock), out of the perils of the Red Sea on the eventful night of the Exodus. There is no need to resort to the story of the ark of bulrushes, and to interpret the 'sea' as referring to the Nile (as in xviii. 2, xix. 5; cf. Nah. iii. 8) with Duhm and Marti.

12–13 continue in the form of interrogation the reference to the wonderful deliverance on the night of the Exodus. The Israelite host were as secure amid the water-depths of the Red Sea as a horse that makes its way over the wilderness. Instead of **that they stumbled not** render more idiomatically 'without stumbling.' A comparison with Exod. xiv. 22 makes it exceedingly probable, when other points of coincidence with Exod. xiv are taken into consideration, that the writer of this section was well acquainted with the J, E narratives of the Pentateuch.

14. By **valley** here is meant in the original a broad open valley. For **caused them to rest** the LXX and other ancient versions render 'guided them[1].' This is based on a slightly different text (or rather pronunciation), which most recent scholars (Ewald, Oort, Klostermann and Duhm) accept. Kittel and Marti hesitate.

Verses 15—lxiv. 12 (11 Heb.) *Agonized appeal to Yahweh for mercy and help in the present distress, together with confession of sin.*

According to Duhm verses 15, 16 form the last strophe of the elegiac series. But the new note of appeal to God, as contrasted with the preceding note of praise and the retrospect of Yahweh's mighty deeds of deliverance (cf. verse 7), clearly begins with verse 15 and continues to the close of chap. lxiv. The opening phrase

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[1] Reading תַּנְחֶנּוּ instead of תְּנִיחֶנּוּ of our text.

and behold from the habitation of thy holiness and of thy
glory: where is thy zeal and thy mighty acts? the yearning of thy bowels and thy compassions are restrained
16 toward me. For thou art our father, though Abraham
knoweth us not, and Israel doth not acknowledge us:
thou, O Lord, art our father; our redeemer from ever-
17 lasting is thy name. O Lord, why dost thou make us to
err from thy ways, and hardenest our heart from thy fear?

of lxiii. 15 finds its echo in lxiv. 9 (8 Heb.). The appeal, however, is evidently grounded on the retrospect of the preceding verses.

15 accordingly appeals to old memories of the past dealings of Yahweh, when the poet asks:—

> 'Where is thy zeal and thy prowess—the tumult of thy compassions'? (lit. thy bowels).

The interrogative form of the appeal is the same as in verse 14 above, and it meets us again in another form in verses 17 and 18. In the last line the LXX indicate that we ought to read 'thy pity that withheld itself toward *us*,' which is certainly more probable in view of the 1st person plur. in the verse which immediately follows[1].

16. This reference to Abraham is characteristic of exilian and post-exilian prophecy; comp. li. 2.

17. A somewhat strange note is here sounded. Moral causation is carried back a step farther than usual. Affliction is explained as God's disciplinary chastisement for sin. But sin is here itself ascribed to God's agency, as in the case of Pharaoh's obstinate refusal to comply with God's command (Exod. vii. 3). Elsewhere it is occasionally ascribed to a supernatural personal agency opposed to God (Gen. iii), but this is more especially true of later post-exilian literature (see art. 'Satan' in Hastings' *DB.*). Comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 with 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

from thy fear should give place to the more idiomatic rendering 'so as not to fear thee.' For this idiomatic use of the Hebrew preposition 'from' (*min*) the student of Hebrew is referred

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[1] Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti would go further and read the Heb. characters אל as a negative instead of a preposition. Duhm would read אַל יִתְאַפָּקוּ, i.e. 'let not thy pity be restrained' (lit. restrain itself).

Return for thy servants' sake, the tribes of thine inherit-
ance. Thy holy people possessed *it* but a little while: 18
our adversaries have trodden down thy sanctuary. We 19
are become as they over whom thou never barest rule; as
they that were not called by thy name. Oh that thou **64**
wouldest rend the heavens, that thou wouldest come down,
that the mountains might flow down at thy presence; as 2

to Gesen.-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*^{26} § 119. 3 *y*, cf. Isa. v. 6, xxiii. 19, xlix. 15, liv. 9.

18. The first clause of this verse has been an insoluble enigma to the critics, and various explanations have been attempted. The chief difficulty has arisen through the opening word in the original rendered above in R. V. **'a little while.'** Obviously the phrase is inadequate to designate the entire period that elapsed from the foundation of Solomon's temple to its destruction in 586. On the other hand, any historic evidence for the destruction of the temple of Zerubbabel within a short time of its erection is, as we have shown, altogether lacking. A very ingenious restoration of the original text, which bears all the marks of an actual recovery of the real words, has relieved the passage of all difficulty. Render, 'Why have wicked ones done despite to thy holy place[1].' This not only restores the parallelism of the verse, but gives an opening to this verse similar to that which precedes in verse 17.

19. So great have been the humiliations from which Israel has suffered, that one might argue that Yahweh no longer ruled over them and Israel had lost the rights and privileges of being His subjects.

CHAPTER LXIV.

1. From the heart-breaking utterance of the preceding verse, that Yahweh appeared to have long severed all connexion with Israel, the transition is easy to the agonized cry that this severance of long standing between Yahweh and His people might have ended, and that God might have broken through the silent adamantine vault of heaven within which He had so long withdrawn Himself.

flow down or 'melt' is the interpretation of the LXX, followed by the Vulgate, but the punctuators of our Hebrew text coincide

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[1] לָמָּה צִעֲרוּ רְשָׁעִים קָדְשֶׁךָ. The use of the *Pi'el* form of the verb, which is not found in pre-exilian Hebrew, is to be regarded as an Aramaism. Aramaisms of this kind increase in number as we enter the post-exilian period.

when fire kindleth the brushwood, *and* the fire causeth the
waters to boil: to make thy name known to thine adver-
3 saries, that the nations may tremble at thy presence! When
thou didst terrible things which we looked not for, thou
camest down, the mountains flowed down at thy presence.

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with the Targ. and Peshitto in deriving the verb from another root meaning to 'quake' (see R. V. marg.). Accordingly render: 'Oh, that thou mightest have rent the heavens, descended; that mountains might quake before thee[1].' We have here the expression of a hopeless wish in reference to the immediate past and present that the poet knows to be incapable of realization. The tense of the original clearly shows this. It expresses more than mere *importunity*; see xlviii. 18; Num. xiv. 2, xx. 3; Jos. vii. 7. Comp. Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 134.

2-3. The poet sighs for the old days (cf. lxiii. 11). Oh, that a miracle might have been wrought on Israel's return to Palestine as in the days of the exodus. Perhaps the glowing language of the exile-prophet, Deutero-Isaiah, may have aroused such an expectation, cf. xl. 3-5, xliii. 2, 11, 16-20, xlv. 8, xlviii. 20, 21, xlix. 8-11, li. 5, 6. For **flowed down** in verse 3 read 'quaked' as in verse 1 (with R.V. marg.). The reference in this verse appears to be an allusion to the scenes before Mount Sinai; cf. Exod. xix (J, E).

4. We are here confronted by serious problems as to the original text. We have to place in comparison with the traditional Hebrew text before us not only the version of the LXX, but also the citation by St. Paul in 1 Cor. ii. 9 as well as by Clement in Ep. Cor. xxxiv. 8, which is nearly the same[2]. It is

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[1] The path of the textual critic in this and the following verses is exceedingly uncertain and difficult. A comparison of the LXX reveals a very different, and in some respects inferior, text. For 'come down' ('descend') יָרַדְתָּ the LXX read 'trembling,' חֲרָדָה (more correctly רַעַד or יִרְעֲדוּ, as Scholz suggests; see Ottley). The problem of reconstruction is far too intricate and precarious to be attempted here. We subjoin the LXX rendering: 'If thou shouldst open the heaven, trembling at Thee will take the mountains, and they shall melt as wax melts at the presence of fire, and fire shall burn up the adversaries, and the name of the Lord shall be revealed among the adversaries.' The LXX evidently read תִּבְעַר, 'shall burn' or 'consume,' for the very problematic תִּבְעֶה of our Hebrew text ('causeth the waters to boil').

[2] LXX render as follows: 'From olden time we have not heard,

For from of old men have not heard, nor perceived by the 4
ear, neither hath the eye seen a God beside thee, which
worketh for him that waiteth for him. Thou meetest him 5
that rejoiceth and worketh righteousness, those that re-
member thee in thy ways: behold, thou wast wroth, and
we sinned: in them *have we been* of long time, and shall
we be saved? For we are all become as one that is unclean, 6

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quite possible that we ought to follow the guidance of the Pauline (and Clementine) citation as Duhm does:—

> 'Ear hath not heard nor eye seen
> A God beside Thee, &c.'

But beyond this no modification is called for.

5. It is safest to cancel from the text the Hebrew word *sās*, which is rendered **him that rejoiceth,** together with the copula that follows, as a corruption or superadded gloss that does not add to the sense. For this we have full justification, as the LXX altogether omit them. Accordingly read (following the LXX):—

> 'Thou meetest those that do right—and call to mind Thy ways.'

The expression **meetest** obviously signifies 'meetest with Thy Divine favour.'

The last two clauses of this verse, 'in them have we been . . . saved'? are an attempted rendering of a hopelessly corrupt text. Any suggested restoration is mere conjecture[1], as R. V. marg. clearly indicates.

6. The confession of sin continues. So low has the people fallen that sin is universally prevalent. Sin is here described as

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nor have our eyes seen a God except Thee, and the deeds which Thou doest [LXX actually render 'wilt do' through misapprehension of the force of Heb. imperf.] to those who wait for mercy.' The text cited by St. Paul in the original may perhaps have been לא הָאֱזִינָה אֹזֶן עַיִן לא ראתה על לֵב לא עָלְתָה יעשה לִמְחַבֵּב לו. Here the apostle had in his text an Aramaic expression in place of the Hebrew of our text, לִמְחַכֵּה־לוֹ. The latter is not only sustained by the LXX, but also by the citation of the Ep. of Clement.

[1] The LXX seem to have had a shorter text, and render 'Therefore have we gone astray.' The verb here may have been, as Ewald suggests, וַנִּפְשָׁע, but the clause which precedes it appears to be beyond even approximate recovery.

and all our righteousnesses are as a polluted garment:
and we all do fade as a leaf; and our iniquities, like the
7 wind, take us away. And there is none that calleth upon
thy name, that stirreth up himself to take hold of thee: for
thou hast hid thy face from us, and hast consumed us by
8 means of our iniquities. But now, O Lord, thou art our
father; we are the clay, and thou our potter; and we all are
9 the work of thy hand. Be not wroth very sore, O Lord,
neither remember iniquity for ever: behold, look, we
10 beseech thee, we are all thy people. Thy holy cities are
become a wilderness, Zion is become a wilderness,
11 Jerusalem a desolation. Our holy and our beautiful

uncleanness. **one that is unclean** does not mean here a foreigner as in lii. 1, but is a vivid descriptive term for the prevalent religious and social condition of the Palestinian Jewish inhabitants about 525 B. C., which probably persisted with little abatement or check till the advent of Nehemiah, though some amelioration may have temporarily supervened on the erection of the temple by Zerubbabel, 518-515 B. C.

7. The LXX by their rendering show us the right text. Accordingly translate with the R. V. marg. (So also Cheyne and Marti: 'hast delivered us into the power of our iniquities'—not **hast consumed us,** &c.)[1].

8. The confession of sin passes over into an expression, under the similitude of the potter, of complete submission to Divine rule and resignation to the Divine will as in Jer. xviii. 6; Job x. 9 (cf. Isa. xlv. 9). On the use of this metaphor by Isaiah, see xxix. 16 and note in vol. i. There is, however, a gleam of hope in the use of the term **father** in the appeal addressed to Yahweh, which is therefore grounded on high moral relations subsisting between Yahweh and Israel greater than those of a potter to the clay or even of a sovereign to his subjects.

9. These considerations are evidently present to the mind of the writer in the words 'Be not exceeding angry, nor for ever be mindful of guilt.'

10. The LXX render from a text which would lead us to translate 'a curse' in place of **a desolation**[2].

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[1] Reading וַתְּמַגְּנֵנוּ, not ותמוגנו.

[2] קְלָלָה in place of שְׁמָמָה (Jer. xlii. 18; xliv. 8). Perhaps the latter term was substituted in later texts as less harsh and ill-omened.

house, where our fathers praised thee, is burned with fire; and all our pleasant things are laid waste. Wilt thou 12 refrain thyself for these things, O LORD? wilt thou hold thy peace, and afflict us very sore?]

I am inquired of by them that asked not *for me*; I am 65

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11. The **pleasant things** or 'beauteous treasures' of the ancient temple of Solomon had been carried away by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C. (2 Kings xxv. 8, 9, 13–17).

CHAPTERS LXV AND LXVI.

In these two chapters we evidently return to the years that immediately preceded the advent of Nehemiah, and meet with all the characteristic traits that mark the writings of the Trito-Isaiah —the notes of warning and reproof and the references to degeneracy in religious cultus and social life. The main theme of these chapters is *the punishment of the schismatics and the happiness of the faithful*. Verses 1–7 in chap. lxv are a denunciation of the unfaithful, whose religious practices showed them to be disloyal to the pure standards of Yahweh worship inculcated by the Prophets and the Deuteronomic legislation. Verses 8–12 exhibit the contrasted destiny of the faithful worshippers of Yahweh and of the unfaithful. Verses 13–20 continue this theme in a distinct poem of different metric form. Verses 21–25 in the ordinary metric form portray the happy state of Yahweh's faithful servants, in natural sequence to what immediately precedes; lxvi. 1–4 in the same metre is directed once more against the schismatics who were planning the erection of a temple of their own. Verses 5–11 fall into strophes of a distinct metre, like lxv. 13–20. They are a message of comfort to the faithful Jews in their conflict with the schismatics. Vengeance shall be taken on the latter, while increase in numbers and a future of great prosperity await Zion. In verses 12–17 we return to the same metric form as verses 1–4, and continue the theme of Divine blessing for the faithful and of destructive doom for the heretics and devotees of an impure worship. Verses 18–22, on the other hand, make no reference to the Samaritan schism, but dwell on the manifestation of Yahweh's glory to the assembled nations and to distant peoples who have not yet known it. These shall bring the Israel of the Diaspora with them to God's holy shrine, and priestly privileges shall be accorded to these Israelites also. A new era shall then dawn. The concluding verses (23, 24), ending with a curse, are from another and much later hand.

lxv. 1–7. It is quite obvious that this section contemplates an entirely different historic situation from that which underlies

found of them that sought me not: **I** said, Behold me, behold me, unto a nation that was not called by my name.
2 **I** have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious

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lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12. In the latter we have a temple in ruins and the sense of dejection and disappointment which attends a reaction from high hopes of a Divine intervention. Here we have a sanctuary established in Zion and a society of at least some faithful worshippers, but also the existence of a body of schismatics and of irregular cultus, which had long subsisted. Accordingly it is impossible to follow the older exegetes, Franz Delitzsch and Dillmann, who link this to the preceding chapter by regarding the former as God's answer to the entreaties contained in the latter. This section is composed in double lines.

1. For **I am inquired of,** &c., read 'I suffered myself[1] to be inquired of to those who asked me not.' Similarly in the following line: 'I suffered myself to be found to those who, &c.' The reference is to the internal conditions of the Israelitish communities in Palestine. The Jews who were in Palestine, consisting mainly of the restored exiles or their descendants, who were faithful to the pure worship of Yahweh, endeavoured to incorporate the old Jewish inhabitants, and especially the Samaritans, who were a mixed community consisting partially of Babylonian settlers (2 Kings xvii. 24). These, as we shall see, (see verses 3 and 4 below) were corrupted by the heathenish customs which had long prevailed in the land. In the days of Jeremiah (xli. 5) inhabitants of Samaria, Shiloh, and Shechem came to offer sacrifices in Jerusalem. But now their attitude was one of hostility, and they endeavoured to establish a rival sanctuary in Samaria (cf. Ezra iv; Neh. ii. 10, 19, iv, vi). These are the people who 'call not on My name[2].'

2. Yahweh has even stretched out His hands in entreaty to this 'rebellious and obstinate[3]' people. The 'unwholesome way' in which they went refers to heathen cultus. The word **way**

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[1] An example of *Nif'al tolerativum*, Gesen.-Kautzsch's *Heb. Gram.*^{26}, § 51 c. Read with LXX and Lowth שְׁאָלוּנִי, which completes the parallelism with the following line.

[2] So read, and not **called by my name,** i. e. קֹרֵא or קָרָא rather than קֹרָא (passive). So LXX and other versions, followed by Lowth, Ewald, Delitzsch, &c.; cf. lxiv. 7 (6 Heb); Gen. iv. 26, &c.

[3] The LXX indicate that a word, מֹרֶה, has dropped out of our text which the due rhythm of the verse requires us to insert. Cf. Rom. x. 21.

people, which walketh in a way that is not good, after
their own thoughts; a people that provoketh me to my 3
face continually, sacrificing in gardens, and burning
incense upon bricks; which sit among the graves, and 4
lodge in the secret places; which eat swine's flesh, and
broth of abominable things is in their vessels; which 5

(*derech*) has this special meaning of cultus. Cf. Amos viii. 14 and the use of 'way' in Acts xix. 9, 23, and the Arabic *ṭarîḳ*.

3. This 'unwholesome way' is now particularized. The sacrifices in gardens were an old feature of Semitic worship. Cf. Isa. i. 29, xvii. 10; Hos. iv. 13, and likewise lxvi. 17 below. The reference of the **incense upon bricks** (or tiles) is far from certain. In Zeph. i. 5, Jer. xix. 13, 2 Kings xxiii. 12 we read of the custom which prevailed in the latter portion of the seventh century of burning incense to the star-deities on the roofs of houses and sanctuaries, a custom which may have extended back to the time of Manasseh (2 Kings xxi. 3, 5), and was evidently an importation from Babylonia or Assyria. Whether the expression 'tiles' here should be taken as synonymous with 'roof' in the passages cited, or whether we are to think of small altars constructed of tiles, is far from clear. We still await archaeological evidence.

4. 'Those who sit on graves and spend the night in places of concealment' is an evident allusion to the prevailing customs of sorcery and necromancy whereby information was solicited by conjuring the spirits of the dead. This was nothing more than the old Canaanite and Israelite traditions (cf. 1 Sam. xxviii), against which Hebrew prophecy protested (Isa. viii. 19 foll.) and the Deuteronomic law prescribed stern prohibition and penalty (Deut. xviii. 11; cf. Lev. xix. 31, xx. 6, 7), and of which the ancient world generally was full (cf. Horace, *Satires* i. 8, and see art 'Sorcery' in Hastings' *DB.*, vol. iv, p. 603, and 'Necromancy,' *ibid.* p. 606).

broth of abominable things is the right reading. Our Hebrew text reads another word (*peraḳ*), which means 'morsels.' But the Jewish schools preserved the variant (*meraḳ*), which was adopted in the Synagogue (*ḳerê*) and has the support of ancient versions (LXX, Vulg., Targ.). This is the reading here adopted, 'broth.' This broth or brew was doubtless supposed to possess magical properties, like the curious decoction of a kid in its mother's milk, which seems to have been an old and popular remedy of Hebrew superstition forbidden in the ancient compend of laws, the 'Book of the Covenant' (Exod. xxiii. 19, E). This passage should be connected with others that follow, viz. lxvi. 3,

say, Stand by thyself, come not near to me, for I am holier than thou: these are a smoke in my nose, a fire
6 that burneth all the day. Behold, it is written before me:

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17. 'All these passages refer to the same circle of rites in which the victims chosen were such animals as were strictly taboo in ordinary life [in familiar biblical parlance "unclean"]—the swine, the dog, the mouse, and vermin generally. To such sacrifices, as we learn from lxvi. 17, a peculiar consecrating and purifying efficacy was attached, which must be ascribed to the sacramental participation in the sacrosanct flesh.' See Robertson Smith, *RS.*², p. 343 footnote; and on mystic sacrifices generally in ancient heathen rituals see p. 290 foll. (on the sacrifice of swine, see p. 290). In Egypt the flesh of the pig was regarded as an abomination, but it was sacrificed at the festival of Selene and Dionysos (Herod. ii. 47 foll.). Jensen in *Zeitsch. für Assyriol.* i, p. 306 foll. shows that in Assyria and Babylonia the flesh of the wild boar (*šaḫû*) was often eaten (but on the 30th Ab. and 27th Marḥeshwân, it was forbidden). Whether Babylonian influence operated in the case we are considering, where we are dealing with Palestinian usages, is doubtful.

For **is in their vessels** read 'are their dishes,' i. e. their dishes consist in broth of abominable things. The language resembles that of chap. v. 12.

5. Stand by thyself, properly 'draw near to thyself,' i. e. 'remain far from me, refrain from coming in contact with me,' the same conception being virtually expressed in the following clause.

The rendering **I am holier than thou** is not possible. Render, 'I make thee holy[1],' strictly 'shall have made thee holy,' i. e. if thou touch me. Those who had passed through these mystic rites of consecration warn their comrades not to touch them, because contact with their own consecrated persons will infect their comrades with holiness and thereby surround them with a circle of taboos or restrictions which will disqualify them from discharging the ordinary duties of life. The **smoke** here is the expression of Divine wrath (cf. Ps. xviii. 8 (9 Heb.)). So likewise the 'fire that burns alway.'

6. written before me, i. e. by some recording angel in the heavenly annals (Duhm, who compares Ezek. xxix. 16). An analogous conception is found in chap. xxxiv. 16, Ps. cxxxix. 16. It is Israel's sins that are here recorded, not their destined penalty.

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[1] Reading here the *Pi'el* (instead of the *Ḳal* of our Hebrew text, which involves an unprecedented construction of the verb) as suggested by Geiger and followed by recent critics. The LXX render 'I am pure (or holy).'

I will not keep silence, but will recompense, yea, I will
recompense into their bosom, your own iniquities, and 7
the iniquities of your fathers together, saith the Lord,
which have burned incense upon the mountains, and
blasphemed me upon the hills: therefore will I first
measure their work into their bosom.

Thus saith the Lord, As the new wine is found in the 8
cluster, and one saith, Destroy it not, for a blessing is in
it: so will I do for my servants' sakes, that I may not

Render, 'till I shall have recompensed,' the construction in the original being the same as in lv. 10, 11; 'shall not keep silence' is an expression we have already met in lxii. 1, lxiv. 11. Here it means that the expression of God's displeasure at these degraded practices shall not cease till the Divine retribution has been wreaked on those who are guilty of them. The LXX in this verse is evidently based on a shorter text in which there was no duplication of the phrase 'shall have recompensed.'

7. The guilt consists in the corrupt and debased worship. This worship had been denounced by the prophets of Israel from the days of Hosea (iv. 13) to those of Ezekiel (Ezek. xviii. 6).

Verses 8–12. We turn aside for a moment from the debased and heathenish practices of unfaithful Israel to the more pleasing sight of Yahweh's devoted followers. These are the true seed of Jacob—God's elect who shall possess the land. A contrast is drawn between the happy lot of these and the destruction which is in store for the unfaithful 'who forget my holy hill.' Doubtless the reference here in the main lies to schismatics who maintained a separate religious community in Samaria, to whom special allusion is frequently made in the Book of Nehemiah; but the allusion also lies here, as in verse 7, to the old practices which continued to prevail in the high places.

8. Israel is compared to a bad grape-cluster, but it is not wholly bad. There is still some good grape-juice remaining, and for this reason Yahweh pronounces against its rejection. There is good reason to believe that the expression 'Destroy it not' (*al tašḥîthû*) was a phrase borrowed from a popular vintage-song of Canaan. This is confirmed by the occurrence of this phrase in the singular form *al tašḥēth* in the superscription to a series of Psalms in our Psalter—viz. lvii, lviii, lix, and lxxv, which were to be sung to the air of this popular ditty; see the remarks in Robertson Smith's *OTJC.*, p. 209.

9 destroy them all. And I will bring forth a seed out of
Jacob, and out of Judah an inheritor of my mountains:
and my chosen shall inherit it, and my servants shall
10 dwell there. And Sharon shall be a fold of flocks, and
the valley of Achor a place for herds to lie down in, for
11 my people that have sought me. But ye that forsake the

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9. The elect portion of Jacob is to possess the mountains or central plateau where Jerusalem was situated. The pronoun **it** (feminine in the original) refers to the land of this central mountainous region.

10. But they are to possess not the mountain region only, which is often bare as well as rugged, but also the famous Plain of Sharon, which extends along the coast region (bounded on the north by the Nahr ez-Zerkâ near Caesarea) to the Nahr Rûbîn in the south somewhat below Joppa. The latter river (Nahr Rûbîn) separates it from the Philistine territory proper. The Sharon plain was famed for its luxuriant fertility and pastures (1 Chrôn. xxvii. 29; Song of Songs ii. 1, and Isa. xxxv. 2, where it is associated with Carmel lying to the north of it). 'Excellent soil is found at a depth of 1½ or 2 feet beneath the surface of the sand, and water is found everywhere without having to dig deep for it. Vines thrive admirably; sesame and wheat are cultivated in the fields' (Bädeker, *Palestine and Syria*). 'Spring works a miracle in the aspect of this region. The richest grass and the brightest flowers adorn the landscape. Even in the marshlands the tall and graceful papyrus is, in its autumn flowering time, pleasant to behold' (Cheyne in *Enc. Bibl.*).

On the other hand, the identification of the Valley of 'Achôr is extremely doubtful. Conder identifies it with the Wady el-Ḳelt (Hastings' *DB.*), which 'winds down to the Jordan through deep ravines and contains water during the greater part of the year' (Bädeker, *ibid.*). We agree with the writer in *Enc. Bibl.* that this hardly seems to be a suitable place for 'oxen to lie down.'

Verses 11, 12 present a contrast to the idyllic life of those who seek Yahweh, and for whom are reserved the Sharon-pastures and the spots where cattle may lie down in the Valley of 'Achôr (verse 10). On the other hand, those who abandon Yahweh are destined for slaughter. Fortunately the text of these two verses has been well preserved.

11. We have here interesting references to the heathenish rites of old Canaanite origin, to which the disloyal Jews of Samaria and other places resorted. 'Those who set forth the table to Gad'

LORD, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table
for Fortune, and that fill up mingled wine unto Destiny;
I will destine you to the sword, and ye shall all bow down 12
to the slaughter: because when I called, ye did not
answer; when I spake, ye did not hear; but ye did that
which was evil in mine eyes, and chose that wherein I
delighted not.

evidently worshipped an old Canaanite god of fortune[1] who gave his name to one of the Israelite tribes and also to the Canaanite towns Ba'al Gad (Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7, xiii. 5) and Migdal Gad, (Josh. xv. 37). The name appears to have been really Aramaic in origin according to the evidence collected in Bäthgen's work[2]. The table was probably set forth with 'cakes' similar to those which were baked for the 'queen of heaven,' Jer. vii. 18, xix. 13, xliv. 17. To this table we have an analogy in the 'table of the Presence' (Exod. xxv. 30; cf. Num. iv. 7). We have less knowledge respecting the deity called 'Destiny' in whose honour mixed wine was offered. Baudissin connects this deity, called in Hebrew *Menî*, with the Arabic *Manât*, to which the Ḳorân refers (Sur. liii. 20), a goddess who was worshipped by the Pre-Islamic Arabs. Nöldeke is certain that the two were closely connected[3].

12. The rendering **I will destine you** is intended to reproduce the play of words in the original between the name of the deity (Menî) and the verb which is here employed. Oort endeavours to carry the play on the names further, and would by a slight emendation of the original introduce a punning reference to the deity Gad: 'ye shall be hewn in pieces[4] for the slaughter'; but the LXX do not support this conjecture.

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[1] The LXX render למני by τῇ τύχῃ, while גר is translated by δαιμόνιον.

[2] *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 77 foll., but there are several examples also to be found in Punic proper names; see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, p. 249.

[3] See the careful and complete article by Baudissin on Menî in *PRE*³. Baudissin thinks that this cult was of Arabian origin and was carried northward with the movement of the Arabs in a northerly direction during the Persian period. For full information respecting the Arabian deity Manât, see Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², pp. 25–9.

[4] Reading תִּגָּדְעוּ in place of תִּכְרְעוּ of our text.

13 Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, my servants shall eat, but ye shall be hungry: behold, my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty: behold, my servants shall
14 rejoice, but ye shall be ashamed: behold, my servants shall sing for joy of heart, but ye shall cry for sorrow of
15 heart, and shall howl for vexation of spirit. And ye shall leave your name for a curse unto my chosen, and the Lord God shall slay thee; and he shall call his servants by

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Verses 13-20 are distributed by Duhm (followed by Marti) into five strophes, each strophe being composed of four long lines each. The theme of this poem is the same as that of the verses which precede. Here the contrast is even more sharply drawn between the lot of the pious and devoted followers of Yahweh and that of the faithless and the schismatics.

13. shall be ashamed: a characteristic expression of Hebrew prophecy and poetry, and used with a stronger ethical significance than in our own language, since it often conveys not only the ordinary meaning, the disappointment of one's hopes, but also that of humiliation and disgrace; Ps. lxxi. 13; Jer. ii. 36, vi. 15, x. 14, &c.

14 continues the series of contrasts of weal and woe dealt out respectively to Yahweh's faithful followers and to recreant schismatics:—

> 'Behold, my servants shall utter a ringing cry—for happiness of heart.
> But ye shall utter a distressful cry for grief of heart—from a broken spirit shall moan aloud.'

15. my chosen here are the same as 'my chosen' in verse 9 above, who are to possess Yahweh's mountains. Probably we should follow the LXX in reading 'you' for **thee** in the next clause (i. e. shall slay *you*). While God destines this schismatic community to be a curse[1] on the lips of His chosen followers, the name of His chosen followers is to be one of fairer omen. The spirit which breathes through portions of these concluding oracles exhibits a tone of bitterness which is in striking contrast with the serene beauty and radiant optimism of the Deutero-Isaiah. Cf. below, lxvi. 15, 16.

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[1] The LXX read שָׂבְעָה, 'abundance,' 'satiety,' in place of שְׁבֻעָה. One could wish that this more genial reading of the text could yield a tolerable sense.

another name: so that he who blesseth himself in the 16
earth shall bless himself in the God of truth; and he that
sweareth in the earth shall swear by the God of truth;
because the former troubles are forgotten, and because
they are hid from mine eyes. For, behold, I create new 17
heavens and a new earth: and the former things shall not
be remembered, nor come into mind. But be ye glad 18
and rejoice for ever in that which I create: for, behold, I
create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy. And 19
I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people: and
the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor
the voice of crying. There shall be no more thence an 20

Verses 16–25. The writer in this and the following verses turns his thoughts to a happier theme—the great future that awaits Jerusalem and the faithful community of Yahweh's followers. A new era is to dawn, and the old troubles are to be forgotten. Deutero-Isaianic lines close this chapter (verse 25). The spirit is the same as that of the lyric passages in chapters lx–lxii.

16. God of truth (*ômen*) is undoubtedly the right reading of the original, adopted in A.V. and R.V. (as against R.V. marg.).

17. This conception of a recreated universe (heaven and earth) is a borrowed trait from the Deutero-Isaiah, though not expressed in the same form (cf. lv. 13). For the universe in ancient days was held to be from the earth's surface heavenwards an indivisible whole. Human society was therefore linked to all the objects that surrounded it. The sharp distinction between man and animals (xi. 6 foll.), man and Nature, was not drawn. Consequently the moral changes in man had their counterpart in the external world whether for evil (cf. Joel i, ii passim) or for good (Joel iii. 17, 18 [iv. 17, 18 Heb.]). This conception of a new heaven and a new earth became a favourite one in the apocalyptic of a later age. Note that the heavens take regulative precedence. Cf. Book of Enoch xlv. 5, lxxii. 1, xci. 16, and especially 2 Pet. iii. 13, Rev. xxi. 1. The expression **come into mind** seems to be an echo of Jeremiah, with whom it was a favourite phrase (Jer. iii. 16, vii. 31, &c.).

19. Here, as well as in the following verse, we have obvious echoes of passages in Jeremiah, viz. Jer. vii. 34, xvi. 9, xxv. 10, xxxiii. 11.

20. We are also reminded of the genial picture in Zech. viii. 4.

infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his
days: for the child shall die an hundred years old, and
the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed.
21 And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they
22 shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They
shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant,
and another eat: for as the days of a tree shall be the
days of my people, and my chosen shall long enjoy the

For **infant of days** substitute the more accurate as well as intelligible 'suckling living but a few days.' As the burdens and sorrows of life pass away, men attain to considerable longevity, which recalls the traditions of patriarchal longevity in P. This passage was vividly present to the writer of the 'Book of Jubilees' in his description of the Messianic Kingdom, when children shall devote themselves to the study of the law, chap. xxiii. 25–28.

The last clause of this verse, **the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed**, hardly gives an intelligible sense in its context, and certainly affords no parallelism. The difficulty has arisen through the mistake of an early copyist (reflected in LXX) who inserted the word *ben* before the word for 'hundred' through the influence of the preceding clause, so that the phrase, as it stands, means 'a hundred years old' according to the familiar Hebrew idiom (Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.* § 128. 2 v). By the omission of *ben* the meaning becomes clear and the parallelism is restored: 'One who falls short[1] of an hundred years shall be accursed' (shall be regarded as one who is subject to a Divine curse). The age of an hundred years shall be quite normal, and one who falls short of that age at death shall be regarded as one cut short by a Divine curse. Length of days is associated in the O. T. with righteousness and Divine favour (Ps. xci. 16; Prov. iii. 2, 16; cf. Ps. xxi. 4 [5 Heb.]).

21. The underlying idea of this verse is that there shall be war no more. The foreign invader shall not eat the crops and the fruit. Palestine had suffered terribly through this evil in the eighth century from the Assyrian invaders or others nearer home (Isa. i. 7), Assyria being compared to a razor that leaves the surface bare (vii. 20). This was the common practice of warfare (2 Kings iii. 19).

In the seventh century the land was ravaged by the Egyptians (608 B.C.), and in the early part of the sixth by the Babylonians twice (597 and 587 B. C.) and by the Edomites also.

22 continues the same idea as the preceding verse. For **long**

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[1] For this use of *ḥāṭâ* in Heb., cf. Job v. 24.

work of their hands. They shall not labour in vain, nor 23
bring forth for calamity; for they are the seed of the
blessed of the LORD, and their offspring with them. And 24
it shall come to pass that, before they call, I will answer;
and while they are yet speaking, I will hear. The wolf 25
and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat
straw like the ox: and dust shall be the serpent's meat.
They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain,
saith the LORD.

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enjoy substitute 'consume' 'or make full use of' (R. V. margin, 'wear out'). We have a similar use of the same verb in Job xxi. 13.

23. The same theme pursued. Toil shall no longer end in the ruin of one's hopes, nor shall children be born into the world to meet some terrible catastrophe. For **calamity** substitute 'terror.'

24. God's answer shall anticipate the prayer of His faithful community. From the exile onwards prayer takes a relatively more important place in relation to the ritual of sacrifice. This new feature received great stimulus by the conditions of exile. See 'Prayer' in Hastings' *DB.*, iv, p. 40.

25. Once more we have a borrowing. It is not easy to perceive any cogency in Duhm's laboured argument to show that while the earlier part of this verse is borrowed from Isa. xi. 6-8, on the other hand xi. 9 is borrowed from the present passage. It is quite clear that verses 6-9 form an integral unity.

Equally arbitrary is the exclusion of the clause 'Yet as for the serpent dust is its food,' though Duhm alleges grounds of metre. For the condition of our O. T. text shows that even at an early time confusion entered, and whole lines were lost; accordingly a fragment of an entire line need not surprise us. The phrase seems to be a reminiscence of Gen. iii. 14 introduced by the writer in reference to the schismatics, who are here personified by the serpent [2]. It breaks into the calm repose of the Isaianic citation as rudely as lxvi. 14 *b* foll.

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[1] The LXX preserve the clause in question.

[2] 'Eating dust' was an ordinary expression of humiliation and contempt. Winckler in *Altoriental. Forschungen*, iii. p. 271, compares the expression in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, *KIB.*, vol. v, 122, lines 35, 36, *aiabunu tikalu ipra*, 'our enemies shall eat dust,' which is parallel to the O. T. phrase 'lick the dust' (Ps. lxxii. 9; Isa. xlix. 23; Mic. vii. 17, which affords an interesting analogy to the present passage).

66 Thus saith the LORD, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: what manner of house will ye

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CHAP. LXVI, verses 1–4, are directed against the project of the schismatics to erect a temple of their own as a rival to the temple of Zerubbabel in Jerusalem. Marti warns us in his useful introductory remarks against drawing larger inferences from this passage than it warrants. If we take the first two verses only, we might be disposed to regard them as directed against the erection of any temple on earth to One whose throne is heaven, and earth but the footstool of His feet. They might appear to be an anticipation of the words of Jesus, who said, 'The hour cometh when neither in this temple nor in Jerusalem shall ye worship the Father . . . God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and truth' (John iv. 21–24); cf. Acts vii. 48–50, xvii. 24. Indeed, Gressmann has supposed that this passage (like lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12) should be placed in the days that *preceded* the erection of the temple by Zerubbabel. It is argued that we have here a protest against the proposal to erect a temple of which Haggai and Zechariah were the enthusiastic advocates. But, as Enno Littmann shows[1], we altogether misunderstand the passage when we infer from the opening verse that the opposition is between Yahweh's true heavenly abode and any local earthly habitation. This is clearly proved by noting verses 2 and 3. The demonstratives in verse 2 obviously refer not to heaven, but to Zion, where God's contrite and spirit-smitten followers dwell, as contrasted with the Samaritan sanctuary, where revolting forms of worship prevail. The mighty voice of God's retribution is to come from his Zion temple (called *hêchal* in verse 6) upon His adversaries. The mention of the Levitical priests in verse 21 can only have meaning when we assume that they are ministers in Yahweh's true sanctuary in Zion (cf. the preceding verse 20).

1. It is not by any means certain whether we should render with A. V. 'where is the house, &c.,' as the interrog. form in the original should be understood in chap. l. 1; 1 Sam. ix. 18; Job xxviii. 12, 20, xxxviii. 19, 24, or whether we should follow R. V. and translate 'What manner of house, &c.' (as in the LXX). Similarly 2 Kings iii. 8; cf. Jonah i. 8; 2 Sam. xv. 2. Note the close similarity of the ideas here and in the following verse as compared with lvii. 15.

The Hebrew word for **rest** (*menûḥah*) is here used in the sense of 'residence'; cf. Isa. xi. 10; Ps. cxxxii. 8, 14; 1 Chron. xxviii. 2; and also Num. x. 33; Zech. ix. 1; Isa. xxxii. 18. The schismatic Samaritan leaders are addressed in this verse, and the

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[1] *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaia* (1899), p. 47 foll.

build unto me? and what place shall be my rest? For all 2
these things hath mine hand made, and *so* all these things
came to be, saith the LORD: but to this man will I look,
even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and that
trembleth at my word. He that killeth an ox is as he 3
that slayeth a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb, as he that
breaketh a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, *as he
that offereth* swine's blood; he that burneth frankincense,
as he that blesseth an idol: yea, they have chosen their
own ways, and their soul delighteth in their abominations;

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house which they are seeking to build as God's residence is a rival temple in Samaria.

2. These things do not refer to the heavens and the earth, as the latter part of the verse clearly proves, but to God's true sanctuary, the temple of Zerubbabel where the contrite in spirit, who tremble at His word, are to be found. It is instructive to compare with this passage not only lvii. 15, but also Ezra ix. 4, x. 3.

3 describes the illegitimate forms of cultus which were practised among those who were hostile to the Jerusalem sanctuary. This verse is somewhat difficult, and the text, as well as rendering, as the LXX show, is by no means certain. This is largely due to the obscurity of the subject, as we are very imperfectly informed respecting the varied types of cultus which then prevailed and to which allusion is here made. Probably it would be safest to follow Marti and regard the first member of the successive pairs as the subject and the second as the predicate in the short clauses which follow one another. The first member describes a legitimate offering and the second an illegitimate. The intention of the writer is to describe the syncretism in worship that prevailed: 'He who slaughters an ox (also) smites a man,' i. e. participates in human sacrifice, of which we find numerous traces among the Israelites (Jer. xix. 5, xxxii. 35; Ezek. xvi. 21, xx. 26, 31; 2 Kings xvi. 3 and xxiii. 10). It was specially forbidden in legislation (cf. Lev. xviii. 21). These awful rites of child sacrifice, which were carried on in the vale of Hinnom, were specially characteristic of Milk (Molech), the god of Ammon and Moab. Though suppressed in the reformation of Josiah's reign they, like many other customs of primitive Semitic religion, still persisted (see Introduction to Trito-Isaiah, p. 231 foll.).

The following clause combines similarly the legitimate sacrifice of a sheep with the illegitimate sacrifice of the dog: 'One who

4 I also will choose their delusions, and will bring their fears upon them; because when I called, none did answer; when I spake, they did not hear: but they did that which was evil in mine eyes, and chose that wherein I delighted not.

5 Hear the word of the LORD, ye that tremble at his

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offers the bloody sacrifice of a sheep (also) breaks the neck of a dog.' Respecting the mystic piacular sacrifice of the dog and also of swine, see Robertson Smith, *RS.*^{2}, p. 291, and note above on lxv. 4. Not only the legitimate meal-offering, but with it the libation of swine's blood is presented. Not only the legitimate offering of incense[1], but the blessing of the *idol-image* (here called *āwen* as in Hos. iv. 15, v. 8, x. 5, literally 'falsity,' or 'evil'). The last clause in this verse should be connected with the opening clause of the following. Accordingly render with Duhm and Cheyne, 'As these have chosen their own ways' (i. e. modes of cultus), &c.

4 will then begin, 'So will I choose,' &c. For the rendering **delusions** it would be better to substitute 'follies.' The word in the original is the same as in iii. 4 ('babes' rendered in the note 'wilfulness' or childish caprices). What are called **abominations** (a frequent designation of idolatrous rites) in the preceding verse are here called perverse follies. These 'follies' become transformed into formidable penalties in the days of Divine visitation for the evils of faithlessness and schism: 'I will bring their *terrors* upon them.'

Verses 5–11. There follows in close connexion with the preceding verses a short poem which Duhm arranges in three strophes of six long lines each. That they were composed at the same time and in reference to the same set of events is quite obvious. The same phrase 'tremble at his word' occurs in the opening line of this poem as in verse 2 of the preceding. 'Your brothers that hate you' are the schismatics whose evil practices are described in verse 3, and the vengeance on God's enemies to which verse 6 makes reference is darkly hinted in verse 4 above. The present

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[1] The word for 'burneth' (*mazkîr*) is really a denominative partic. based on the subst. *azkārah*, which was a burnt-offering consisting of meal, oil, and frankincense. This was characteristic of the more elaborate and later ritual described in Lev. ii. 9, 16, v. 12, vi. 9 [8 Heb.]; Num. v. 26. Respecting the frankincense (*lebhōnah*), cf. note on Isa. xliii. 23 above.

word: Your brethren that hate you, that cast you out for
my name's sake, have said, Let the LORD be glorified, that
we may see your joy; but they shall be ashamed. A 6
voice of tumult from the city, a voice from the temple, a
voice of the LORD that rendereth recompence to his
enemies. Before she travailed, she brought forth; before 7

poem, however, is addressed to the faithful community in Jerusalem, while the preceding is addressed to (verses 1, 2) or refers to (verses 3, 4) the schismatics.

5. Probably the latter part of the long line has fallen out after 'your brothers who have hated you have said' . . . The term 'brothers' is here used, as often in Hebrew, for 'kinsmen.' The words which these 'brothers' use in driving out the faithful are of course expressions of mockery. The language of this verse points to evident scenes of violence enacted between the 'brothers' (who were led on by Sanballaṭ) and the returned exiles from Babylonia. What actually occurred may be conjectured from Neh. iv, an instructive parallel. But an attentive perusal of that chapter leads us to the conclusion that in the present Isaiah passage allusion is made to an earlier episode in which the returning exiles were actually expelled from the city precincts. Probably the intervention of the Persian governor (*peḥah*) obtained for them admission and security.

'But they shall be ashamed' (i. e. disappointed of their hopes, humiliated) is the poet's reassuring word to the faithful, following upon the words of scorn uttered by their opponents.

6. The vividness of the original is best expressed by the rendering, 'Hark! a roar from the city, thunder[1] from the temple, Yahweh's thunder, awarding retribution to His foes.' The words are very suggestive of a battle in the streets of Jerusalem in which the party of Sanballaṭ are driven out. The language has an Isaianic ring, especially in its use of the word for 'roar' (*shâ'ôn*); cf. xvii. 12, xxx. 30.

Verses 7-11 convey words of comfort to the hard-pressed and faithful followers of Yahweh. Reinforcements are coming, and the population of Zion shall immediately receive a considerable accession. Verse 12 clearly shows that this increase is to come from without.

7. On grounds of sense and metre we should expect that the

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[1] In the original the word is *ḳôl* ('voice'), as in Isa. xxx. 30 (on which see note). The same word is previously used in the sense 'hark!' just as in Gen. iv. 10 ('Hark! thy brother's blood crieth . . .'). See Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*^{26}, § 146, 1, rem. 1.

8 her pain came, she was delivered of a man child. Who
hath heard such a thing? who hath seen such things?
Shall a land be born in one day? shall a nation be
brought forth at once? for as soon as Zion travailed, she
9 brought forth her children. Shall I bring to the birth,
and not cause to bring forth? saith the LORD: shall I
that cause to bring forth shut *the womb*? saith thy God.
10 Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and be glad for her, all ye

first unusually abbreviated line of this verse has lost a few words. It begins very abruptly without any subject. Fortunately the repetition of its phrases at the close of the following verse allows us to restore with some probability, as follows :—

> 'Before [Zion] travaileth—she hath brought forth [a son],
> Before pangs come to her—she hath a male child born.'

The language used in describing the birth in the second line of the original is unusual, probably designed to express an unprecedented fact, the swift increase of Zion's future inhabitants in the new era that is to dawn. This conception of Zion's prolific increase of progeny is a borrowed Deutero-Isaianic conception; cf. xlix. 18, 20, 21, liv. 1, 2.

8. Not only the metre of the original but also concord in gender renders it probable that the word for 'people' has been dropped out before the word 'land'[1]. Therefore translate :—

> 'Shall the people of a land be begotten in travail—in one day?'

9 continues the same theme—Zion's rapid accession of population; the immigration of faithful worshippers of Yahweh, the diaspora which must now have been very considerable, i. e. scattered Jewish exiles in all lands within and surrounding Western Asia (cf. verses 18-20).

The conclusion of this lyric poem and the opening verses of that which follows (verses 10-13) are strongly Deutero-Isaianic in tone; cf. xlix. 14-16, 22, 23, li. 2, 3, liv. 5-8.

10. In place of **Rejoice ye with Jerusalem** the LXX read in their text 'Rejoice, O Jerusalem'; and there were also other slight

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[1] In the original text, though the word for 'land' is fem., the verb 'shall-be-begotten-in-travail' is masculine. The insertion of the word for 'people,' which is masculine in Hebrew, restores the harmony of construction.

that love her: rejoice for joy with her, all ye that mourn
over her: that ye may suck and be satisfied with the 11
breasts of her consolations; that ye may milk out, and
be delighted with the abundance of her glory. For thus 12
saith the LORD, Behold, I will extend peace to her like
a river, and the glory of the nations like an overflowing
stream, and ye shall suck *thereof*; ye shall be borne

modifications in their text[1]. Duhm adopts the text of the LXX in the opening clause.

11. The **abundance of her glory** is a questionable rendering, since we have no evidence that the Hebrew word *zîz* which occurs in this solitary passage in the O. T. had the meaning 'abundance.' Comparison with the vulgar Arabic, as well as the parallel in the earlier part of the verse, confirms the view of most commentators (including Ewald, Duhm, and Marti) that it means the *maternal breast*. We might therefore render 'delight in her rich breast.' The same reflexive form of the original 'delight' (delight oneself) occurs in lvii. 4, lviii. 14.

Verses 12–17 are another poem on the same theme. Here, however, the thoughts of the writer are chiefly directed to the caravans of Jewish immigrants laden with the wealth of foreign lands. lx. 4 foll. is a close parallel. At the close of verse 14 a very different note is struck, and the writer suddenly quits his inspiring theme and turns to the heretical community that had its centre in Samaria whose evil practices are denounced as in lxv. 1–7, lxvi. 1–4.

12. This new section opens with the familiar formula 'Thus saith Yahweh,' which recurs so often in the Deutero-Isaiah as well as in the Trito-Isaiah (xlii. 5, xliii. 1, 14, xlv. 1, 11, xlix. 7, l. 1, lii. 3, lvi. 1). Yahweh here assures the Jewish community of a full tide of prosperity like an overflowing brook. It is derived from the wealth of foreigners (xlix. 22 foll., lx. 5). The language here (as in lx. 4) is an obvious echo of the Deutero-Isaianic xlix. 22. Render:

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[1] The LXX render, 'Rejoice, Jerusalem, and be gathered in festal assembly all who dwell in her; exult with exultation all ye that mourn over her.' Apparently their Hebrew text was as follows: ... שִׂמְחִי יְרוּשָׁלַםִ
וְהִוָּעֲדוּ (?) כָּל־יֹשְׁבֶיהָ שִׂישׂוּ מָשׂוֹשׂ כָּל ... . On the whole this appears to be a more probable text. Those who are to rejoice are the *inhabitants* of the city, and not those who lived outside the borders of Judah. Of the latter as a vast incoming tide we read in verses 12 foll.

13 upon the side, and shall be dandled upon the knees. As
one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you;
14 and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem. And ye shall
see *it*, and your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall
flourish like the tender grass: and the hand of the LORD
shall be known toward his servants, and he will have
15 indignation against his enemies. For, behold, the LORD
will come with fire, and his chariots shall be like the
whirlwind; to render his anger with fury, and his rebuke
16 with flames of fire. For by fire will the LORD plead, and
by his sword, with all flesh: and the slain of the LORD
17 shall be many. They that sanctify themselves and purify

'Their infant progeny [1] shall be carried on the hip (lit. 'side')
—and on knees shall they be caressed.'

According to lx. 4 it is the girls only who are carried on the hip, while in the Deutero-Isaianic original (xlix. 22) the boys are carried in the bosom and the girls on the *shoulder*. The following verse as well as verse 22 shows that it is the foreigner who renders these kindly (yet servile) offices. And the same conception evidently underlies the present passage.

14. The **bones** are used here to designate the body generally, as in Ps. li. 8 (10 Heb.). These are to sprout like young grass, i. e. renew their vigour.

15. The Hebrew verb translated **render** (*hāshībh*) means really 'award as retribution' (Deut. xxxii. 41, 43). Read with LXX 'shall come *as* fire' (cf. the following clause).

16. will plead [2], i. e. will conduct his suit, urge his cause with invincible effect; cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 22.

17. Once more we have a reference to the gross rites of expiation practised by the heretical community in Palestine whereby they 'consecrated themselves.' The expression **behind** (or after) **one in the midst** evidently refers to the exercises of these companies in the heathen mysteries carried on in the gardens (cf. lxv. 3), the 'one in the midst' being the leader of the company. It is possible that scenes of frantic excitement took place themselves *to go* unto the gardens, behind one in the midst, eating swine's flesh, and the abomination, and

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[1] Punctuate the Heb. וְיֹנְקֹתָם from the feminine collective יֹנֶקֶת, and see Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*^{26}, § 122, 4 *c*.

[2] The opening clause of this verse in the LXX runs: 'For with the fire of the Lord shall all the earth be consumed.' This has the appearance of being a later apocalyptic variant.

like the dervish movements at the full-moon, which are common among the village fellaḥin in Egypt[1]. On the other hand, Marti would compare the mystic rites portrayed in Ezek. viii. 11, in which the prophet sees in a chamber of the sanctuary seventy elders with Jaazaniah son of Shaphan standing in their midst, each with a censer in his hand. But the other parallel cited by Marti in his commentary from the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles II. 1, chap. 94 (Lipsius and Bonnet), is perhaps more closely illustrative. It is descriptive of certain sacramental dances. Probably we should find an allusion here to practices of this character carried on in the gardens by moonlight accompanied by piacular sacrifices[2].

Robertson Smith, *RS.*², p. 293, furnishes no analogy to this worship of the mouse. But we have interesting parallels cited by Pietschmann in his *Geschichte der Phönizier*, p. 228, who calls attention to the name 'Akbār, meaning 'mouse,' on Phoenician inscriptions[3] as well as on sculptured stones in Jerusalem. From these facts we might conclude that the mouse was an animal totem. It would be normally what was called an unclean animal and sacrosanct. As Robertson Smith points out, the sacrifice of such an animal 'is generally limited to certain solemn occasions, usually annual . . . In several cases the worshippers partake of the sacred flesh which at other times it would be impious to touch' (*RS.*², p. 294).

There is no need to substitute for **abomination** (*sheḳeṣ*) the word 'creeping thing' (*sheres*) as Duhm proposes. The former is read by the LXX in their text and in the parallel passage Ezek. viii. 10.

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[1] Flinders Petrie, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt* (1892), p. 171. 'A professed dervish often leads the party . . . The people all stand in a circle and begin repeating *Al-lah* with a very strong accent on the latter syllable, bowing down the head and body at the former and raising it at the latter. This is all done in unison. Gradually the rate quickens, the accent is stronger and becomes more of an explosive howl . . . The excitement is wilder and hideously wild until a horrid creeping comes over you as you listen . . . Incipient madness of the intoxication of excitement seems poured out upon them all.'

[2] The Ḳerê reads אחת for אחד, the feminine for the masculine form, apparently meaning a priestess rather than a goddess.

[3] *Corpus Insc. Semit.*, I. 1, Nos. 178, 236, 239, 344 and 395. Cf. also the name 'Akbôr in Hebrew proper names (Gen. xxxvi. 38; 2 Kings xxii. 12, 14).

the mouse; they shall come to an end together, saith the
18 Lord. For I *know* their works and their thoughts: *the*
time cometh, that I will gather all nations and tongues;
19 and they shall come, and shall see my glory. And I will set
a sign among them, and I will send such as escape of
them unto the nations, to Tarshish, Pul and Lud, that

Confusion has evidently crept into the Hebrew text at the close of this verse and the beginning of the next. A part of the conclusion of verse 17 has been foisted into the beginning of verse 18. Accordingly read with Duhm:—

> 'Their works and their devices—shall altogether have an end, saith Yahweh;
> **18.** And I shall come to gather—all the nations and tongues.'

This reconstruction saves the passage from hopeless confusion, for which, as it appears to the present writer, no other satisfactory remedy has been proposed.

19. This verse is evidently based on reminiscences of chap. xlix. 22 (cf. lx. 9). The pronoun **them** obviously refers to the foreign peoples. Yahweh will display His power before them by a **sign** or miraculous deed, as in the Exodus from Egypt in the old days. The motive underlying this presents an analogy to that which underlies the prophecy of judgment against Gog in Ezek. xxxviii. foll. The restoration of Israel to Jerusalem took place under the aegis of the *foreign* Persian power. Some signal manifestation of the might of Yahweh, the God of Israel, before the eyes of the world, was needed. The 'sign' or manifestation of Yahweh's power among the Gentiles will be destructive, and **such as escape** will be sent by Him to proclaim the news of Yahweh's glory among foreign peoples who have never heard of it. In the enumeration of foreign races it would be safer to follow the LXX and read *Meshech* in place of **that draw the bow.** It is easy to see how the mistake arose. The proper name was mistaken for the Hebrew verb 'to draw,' and it was assumed by some scribe that the word for 'bow' had been dropped out.[1]

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[1] There is no need to add to Meshech the proper name Rôsh (Ezek. xxxviii. 1, xxxix. 1) with Duhm and Marti. The enumeration seems to proceed in groups of three. If, as Duhm points out, the race-names are borrowed from Ezekiel, who loved elaborate enumerations (e. g. Ezek. xxvii), we have the less reason to consider this modest list to be an interpolation. The influence of Ezekiel over the Trito-Isaiah is an obvious trait.

draw the bow, to Tubal and Javan, to the isles afar off, that have not heard my fame, neither have seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the nations. And 20 they shall bring all your brethren out of all the nations for an offering unto the LORD, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, saith the LORD, as the children of Israel bring their offering in a clean vessel into the house of the LORD. And of them also 21 will I take for priests *and* for Levites, saith the LORD.

Both *Meshech* and **Tubal** are mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions (Schrader, *COT.*, i, pp. 64–7), and occur together in Gen. x. 2. They were races dwelling east of Cappadocia and north-east of Cilicia. **Javan** was the Semitic name for the Greek (properly the *Ionian*) race scattered over the coastlands (R. V. 'isles') as well as islands of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean (*COT.*, i, p. 65 f.). **Tarshîsh** is the town Tartessus in Spain (near the mouth of the Guadalquivir), well known to Herodotus (i. 163), who was a contemporary of the Trito-Isaiah and Nehemiah (see vol. i, p. 103). It is agreed among all critics that **Pûl** here is a scribal error for *Pûṭ*. *Pûṭ* appears to have been a Libyan people. So LXX in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. See Driver's *Genesis*, note on x. 6. Probably we should regard **Lûd** here as a North African race and region rather than identify it with the Lydians of Asia Minor conquered by Cyrus.

20. Overawed by the news of Yahweh's overwhelming manifestation of power, these peoples hasten to convey the scattered representatives of the Hebrew race dwelling among them to Zion as the offering of their homage to His might. The feminine form in Hebrew rendered above 'swift beasts' is rightly interpreted in R. V. margin 'dromedaries' (following Ibn 'Ezra and Ḳimḥi).

21. And of them also obviously refers to the *Israelites of the Dispersion*, who were to be conveyed by Gentiles to the homeland. About this recent commentators (including Kittel, Duhm, and Marti) are agreed, though in former times a large number of authorities—including Gesenius, Ewald, Delitzsch, Orelli, and Baudissin—held that it was the converted Gentiles from whom priests were to be chosen. But the whole context and spirit of the Trito-Isaiah are against the supposition of such a splendid assertion of universalism. It has been a matter of dispute whether we ought to read 'for priests *and* for Levites' with LXX and old versions and numerous Hebrew MSS. (see Curtiss, *Levitical*

22 For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will
make, shall remain before me, saith the LORD, so shall
23 your seed and your name remain. [And it shall come to
pass, that from one new moon to another, and from one
sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before
24 me, saith the LORD. And they shall go forth, and look
upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed
against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall

Priests, p. 205 foll.). At the time when the Trito-Isaiah wrote, the Deuteronomic system still held sway in which no distinction was drawn between the Priests and Levites. After the reforms introduced by Nehemiah, when the system developed in the Priestercodex came to be enforced, this distinction was maintained. The insertion of 'and' into various texts of this passage (on which the versions were based) then arose. Render with Kittel, Duhm, and others 'for Levite-priests[1].'

22. A promise of permanence to Israel's race and power at the dawn of this new era worthily concludes the oracles of the Trito-Isaiah.

23–24 are an appended conclusion by a later hand beginning with the familiar recurring formula **And it shall come to pass.** We recognize the same spirit that added the glosses to chap. xlviii—the same touch of pessimistic gloom that belongs to an age of decadence. In this case the phraseology clearly betrays the later origin—e. g. the use of *shabbāth* in the sense of 'week,' which only belongs to later Hebrew (as Num. xxviii. 10; Lev. xxiii. 15, xxv. 8) as well as Aramaic (reflected in Mark xvi. 2, 9). Also the word *dĕrāôn*, meaning 'abomination' or 'horror' (**abhorring** R. V.) is quite late, being found in Dan. xii. 2. Evidently the ecclesiastical system of the Priestercodex had been long established, 'As often as the month is at its new moon and the week returns at its sabbath.' The dreadful spectacle of the carcases of the wicked amid the worms and fires of the valley of Hinnom[2], on which the righteous fix their gaze, belongs to a much later stadium their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh.]

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[1] Delete the preposition which precedes the word 'Levites' in our Hebrew text (i. e. read לְכֹהנים לוים).

[2] Gê-Hinnom, south and west of Jerusalem, was in the eighth and seventh centuries associated with the dark rites of Molech worship with its human sacrifices (2 Kings xiii. 10). See vol. i, p. 193. In later days this name assumed the form Gê-Hennâ, a term used to designate the place of torment for the wicked.

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of Jewish thought than that of the Trito-Isaiah. It was the age when Gê-Hennâ as a place of torment for the wicked was a part of its eschatology, in which 'this accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever' (Enoch xxvii. 2). Cf. Judith xvi. 17, Jesus Sir. vii. 17.

We have travelled a long way and descended far below the levels of the Deutero-Isaiah and the towering solitary peaks of the Servant-Poems. We have to travel further still before we reach the yet loftier height of Golgotha. Let the reader mark the contrast between the language employed towards the 'brothers,' the Samaritan schismatics, and Luke xxiii. 34; cf. Matt. xxiii. 37, and also Matt. viii. 11, 12. For in Jesus, the Son of Man, we find the true fulfilment of the ideal of the 'Servant of Yahweh.'

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Date	Egypt	The Jews	Babylonia	Persia
556 B. C.			Accession of NABONIDUS.	
550				CYRUS. Conquest of Media and subsequently of Lydia.
545		*The Deutero-Isaiah.*		
538		Isa. xl–lv.	Conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, *Downfall of the Neo-Babylonian* and *establishment of the* PERSIAN EMPIRE.	
537–6		Restoration of Jewish Exiles by Cyrus.		
529			Death of CYRUS and accession of CAMBYSES.	
527–5	Conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.	Isa. lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12.		
522			Suicide of CAMBYSES.	
521			PSEUDO-SMERDIS — DARIUS I, son of Hystaspes, begins his reign.	
520		Temple-rebuilding commenced under Zerubbabel and Joshua. Prophetic activity of *Haggai* and *Zechariah.*		
516		Temple completed.		
500			Ionian revolt against Darius.	
490			Defeat of the Persians at *Marathon.*	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

DATE	EGYPT	THE JEWS	PERSIA
485			Death of DARIUS I and accession of XERXES I (Kshayarsha).
480	Aramaic papyri discovered at Elephantine (Yeb) and Syene belonging to Jewish settlers[1] (471–407 B.C.).		Defeat of the Persians at *Thermopylae* and *Salamis* [*Herodotus* and *Aeschylus*].
464			Assassination of XERXES. Accession of ARTAXERXES I, *Longimanus* (Artakshathra).
458		*Malachi* and *Ezra*. The *Trito-Isaiah*. Isa. lvi–lxvi.	
445		Arrival of *Nehemiah* at Jerusalem. Walls rebuilt. Reorganization of cultus. *Priestercodex*.	[*Socrates*, *Sophocles*, *Aristophanes*.]
424			Death of ARTAXERXES I. Accession of XERXES II (*Sogdianus*).
423			Accession of DARIUS II (*Nothus*).
404		*Joel* prophesies.	Death of DARIUS II and accession of ARTAXERXES II (*Mnemon*). [*Euripides*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*].
401			Defeat of *Cyrus the Younger* at the Battle of *Cunaxa*. Xenophon leads back the 10,000 Greeks.

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[1] Edited by Sachau (Elephantine) and by Cowley and Sayce (Syene).

APPENDIX II

INSCRIPTION ON THE CLAY CYLINDER OF CYRUS, KING OF PERSIA (538–529 B.C.)

BASED ON THE TRANSCRIPTION AND RENDERING OF PROF. EBERHARD SCHRADER (*KIB.*, vol. iii, Part 2, p. 120 foll.), WITH SOME SUGGESTED CORRECTIONS BY REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, M.A.

[Lines 9–35. The earlier and subsequent portions of the inscription are seriously mutilated.]

9. At this insolence (? *tazimti*) the lord of gods was very wrath . . . destroyed their wall (?). The gods which dwelt there forsook their dwellings (10.) in anger because he (Nabonidus) had carried them to Šuanna (Babylon). Marduk (Merodach) . . . and the people (11.) of Šumer and Akkad who resembled corpses (?) he allowed to go . . . permitted the return of the entirety of all lands; . . . 12. was concerned about the righteous king whom he bore in his heart, whose hand he held, about Cyrus king of Anšan, whose name he proclaimed, for kingship; over the entirety of the world was his name declared.

13. The land Kutû, the whole of the Manda troops, he (Marduk) subjected to his (Cyrus's) authority; the dark-headed ones (or Babylonians) he (Marduk) delivered into his (Cyrus's) hands. 14. With justice and rectitude he cared for them (?). Marduk, the Lord, the protector (*tarû*) of his people, looked with joy upon his (Cyrus's) beneficent deeds and upright heart. 15. He commanded his (Cyrus's) march to his own (Marduk's) city Babylon, caused him to take the road to Tintir (Babylon). Like a friend and helper he marched by his side. 16. Whose far-extended hosts, whose number like the waters of a river, cannot be estimated; who marched with weapons girded at his side. 17. Without battle or encounter he (Marduk) caused him to enter Šuanna, his town Babylon he with trouble spared. Nabonidus, who had no reverence for him (Marduk) he (Marduk) delivered up to his (Cyrus's) hand. 18. The inhabitants of Tintir (Babylon) altogether, all Šumer and Akkad, the great ones and the viceroys abased themselves before him, kissed his feet, rejoiced in his kingship. Their countenance shone.

19. The Lord [i. e. Marduk], who in assurance that he brings the dead to life, maintains all amid trouble and sorrow, approached him graciously. His name thundered forth: 20. I, Cyrus, king

of hosts, great king, mighty king, king of Tintir, king of Šumer and Akkad, king of the four regions; 21. son of Cambyses, the great king, the king of Anšan, grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of Anšan, great-grandson of Šišpiš (Teïspes), the great king, the king of Anšan; 22. the eternal seed (*zíru*) of royalty whose kingdom Bel and Nebo love, whose rule they longed for to their hearts' joy—I made my entry into Babylon in peace. 23. I adopted with joy and pleasure the royal palace as my lordly residence. Marduk the great lord . . . inhabitants (?) of Babylon . . . On this day . . . (24.) my far-extended armies spread themselves forth in Babylon in peace. I caused all the [inhabitants of Šumer and] Akkad to have no adversary. 25. Amid Babylon and all its towns I was . . . in friendship . . . with the inhabitants of Tintir. . . 26. Their wrongs I set right, put an end to their grievance (*sarbu*). In order to execute this . . . (?) Marduk, the great Lord, gave instructions. 27. Unto me, Cyrus, the king who reveres him, and Cambyses my son, the issue of my body . . . unto my entire army (28.) he graciously drew nigh, in friendship before it he beneficently . . . The whole of the kings who dwell in (royal) chambers. 29. Who from the world in its entirety from the upper sea to the lower sea [such as dwell inland?], the kings of the land Amurri (Phoenicia and Palestine), the inhabitants of . . . all of them (30.) brought their rich tribute and in Šuanna (Babylon) kissed my feet. From . . . the towns of Ašur and Ištar . . . 31. Agadi, Ašnunnak Zamban, Me-Turnu, Dûrili to the district of Ḳutû, towns on the Tigris whose abode from old time lay in ruin (*nadû*), (32.) the gods who dwelt in them I brought back to their place, caused them to inhabit a permanent abode. All their inhabitants I assembled, re-erected their dwellings. 33. Moreover the gods of Šumer and Akkad whom Nabunâid (Nabonidus), to the indignation of the lord of gods, had brought into Šuanna (Babylon)[1], at the command of Marduk the great lord (34.) I caused to dwell in their abode in security, a dwelling acceptable to their heart. May all the gods whom I have brought into their towns (35.) daily offer intercessions before Bel and Nebo during the length of my days, may they proclaim the utterance of my favour, and unto Marduk, my lord, may they declare how Cyrus the king who reveres thee and Cambyses his son . . .

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[1] This line 33 clearly explains the allusion to the policy of Nabonidus in the defective lines 9, 10 above.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Vol. I. pp. 27, 316. 'Rahab *sit still*' is the conventional rendering of the conventional Massoretic text, which Hensler reads 'Rahab the vanquished' (*Rahab hammoshbāth*). This is accepted by Gunkel, Budde, and Cheyne, and is probably correct.

p. 138, last line, for 'allied kings' read 'Assyrian king.'

p. 246, Isa. xxi. 11. The ancient Greeks varied between three and five watches. See Vollbrecht on Xenophon's *Anabasis* (Introd.) who speaks of *three*, and Eurip., *Rhesus* 543 which alludes to a *fifth* watch.

p. 265. Isa. xxiii. 15 foll. The Phoenicians of Tyre were apparently celebrated for their music and singing. Comp. the ἀρχαιομελι(η)σιδωνοφρυνιχήρατα of Aristophanes (*Wasps* 220) and Ezek. xxvi. 13.

p. 347, line 4 from below. Isa. li. 11 is a late insertion, and is derived from Isa. xxxv. 10, where metre as well as sense show it to have been original.

Vol. II, p. 243 foll. The *hand* figured on Carthaginian votive stones is capable of explanation as having a *magical* origin. It served as a prophylactic to the depredator or the evil eye. According to Westermarck (art. on 'Magic Origin of Moorish Designs' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv (1904), p. 211 foll.). 'If a Moor suspects some one of looking at him with an evil eye . . . he stretches out the five fingers of the right hand towards the eyes of the other and says: *ḥamsa 'ala 'ainak* "five in your eye"! The hand is supposed to have the power of throwing back on the other the evil influence.' A missionary from Morocco has confirmed to the present writer what Westermarck has alleged. Inside or on the door of the shop or house, often inside the threshold, may constantly be seen the blackened figure of a hand as a prophylactic. Dr. Haddon states that this magic tradition is to be found throughout the Mediterranean littoral. It seems to be based on the conception of a power or *numen* residing in the hand, indicated in the phrase יֵשׁ לְאֵל יָדִי in Gen. xxxi. 29, 'it is in the power of my hand'; cf. Prov. iii. 27; Mic. ii. 1; Deut. xxviii. 32. See Brockelmann in *ZATW.*, 1906, p. 29 foll.

Respecting יָד in the sense of 'memorial,' 'monument,' see Gottheil, *ibid.* p. 277 f.

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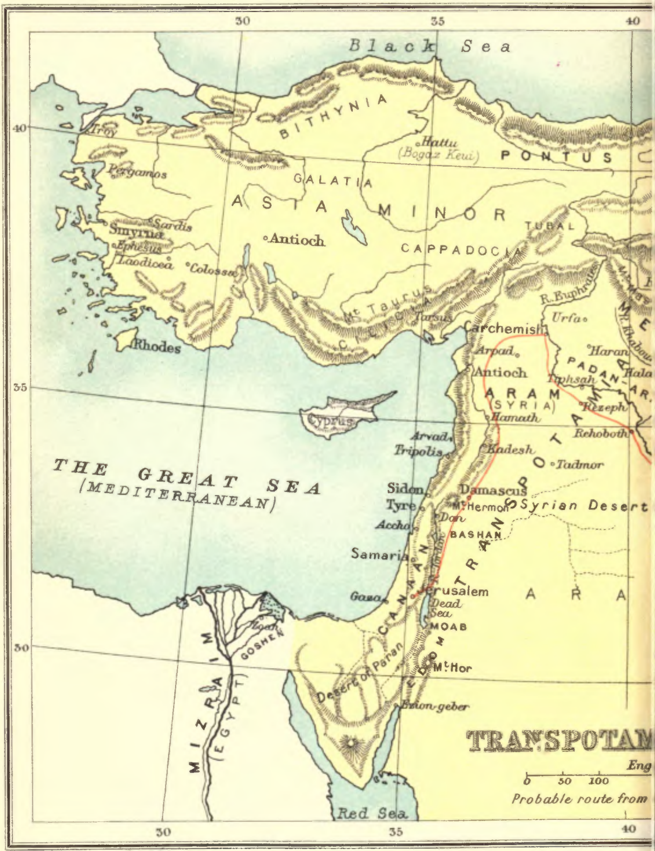
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35
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Black Sea
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Troy
Hattu
(Bogaz Keui)
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Pergamos
GALATIA
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Smyrna
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Colossæ
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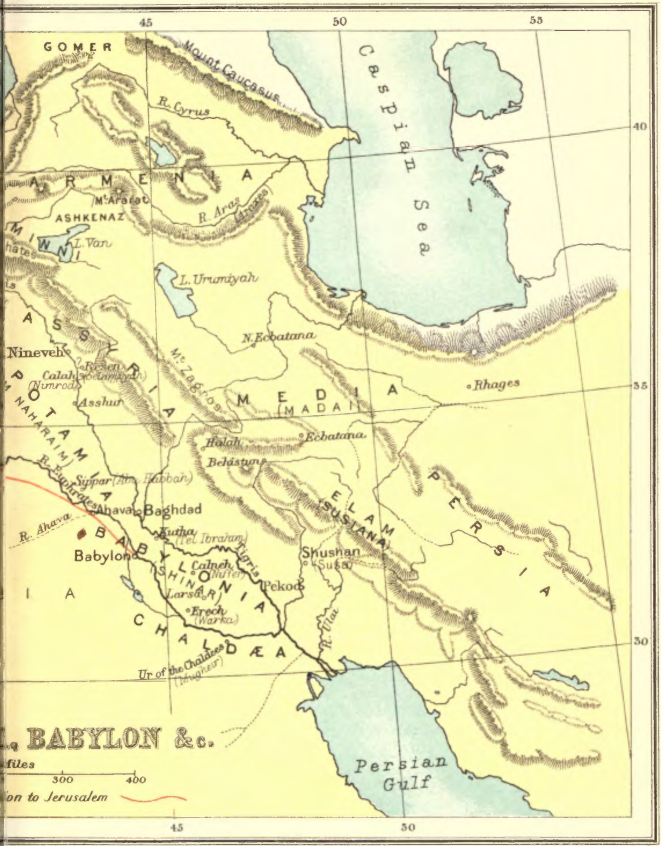
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Mount Caucasus
R. Cyrus
Caspian Sea
ARMENIA
Mt. Ararat
R. Aras (Araxes)
ASHKENAZ
MINNI
L. Van
hates
L. Urumiyah
ASSYRIA
Nineveh
Resen (Selamiyah)
Calah (Nimrod)
Asshur
N. Ecbatana
Mt. Zagros
MEDIA
(MADAI)
Rhages
MESOPOTAMIA
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The Century Bible

A MODERN COMMENTARY

Jeremiah
and
Lamentations

VOL. I

JEREMIAH I–XXIV

INTRODUCTION
REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES
ILLUSTRATIONS

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LONDON
THE CAXTON PUBLISHING COMPANY, Ltd.
CLUN HOUSE, SURREY STREET, W.C.

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PREFACE

It is a singular thing that, while many commentaries have been devoted to the Book of Isaiah, the Book of Jeremiah should have suffered from an ungrateful neglect. In Germany some of the greatest Old Testament scholars have paid a worthy tribute to the supreme figure in the prophetic succession, and expounded his words with an insight and a thoroughness which are entitled to the warmest thanks. And among ourselves there are signs that the indifference with which Jeremiah has been regarded is yielding to an ampler recognition of his lonely eminence and the incomparable service he rendered to religion. Yet the last important English commentary on Jeremiah was that of Professor Cheyne, and it was published more than a quarter of a century ago. The writer sends forth the present work in the hope that many may find in its pages some help to the understanding of the book, and that through all the imperfections of his treatment some sense of Jeremiah's greatness may be borne in upon them. In a commentary written amid the unremitting pressure of multitudinous and exacting duties, and frequently interrupted by ill health, he fears that defects may remain which have escaped his notice. Yet if reverent enthusiasm for the man and ungrudging labour devoted to the task are qualifications for the work, he may at least claim to have deserved such success as these may merit.

In acknowledging the heavy obligations he owes to German scholars, the editor is bound to accord the first place to Wellhausen. For the detailed exposition of the book he naturally owes more to other writers. But it was Wellhausen's article 'Israel' in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* which first opened his eyes in his undergraduate days to the significance of Jeremiah. Later the impression was confirmed and deepened by the truly wonderful pages devoted to him in the same author's *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*. In the preparation of his commentary he has been chiefly indebted to Graf, Giesebrecht, Duhm, and above all to Cornill, with whose standpoint he is glad to find himself largely in sympathy. Driver's translation has been constantly at hand, it has been specially helpful in ambiguous passages and for its exact discrimination of delicate shades of meaning.

October 14, 1910.

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TRANSPOTAMIA, BABYLON, ETC. . . . . . *at front*

THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH

INTRODUCTION

NAY but much rather let me late returning
  Bruised of my brethren, wounded from within,
Stoop with sad countenance and blushes burning,
  Bitter with weariness and sick with sin,—

Then as I weary me and long and languish,
  Nowise availing from that pain to part,—
Desperate tides of the whole great world's anguish
  Forced thro' the channels of a single heart,—

Straight to thy presence get me and reveal it,
  Nothing ashamed of tears upon thy feet,
Show the sore wound and beg thine hand to heal it,
  Pour thee the bitter, pray thee for the sweet.

Then with a ripple and a radiance thro' me
  Rise and be manifest, o Morning Star!
Flow on my soul, thou Spirit, and renew me,
  Fill with thyself, and let the rest be far.

Safe to the hidden house of thine abiding
  Carry the weak knees and the heart that faints,
Shield from the scorn and cover from the chiding,
  Give the world joy, but patience to the saints.

F. W. H. MYERS: *Saint Paul.*

THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH

INTRODUCTION

I. THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JEREMIAH.

SINCE Jeremiah was still quite young when he became conscious of his vocation in the thirteenth year of Josiah, we may assume that he was born when the long reign of Manasseh was nearing its close. We may perhaps date his birth about 650 B.C. His birthplace was Anathoth, which was a city of Benjamin three or four miles from Jerusalem, but looking towards Ephraim. It was the city to which Abiathar was banished when he was deposed by Solomon from the priesthood of Jerusalem, and it is by no means improbable that Jeremiah, who is said to be of the priests that were in Anathoth, was a descendant of Abiathar and thus of Eli the custodian of the ark at Shiloh. If so his family would cherish some of the proudest memories in Israel, and additional point would thus be given to his reference to the destruction of Shiloh and the obsoleteness of the ark in the Messianic period. We can also well imagine that no little bitterness was entertained towards the rival house of Zadok, which since the days of Solomon had held the priesthood of the Temple. As a Benjamite it was natural for Jeremiah to feel much sympathy for Ephraim, since both Ephraim and Benjamin were the children of Rachel. He was the first to contemplate the possibility that the northern tribes might return from exile. The reign of Manasseh was specially characterized by syncretism in religion; that is, by the mixture of alien cults with the worship of Yahweh, Israel's national deity. Political subjection to Assyria had brought the adoption of Assyrian forms of worship in its train, and the reign of Manasseh seems to have been marked by a fanatical excess in this respect. We ought not to infer that there was any conscious apostasy from Yahweh, but foreign deities were placed by His side. Opposition to the king's religious policy was treated as treason and visited with martyrdom. The worship of the Canaanite Baalim, the givers of fertility to the land, was pursued with unwearied devotion. Although Jeremiah must have been still quite young when Manasseh died, we have no reason to suppose that matters had changed at the time when he received his call. This came to him five years before the discovery of the Law-book which led to the reformation of Josiah.

It was not merely the religious situation, however, which was responsible for Jeremiah's appearance as a prophet. The tidings had come to Judah that a new and terrible danger threatened her from the north. A great migration of the Scythians from their home in the far north had been set in motion. They poured as a vast irresistible torrent over a large area of Western Asia. They were like locusts for numbers and rapacity, sparing neither age nor sex, leaving ruin everywhere in their train. It was a new kind of terror which these uncivilized hordes inspired in peoples long inured to the brutality of Assyria. No deliberate design of founding an empire seems to have animated them, and indeed they were not skilled in the art of war and won their conquests by sheer force of numbers and ruthless ferocity. They were not equipped for storming cities, but they could starve the inhabitants into surrender. They influenced political history mainly by weakening the power of Assyria and thus preparing for its ultimate downfall. We are told that their dominion lasted for twenty-eight years. Since the fall of the Assyrian empire was an event whose importance for the history of Judah can scarcely be exaggerated, the Scythian invasion would on that ground alone claim to be mentioned in the story of Jeremiah's times. But their influence on Jewish history was not merely indirect. The tide swept nearer and nearer to Palestine, and Jeremiah like Zephaniah seems to have seen in these unwelcome visitors from the north the instruments of Divine judgement on Judah. In the vision of the seething caldron which followed his call he learnt that evil was to come out of the north, and that Yahweh was bringing all the kingdoms of the north against Jerusalem.

Such then was the situation in Judah when Jeremiah received his call. An apostate people on the one hand, the approach of the uncanny foe from the north on the other. It was not primarily the danger but the sin of Judah which filled her prophets with foreboding of her ruin, and since Jeremiah was convinced that the cup of her iniquity was full it was natural that he should identify the agents of God's vengeance with the Scythians. Such being the situation at the time of his call, we must now consider the call itself.

His call came to him in the thirteenth year of Josiah (627 or 626 B.C.). We have the story of it, probably from his own lips, at the opening of the book. It is a serious mistake to imagine that the narrative reflects the tragic experience of opposition in after years. Like Isaiah he begins his work with no illusion as to the response his message will evoke. We are at first struck with disappointment at the narrative, when we remember the vision of Isaiah and that of Ezekiel. There is no splendid awe-inspiring manifestation of God, the prophet is not penetrated like Isaiah with a conviction of his own uncleanness by its contrast with God's holiness, nor does he fall on his face like Ezekiel, overpowered by His radiant glory. Yet the narrative gains an effectiveness of its own by the very absence of accessories. God and the man are here alone in intimate conversation, no Seraphim or Cherubim mar the impressive simplicity of the scene. It is a fit prelude to the lifework of the prophet who first clearly conceived religion as a personal relation between man and God. There is another instructive contrast between Isaiah and Jeremiah. The former offers himself for Yahweh's service, though when he volunteers to undertake it he does not know what his mission is to be. The latter learns the nature of his call and receives the summons to accept it direct from Yahweh, and does not overhear it as Isaiah had done, but he is reluctant to undertake the mission. His diffidence may be compared with that of Moses, on whom also the task had to be imposed against his will, though the reasons for self-distrust were not the same.

In the very moment of his call Jeremiah learnt that he was a child of destiny. His choice for his great work was no haphazard selection from the mass, as if all were equally fitted for the use of the Almighty, to whom the human imperfection meant no limitation. Nor had God's choice rested on him after he had displayed his quality. Even before his begetting God had planned his life, and had thus created him with the deliberate design of appointing him a prophet to the nations. Hence God lays stress on His own participation in his origin, since He would have him learn how He had Himself prepared him for his mission. The special line of ancestry from which he had come, the home into which he had been born, the conditions which had moulded him during his impressionable years, may be regarded as elements in this preparation; but the main stress lies on the nature with which God had endowed him and the personal experience of religion which we can detect in his earlier life.

His mission was naturally in the first instance to his own people, but earlier prophets had spoken concerning other nations, and this is explicitly included in the scope of Jeremiah's commission. He is made 'a prophet unto the nations.' But the work seems too great for the diffident youth, conscious of his own insignificance. Moreover, it had been the lot of earlier prophets, since their message was pre-eminently of a threatening character, to arouse fierce opposition, and remembering his predecessors Jeremiah recoils from the task. But Yahweh rebukes the dread implied rather than expressed in Jeremiah's plea, and assures him of His presence as the guarantee of his safety. After this promise Yahweh put forth his hand and touched his mouth, saying, 'Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth.' It is only a superficial resemblance to the narrative of Isaiah's call that we have here. The lips of Isaiah are touched, but it is by the seraph not by Yahweh; the live coal is placed on them, but the hand of Yahweh on the lips of Jeremiah: the object in the one case is purification, in the other the communication of God's word. It is rather with Ezek. iii. 1–3 that we should compare the present passage. Both Ezekiel and Jeremiah receive the Divine word at the outset of their ministry. Yet the difference is characteristic. In Ezekiel we have the bizarre, in Jeremiah the simple; the later prophet thinks of prophecy as embodied in a literary guise; the earlier is faithful to the conception of it as an uttered word, and he does not shrink from affirming the direct contact of the Divine hand with his mouth. We are not to interpret the statement as a mere symbol. It is a genuine psychical experience which is here described. And its significance is great. Prophecy had been originally an intermittent phenomenon. The Spirit of Yahweh possessed the prophet and inspired the oracle he uttered, then withdrew from him. But now the word dwells in Jeremiah as his abiding possession, the ebb and flow of inspiration has passed away, and his personality is no longer subject to the invasion and retreat of the prophetic ecstasy. We may compare Deut. xviii. 18. Finally, he is set in authority over the nations, with destruction and construction as his appointed task. For the word of Yahweh in a prophet's lips was not a mere utterance, but endowed with a living energy which achieved its own fulfilment.

Hence the prophet is set over the nations to break down and to build, since by announcing their overthrow or re-establishment he brings it to pass.

We do not know whether the two visions which follow were immediately connected with each other or with his call. But the former is admirably adapted to the mood of Jeremiah at the time of his call. He can see in the world about him no sign that God is about to do anything, the rigour of winter reigns everywhere. But he has become a prophet, and it was the Hebrew prophet's deepest conviction that God was about to intervene in history in a striking and decisive way. To the prophetic consciousness, then, the death-stillness which seems to prevail is only apparent: while all others think God is asleep or inactive, the prophet knows, just by the fact that he is a prophet, that God has set His judgements already in train. And this conviction clothes itself in a form congenial to Jeremiah's temperament. It is characteristic of him that while many can discern God only in the great or the abnormal he sees in the homely and commonplace the sign of God's working. This vivid sense of the Divine element in everyday things is a mark of his greatness. Brooding on his vocation and all which it portended, he sees before him the rod of an almond-tree, and in response to the Divine inquiry utters its name. The English reader can at first see no connexion between the object and the lesson drawn from it, and when he learns that the Hebrew word for almond-tree is *shākēd* and that translated ' watch ' is *shōkēd*, he is tempted to imagine that he has to do merely with a play upon words. That, however, would be a great mistake. The almond-tree bears the name here given to it just because, blossoming as early as January, it is the first to wake into new life after the sleep of winter. For the prophet the sight of the tree is more than a coincidence: Nature is a parable of God's working. Hence he sees in this harbinger of the spring a sign that the hard frost is about to break and new life to spring from the soil. There is a suggestive parallel in Amos viii. 1, 2. Amos sees a basket of 'summer fruit' (*qayits*), and is told that the 'end' (*qets*) is come upon Israel. Here also we are tempted at first sight to see nothing but an assonance. The summer fruit, however, fitly symbolizes the end, for it means that the time approaches when it will be said 'the harvest is past and the summer is ended.' With Amos summer is passing into autumn; with Jeremiah winter is about to give place to spring. Probably we should not explain Jeremiah's experience as purely psychical. An almond-tree which he saw before him, with one of its branches just showing signs of renewed vitality, apparently constituted its physical basis. But we have not to do with a merely accidental experience, in which the prophet's meditations combine with the sight of the almond-tree to produce it. It was divinely planned with a view to the prophet's future ministry. It was his tragic lot to be doomed again and again to disappointment through seeming failure of his predictions. Hence at the outset this vision comes to him that he may hereafter be steadied by the memory of it.

The second vision is that of the seething caldron. The details of it are obscure (see notes on i. 13, 14), but the main lesson is clear. The earlier record of prophecy, as well as the call to his office, had prepared the prophet for the disclosure that his message was to be predominantly one of judgement, though the nations receive an unexpected prominence in his commission. Now he learns that judgement is coming on Judah from the north. For Yahweh is calling 'all the kingdoms of the north' to encamp against Jerusalem and the cities of Judah. So He will utter His judgements against them for their idolatry!

Then once more the prophet is warned not to suffer his shrinking diffidence to daunt him and make him faithless to his task. He must speak *all* that God commands him, not omitting the unpalatable home-truths or softening the harshness of their expression. If in his weakness he falters, God will Himself punish him by stripping his cowardice naked to the scorn and malice of his enemies. Implicit obedience, high courage, unfaltering speech will serve him as a triple armour. Let him betray any hesitation and he will be lost. Yet in the critical moments through which he has still to pass it will not be simply his fearless bearing, his serene unconsciousness of peril that will save him. God appoints the mission and therefore accepts the responsibility for the security of His messenger. The assurance of the Divine protection is at once a challenge to his faith and the warrant for his courage. Faith and courage alike will be sorely tried. Kings, princes, priests, people will all be arrayed against him, but God will make him invincible. All their assaults will be foiled; he is like an impregnable fortress from whose walls the storming party is always forced to retreat.

To the earliest period of Jeremiah's ministry, that which succeeded his call, we may assign chapters ii–vi in their original form, together with the prophecies of the return of Ephraim which are embedded in xxxi; perhaps also the story of the loin-cloth (xiii. 1–11), if its original intention was to depict the spiritual and moral deterioration which had come to Judah from her connexion with Assyria and Babylonia. It is possible, as Duhm supposes, that ii–iv embodied the prophet's preaching before he removed from Anathoth to Jerusalem, while v and vi record the impression made upon him by his closer acquaintance with the capital after he had settled there. But since Anathoth was so near to Jerusalem, and the two were in intimate connexion with each other, it is scarcely probable that when he left his native place the prophet had much to learn concerning the profligacy and idolatry of the capital.

We have no information as to the effect produced by Jeremiah's tremendous indictment of his people and predictions of approaching destruction. His presage of disaster seemed on the point of being fulfilled to the letter.

For now the Scythians entered Palestine from the north and marched down the coast. As they drew nearer and nearer to Judah we may well believe that the prophet's anticipations found ready credence among the people. The Scythians, however, seem scarcely to have deviated from their route along the coast, which led to Egypt. For the time, at any rate, Judah was spared. When, however, they reached the frontier of Egypt their march was arrested. Perhaps, as Herodotus tells us, they were bought off by rich bribes from the king; possibly, as some modern scholars believe, he successfully opposed their further advance. They then retreated along the coast of Palestine, once more, it would seem, leaving Judah untouched.

While Judah again breathed freely after this great deliverance the position of Jeremiah must have been very difficult. For he must have seemed to the people to have been discredited by the failure of his predictions. The foe from the north had come, but it had also gone, while Judah remained unshaken. And if this was the popular estimate, what must the escape of Judah have meant to the prophet? It seemed as though God had placed him in a false position. He had sent him to deliver a message and then given the lie to his word. The loss of credit with his countrymen and the mockery which he had to endure must have been torture to his sensitive soul; but even harder to bear was the bewilderment in which God's apparent desertion must have involved him. For some years he seems to have been silent.

He next comes before us in connexion with the reformation introduced by Josiah on the basis of the newly discovered Deuteronomic Code (621 B.C.). To this situation we should probably refer xi. 1-8, xi. 18—xii. 6. In the beginning of this section Jeremiah is bidden proclaim to the people God's curse on those who are disobedient to the words of 'this covenant' made with their fathers at the exodus. He then receives a further injunction, to preach the words of the covenant in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem. It is generally believed that the covenant is to be identified with the Deuteronomic Code, which had been published in 621 and accepted by the people, and that Jeremiah not only exhorted the inhabitants of the capital to obey but undertook a mission to the cities of Judah with a similar object. The situation is far from clear. The people had accepted the new Law, and during the reign of Josiah it is not obvious why Jeremiah should undertake a task which was presumably rendered superfluous by the drastic measures with which Josiah enforced obedience throughout his realm. We might evade this if we were willing to place this work of Jeremiah in the reign of Jehoiakim, and suppose that he undertook the mission in consequence of the people's breach of the covenant, to which indeed verses 9 ff. seem to refer. It is, however, difficult to believe that Jeremiah still retained much enthusiasm for the Deuteronomic reformation, which he knew well was of all too superficial a character. But if he had ever sympathized with it, must he not have been conscious from the first of the gulf between himself and the reformers? The combination of the priestly with the prophetic standpoint, the emphasis placed on the purification of the cultus, the ruthless violence with which they carried through the policy of 'thorough', were alien from his temper.

It is not therefore surprising that Duhm, followed by Cornill, considers xi. 1–14 to be unhistorical. But in this drastic criticism such scholars as Giesebrecht, Budde, and Rothstein have refused to acquiesce. It is possible that 'this covenant' does not refer especially to the Deuteronomic Law. But, granted that it does, it seems quite credible that Jeremiah should have undertaken the rôle here assigned to him. For there was very much in the Law with which he would be in full sympathy. Its monotheism, its horror of idolatry, its warm humanitarianism, its lofty morality, its abhorrence of heathen abominations, its demand that life should be controlled by wholehearted love of God, to these Jeremiah would say 'Amen' with all his soul. But even the reform of the cultus presented several points of contact. The worship of the high places was very repugnant to him, hence he might welcome its abolition. The concentration of worship at the Temple, cleansed of its pagan impurities and controlled by the religious principles enunciated in the Law, might seem beforehand to offer what he would regard as an ideal solution, unless we imagine that he thought religion was to be a disembodied spirit, set free from any visible incarnation. And while we cannot suppose that he could have felt much enthusiasm for minor ritual precepts in themselves, he may have welcomed them as best adapted to lead a people steeped in ceremonial to a form of worship less stained by imperfection. Besides, we must beware of regarding Jeremiah as just an impracticable idealist. Every reformer discovers that he has to be content with less than the second-best, and to work with men whose motives and aims are other than his own. For the sake of the supreme end, personal preferences have to be set aside and measures accepted which have no attraction for him. Accordingly, we may well believe that Jeremiah did co-operate with the reformers, accepting, in obedience to what he took to be the Divine will, such injunctions as would not in themselves have commanded his respect.

And what confirms this conclusion is that we thus understand the murderous hostility of the men of Anathoth described in this section of the book. The Deuteronomic reformation involved the suppression of the local sanctuaries, that of Anathoth among them. We may well imagine the sullen resentment which this must have aroused in many places. But the feeling in Anathoth was peculiarly bitter, for here lived the deposed priesthood of the house of Abiathar, and the supremacy which belonged from the days of Solomon to the rival priesthood of Zadok and his descendants was now by the reformation turned into a monopoly. What must have been the feelings of the Anathoth priesthood when they saw one of themselves defending a measure which exalted the upstart family that had supplanted their own primaeval priesthood, the earliest custodians of the ark? He must have seemed to his kinsfolk a traitor to his order, just as later he seemed a traitor to his people.

The hostility which Jeremiah experienced is noteworthy as having given rise to the first of those expostulations with God, the record of which confers such unique value upon his book. If the view be right that we should place xii. 1–6 before xi. 18–23 (see pp. 184 f.), Jeremiah complains to God of the prosperity which the wicked enjoy. Instead of receiving any light on his problem, any comfort for his sorrows, any encouragement for the future, he is warned that what he has as yet endured is but slight in comparison with the conflict which lies before him. Hitherto he has been engaged in a foot-race, and this has wearied him; but how will he do when he has to match himself with horses? In a quiet land he has taken to flight; how will he do when he has to thread the jungle of Jordan, where danger and terror are on every side, where the lion waits for the unwary, and in whose trackless thickets the traveller may so easily miss his way and be lost? For his kinsmen, although they speak him fair, are plotting against him and seeking his life. Till this revelation was made to him the prophet had no suspicion, he was going to his doom as trustfully as the lamb to its slaughter. He receives, however, the Divine assurance that punishment should fall upon his fellow-townsmen for their plots against his life.

And while the ties which nature had formed for him involved him in an experience so painful, he was forbidden to form new ties which might have lightened the burden he was forced to bear. He learnt that it was God's will for him that he should not marry. In this respect he is distinguished from other prophets. Marriage was for

Hosea a tragedy through which he learnt to comprehend the love of God; for Ezekiel it was a great happiness till the desire of his eyes was taken from him by a sudden stroke, and he was forbidden to mourn her loss (Ezek. xxiv. 15–24). Jeremiah, whose heart was so exquisitely fitted for love, and to whom a home would have been a welcome refuge from the scorn and cruelty of his fellows, was doomed to a life of loneliness uncheered by wife or children. And yet with deep sympathetic insight into a joy his vocation forbade him to share (xvi. 2), the prophet sees in a glad wedding the type of human happiness. He was not of naturally morose temper, nor had his isolation soured him; he looked at the felicity of others with no jaundiced eye, but only with the sad conviction that it would soon utterly cease. He felt this to be one of the penalties of his vocation, that he must have no share in the innocent pleasures of his fellows. He was filled with the Divine indignation; it was his mission to pour it on his people (vi. 11); hence he was doomed to a lonely life: for how with his dark foreboding of their impending doom could he participate in their lighthearted merriment, so soon to be stilled in death?

So far as we know, Jeremiah remained silent during the later years of Josiah's reign. For the king Jeremiah had a sincere respect, and we have from his pen a tribute to the sterling worth of his character and the equity of his administration (xxii. 15, 16). Some of the worst evils of which the prophet had complained were suppressed with a strong hand, and although he can hardly have been satisfied with the condition of things, he apparently felt no call to intervene with demands for repentance and reform. Social conditions were probably prosperous, and the people no doubt considered themselves to stand high in the favour of their God. But this happy time was roughly closed by a great tragedy, the death of Josiah at Megiddo in conflict with Pharaoh Necho, who, forestalling the imminent downfall of Assyria, was seeking to appropriate much of her territory. It was hardly, we may conjecture, so much a quixotic loyalty to his suzerain the king of Assyria which led him to his fate, as an unwillingness to surrender his virtual independence for the new tyranny of Egypt. He probably undertook his disastrous expedition in the faith that God would give victory to his arms, and in such a conviction he would be encouraged by the prophets.

The death of Josiah and the subjection to Egypt which followed was an overwhelming tragedy for Judah. The confidence which had been inspired by the reformers was shattered at a stroke. Disaster followed disaster during the twenty-two years which intervened between the death of Josiah and the downfall of the State. Passing by Eliakim, the people set Jehoahaz his younger brother on the throne in place of his father. Their action was prompted, we may suppose, partly by the Egyptian leanings of Eliakim, partly by their well-grounded anticipations of what he would prove as a monarch. After three months' reign Jehoahaz was deposed by Pharaoh Necho and taken in chains to Egypt, where he died. The Egyptian king placed Eliakim on the throne, changing his name to Jehoiakim. We have the weightiest evidence for his misgovernment from the lips of Jeremiah himself (xxii. 13–19). In addition to the fine imposed by Egypt the people had to find money for the king's ostentatious buildings, and their misery was aggravated by his employment of forced labour without remuneration.

In his reign Jeremiah, who had only recently uttered his elegy on the pitiful fate of Jehoahaz, emerged from the seclusion in which for some years he seems to have remained. Taking his stand in the Temple court he exhorted his people to amend their evil doings. Secure in the favour of their God, and especially in the presence of Yahweh's Temple in their midst, the people felt that now the worst was over and that for the future they were delivered. The prophet warned them that unless they reformed, God would destroy the Temple as He had destroyed Shiloh the ancient sanctuary of the ark. The prophets and priests wished to have him put to death for his blasphemy in threatening the destruction of the Temple, but he was befriended by the people and saved by the princes, who felt that his claim to speak in the name of Yahweh should secure him from death. Another prophet, the narrator tells us, Uriah, who repeated Jeremiah's message, was not so fortunate. Jehoiakim and the princes sought to put him to death, but he escaped to Egypt, from which, however, the king secured his extradition and then put him to death. The difference in the fate of the two prophets is probably to be explained on the supposition that Uriah definitely attacked Jehoiakim, which at this point Jeremiah seems not to have done. Only in this way can we account for the pertinacity with which Jehoiakim hunted him down.

It is perhaps to the early part of Jehoiakim's reign that we should assign the incident of the breaking of the earthen bottle in the Valley of Ben-Hinnom, in sign of the destruction which was to come upon Jerusalem and Judah (xix). After he had executed his commission Jeremiah returned to the Temple and repeated this prediction of ruin. Thereupon Pashhur, the overseer of the Temple, had him beaten and put in the stocks. On his release, after a night of torture and humiliation, Jeremiah told the overseer that Yahweh had called his name Magor, that is Terror. It is perhaps as the immediate outcome of this experience that we have the wild outburst which we find in xx. 7-12. With a daring that attests his intimate familiarity with God, Jeremiah reproaches Him for the part He has caused him to play. With coaxing words He has enticed him into His service, taken advantage of his youth and inexperience, beguiled him with fair speeches, and he has weakly allowed himself to be overpersuaded. Weakly indeed, but how can a frail creature be other than weak and pliable as wax in the hands of the

Almighty? And having overcome his reluctance (i. 6 ff.), and betrayed him into this intolerable position, He has left him in the lurch. It is not his own word that he utters but God's, yet all deride him as a visionary fool. He is a Cassandra whose predictions of disaster are flouted by all. When he can no longer endure the scorn and violence which the proclamation of the word brings him, he resolves to renounce his vocation. But his resolutions are all in vain. There burns in his inmost soul the Divine fire, which will not smoulder or be quenched but must break out in flaming speech. If he seeks to restrain it, it turns upon him and tortures him. Those who posed as his familiar friends watched for his halting; they tried to lead him into treasonable utterances which to his ruin they might report to the authorities. Yet he still holds fast the conviction that Yahweh protects him like an invincible warrior, and will avenge His servant upon his enemies.

Meanwhile external politics were moving with great rapidity and on a colossal scale. Within a year or two after the death of Josiah at Megiddo, Nineveh had fallen and the empire of Assyria had reached its well-merited end. It remained for the Medes and Babylonians to divide the spoils. Syria and Palestine fell to the lot of Babylon, and Nabopolassar the king of Babylon was not likely tamely to submit to leaving them in the clutch of Egypt. Accordingly, in 605 B.C. his son Nebuchadnezzar advanced against Pharaoh Necho and defeated him in the famous battle of Carchemish, a victory which settled for generations the question whether Palestine should be under the sway of Egypt or of an eastern power. This year accordingly was one in which the prophet was specially active. The foe from the north, though it was the Babylonians rather than the Scythians, seemed now about to fulfil the prophecies which Jeremiah had uttered during these three-and-twenty years. It is to this date that we have to assign the twenty-fifth chapter in its original form, with such of the prophecies against the nations as may have been uttered at this time. He gives the nations to drink from the winecup of God's wrath, Judah and Egypt, together with the surrounding peoples who would be involved in its downfall. Once again, however, there was a reprieve, and Jeremiah's anticipations that judgement would at last be executed were not fulfilled. Nabopolassar died, and Nebuchadnezzar felt that the establishment of his position required his immediate return to Babylon. Accordingly, instead of pushing south to conquer Egypt, he came to an arrangement with Pharaoh Necho by which the latter retained the independence of Egypt but surrendered his claim to his Asiatic conquests.

Jeremiah now dictated to Baruch his secretary the prophecies he had delivered during the twenty-three years of his ministry, in the hope that his people would still be warned and that repentance would avert the otherwise inevitable judgement. To an assembly of the people for a fast at the Temple, Baruch read the prophecies which he had written down. Their character was such that the princes felt that they must report the matter to Jehoiakim ; but, anticipating only too truly the king's resentment, they gave Baruch a friendly warning that he and Jeremiah should at once go into hiding. The king listened to the prophecies and at the end of every three or four columns cut the roll with a penknife and threw these portions into the fire till the whole was burnt, in spite of the intercession made by three of the princes. We are told that neither monarch nor princes were at all perturbed by the warnings in the roll. The king sent for the prophet and his secretary, but they had gone into hiding. Then Jeremiah dictated once more the contents of the roll, and there were added many like words.

Some uncertainty hangs over the precise relations between Judah and Babylon in the period which immediately followed the battle of Carchemish. Apparently an interval elapsed before Jehoiakim was required to acknowledge the suzerainty of Nebuchadnezzar, but eventually he did so and we are told served him for three years, after which he rebelled, presumably by withholding the tribute. Probably Nebuchadnezzar was not in a position to move at once against his rebellious vassal, so he appears to have set in motion some of the surrounding peoples to raid Jewish territory. It is to this that xii. 7–17 seems to refer. The Babylonian forces subsequently came against Judah, though before the decisive blow was struck Jehoiakim was dead. To this period, but still in Jehoiakim's reign, we should refer the meeting of Jeremiah with the Rechabites recorded in xxxv. The Babylonian and Syrian armies had forced the Rechabites to abandon their nomad life and take refuge in Jerusalem. From the fact that Jeremiah was in Jerusalem and was able to take the Rechabites to the Temple we may infer that the trouble in which he and Baruch had been involved with the king had passed by, and while no doubt the king regarded him with no more favour he had thought it well after the first burst of his anger was over to let the matter rest. True to their nomad ideal, which rested on the conviction that the settled life of agriculture involved unfaithfulness to Yahweh the wilderness deity, the Rechabites refused to drink the wine which Jeremiah offered to them. The prophet uses their loyalty to the command given by Jonadab their ancestor to condemn the disobedience of the Jews to Yahweh.

It is perhaps to the close of Jehoiakim's reign that we should assign xv. 10–21 in its original form. The prophet complains that he is an object of universal hatred, although he has given no cause for this hostility. So far from that, he would say 'Amen' to the curses they heaped upon him, if in the time of their distress he had not made intercession for his enemies. As Yahweh well knows, it was for His sake that he had borne reproach and persecution. He was so completely dedicated to God that his life was absorbed in his vocation. He had stood aloof from his fellows, living in isolation because the pressure of the Divine hand was upon him, and he had been filled with the indignation of Yahweh which he was charged to pour out upon his people. He is racked with perpetual pain and his wound will not heal. Will Yahweh prove to him a lying stream and waters that are not sure? Years had passed since, in the fresh enthusiasm of youth, he had proclaimed Yahweh to his people as the reservoir of living waters. But the bitter experience of disillusion and discredit and apparent abandonment by God has intervened, and now he is driven to doubt whether He whom he had proclaimed as the unfailing fountain would prove to be but the stream in the desert on which the traveller depended only to find it dry in his hour of need. And, as once before, God sternly rebukes the faltering courage of His servant. He treats the remonstrance he had uttered as tantamount to the abandonment of his vocation, but gives him the opportunity to retrace his steps and once more to stand in His council as His prophet. But if he is to do this then he who was once appointed the assayer of his people must take his own nature in hand, smelt all the dross out of it that it may be pure gold all through. If he does this God will make him a fenced brazen wall against which the people shall fight in vain. Several other sections of the book should probably be attributed to Jehoiakim's reign (see p. 60), but it is uncertain in what period we should place them.

Death alone saved Jehoiakim from the vengeance of Nebuchadnezzar. His rebellion was expiated by the captivity of his son Jehoiachin and the queen-mother after a three months' reign. The flower of the nation was taken to Babylon with them, and Jehoiakim's brother Mattaniah was placed on the throne, his name being changed to Zedekiah. Jeremiah himself was left behind, why we do not know. Perhaps he did not belong to the upper ranks of society; perhaps he was in hiding at the time; perhaps his antagonism to the king and his policy was known to the victors. The new king was a man of quite different stamp from his brother. He seems to have been well-meaning but weak. His position was of course very difficult. The men of experience in government had gone into exile and the State was left to the control of those who were quite incapable of ruling it, but were not apprised of their own incompetence. Indeed, those who were left behind prided themselves on their superiority to those who had gone into exile, on the ground that they had been spared this fate. This led Jeremiah to utter his parable of the baskets of figs, in which he compared the exiles and those who had been left in Judah very much to the disadvantage of the latter, and pronounced judgement on them, while he promises that Yahweh will look with mercy on the exiles. Yet he was under no delusion as to the duration of their captivity. He sent a letter full of the sanest counsels to the exiles (xxix) shortly after they had been taken to Babylon, bidding them settle down in their new home and make the interests of Babylon identical with their own, for only after a lapse of seventy years would Yahweh bring them back from exile in spite of the promises of their prophets. This letter provoked a reply from Shemaiah, one of the false prophets in Babylon, in which he exhorted Zephaniah the overseer to put Jeremiah in the stocks and the collar. Zephaniah, however, instead of imitating the example of Pashhur, read the letter to Jeremiah, who replied with a denunciation of Shemaiah addressed to the exiles.

Somewhat later, in the fourth year of Zedekiah, ambassadors were sent from some of the neighbouring peoples, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon, to plan a revolt against Babylon. The death of Pharaoh Necho had just taken place, and he was succeeded by his son Psammetichus II, who reigned 594–589 B.C. It is probable that the change of ruler in Egypt was connected with this meditated revolt. For Pharaoh Necho had remained honourably true to his agreement with Nebuchadnezzar, but hopes were probably entertained that his successor would seek to regain the dominions which had been surrendered after Carchemish. Whether Psammetichus would have been willing to lead a coalition against Babylon, had he been free to do so, we do not know. But in any case his war with Ethiopia would have prevented his proceeding with such a design. This may be the explanation why the movement came to nothing. If the statement in li. 59 that Zedekiah went to Babylon in this year is correct, we may infer that Nebuchadnezzar had heard of the proposed coalition and that Zedekiah went to Babylon, either voluntarily or on the summons of his suzerain, to clear himself of complicity with rebellion and renew his allegiance. The prophets in Judah eagerly supported the movement for revolt. Jeremiah firmly opposed it. He put a yoke on his neck in sign of submission to Babylon, and warned the ambassadors to abandon their project. When Jeremiah appeared in the Temple wearing the yoke, Hananiah proclaimed to him in God's name that within two years the Temple vessels would be restored and the exiles would be brought back, for the yoke of Babylon would be broken. Jeremiah replied that he could wish it to be so, but the earlier prophets had spoken evil and the prophet who spoke of peace could be recognized as a true messenger of Yahweh only when his prediction was fulfilled. Hananiah replied by breaking the yoke on Jeremiah's neck, saying in Yahweh's name that thus the yoke of Babylon should be broken within two years from the neck of all the nations. The story continues that Jeremiah went his way without further reply, but that he was later sent to tell Hananiah that he should die that year as a penalty for false prophecy. This was fulfilled by his death two months later.

For some years no further attempts seem to have been made to secure independence, but in 589 Pharaoh Hophra succeeded Psammetichus as king of Egypt and once more Judah rebelled against Babylon. Zedekiah's action appears in all the worse light that he not only owed his throne to Nebuchadnezzar but he had solemnly sworn fealty to him. For the breach of his oath he is sternly denounced by Ezekiel (Ezek. xvii. 11–19). The Babylonians laid siege to the city in 588. Zedekiah sent to the prophet to inquire of Yahweh if perchance He would deliver His people. The prophet assured him that the people would suffer from pestilence and famine and then they would be ruthlessly destroyed. He followed up his answer to the king with advice to the people. Life and death were before them ; they might choose life if they would fall away to the Chaldeans, but if they remained in the city they could not be saved. Jeremiah has been much criticized for giving this counsel both then and at a later time, on the ground that, as his contemporaries complained, he weakened the hands of the city's defenders. Duhm agrees that he would have deserved death if he had given such advice, but argues that he cannot have done so since he indignantly repudiated the charge that he was himself acting in accordance with it (xxxvii. 14). In that passage, however, he was denying a definite assertion about his personal intention which was as a matter of fact untrue. He was not repudiating the principle which he here affirms. Besides, we must not overlook the difference between Jeremiah and the people. He knew his place to be in the doomed city. The captain may urge the passengers and then the sailors to abandon the sinking ship ; his own place is on board till the last man has left. Jeremiah knew that the ship of State was foundering, but he had a loftier duty than to save his life. And why should he not have advised the people to surrender, when he was certain that resistance was hopeless ? He was not the victim of modern military punctilio, common sense and humanitarianism were wholly on his side. It is quite true that those responsible for the defence were justified in their complaints of his utterances from their point of view ; but Jeremiah was quite consistent in drawing the practical inference from his prophetic certainty.

Egypt sent an army which compelled the Babylonians to retire. This naturally seemed to the Jews to warrant the hope that their independence might be secured. But when the king sent to the prophet he again warned him that the army of relief would return to Egypt while the Chaldeans would capture the city. So sure indeed was he that he said that even if the whole army had been smitten and only wounded men were left they would still rise up and take the city. During this interruption of the siege the wealthier Jews were guilty of a peculiarly base act. They had made a covenant to release their Hebrew slaves, but when the siege was raised they brought them back into slavery, conduct which met with the prophet's stern denunciation. At a somewhat later time in the same period Jeremiah was leaving Jerusalem, apparently to attend to his property in Anathoth, when Irijah, the officer at the gate, arrested him on the charge that he was deserting to the Babylonians. Such a charge had a superficial plausibility in view of Jeremiah's general attitude, and the princes had him beaten and imprisoned in the dungeon, where he remained for a long time. It is hardly probable that they seriously believed that Jeremiah contemplated desertion, but the charge was a pretext for muzzling a man whose attitude was so inconvenient and who had earned their hatred by his denunciation of the treatment they had accorded to their slaves. While he was there the king sent for him to learn if he had any Divine message. Jeremiah repeated that the king would be delivered into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, but added a request that he might himself be removed from the dungeon. Zedekiah accordingly had him transferred to the court of the guard and gave orders as to his maintenance.

The Egyptian army had apparently returned to Egypt and the siege of Jerusalem had begun again. The complaint was now made to the king that Jeremiah's advice to the people that they should desert to the Chaldeans was disheartening the soldiers, and his death was demanded. The king surrendered him to his enemies, and they put him in a cistern to perish. From this fate he was saved by Ebed-melech the Ethiopian, who drew him out of the cistern and restored him to the court of the guard. Another interview with Zedekiah followed, in which the prophet earnestly urged the king to surrender. Zedekiah replied that he feared that he might be handed over to the Jews who had deserted, and that they would mock him. The prophet reassured him on this point, warning him that otherwise he would be mocked by the women of the palace when the city was captured. We learn that while he was in confinement his cousin Hanameel requested him to buy his field in Anathoth, since he had the right of redemption. The prophet purchased it for seventeen shekels of silver, thereby asserting his conviction that although the exile was coming the Jews would again return to their land and houses, and fields and vineyards would again be bought.

After a prolonged siege Jerusalem was captured and burnt. Zedekiah saw his sons put to death and then he was blinded. While a large part of the people went into exile, Gedaliah was appointed governor of those who remained. Jeremiah was offered the choice either to go to Babylon, where he would be well treated, or to remain with Gedaliah in Judah. He chose to remain. It seemed as though the remnant might still enjoy good fortune. The governor appears to have been a man of high character and capacity, generally trusted by the people. Many fugitive Jews who had taken refuge in the surrounding countries returned to place themselves under his protection. The assassination of Gedaliah by Ishmael, a member of the royal house, was a disastrous blow to the little community. Ishmael's purpose of escaping with his captives to Ammon was, it is true, thwarted by Johanan, but the survivors, dreading that the Chaldeans might punish them for Gedaliah's death, determined, in spite of Jeremiah's warnings, to go down to Egypt and compel the aged prophet with Baruch to accompany them. When they had come into Egypt Jeremiah buried great stones in front of the palace at Tahpanhes, and announced that Nebuchadnezzar's throne would be erected over them, for he would conquer Egypt. The people resumed in Egypt the worship of the Queen of Heaven, and the last scene in which Jeremiah appears to us is that in which he remonstrated with them for their idolatry, while they retorted that all their misfortunes were due to their abandonment of this worship. He reiterated his prophecy of judgement upon them, giving as the sign of its fulfilment the prediction that Pharaoh Hophra would be delivered into the hands of his enemies. With this scene the curtain falls. Whether Jeremiah lingered on a little longer and died a natural death, or whether, as a Christian tradition affirms, he was murdered by his infuriated people, we cannot say. The latter view is only too probable, and some scholars are of the opinion that Baruch's biography of his master closed with an account of his death, which for shame was excluded from the Book of Jeremiah.

If his own generation stoned the prophet, posterity honoured him with a splendid tomb. The deepening sense of his greatness found expression in the legend which grew around his name. It betrayed but little insight into his essential significance, but it attests the immense impression made by his personality and his career. The vindication accorded him by history established his claim to be Yahweh's true spokesman; the long slow martyrdom he endured in fidelity to his vocation soon cast a halo around his memory. Still more important was the influence he exerted on kindred souls. He left his mark on Ezekiel, though his temperament and point of view were in many respects so different. A spirit more nearly akin to his own was that of the great prophet of the exile to whom we owe Isa. xl–lv. Jeremiah is not, indeed, to be identified with the suffering Servant of Yahweh, but some features in this delineation of Israel were drawn from his career. His teaching was echoed and developed in even fuller measure by some of the great psalmists. It was in Christianity that his conception of religion first received its due place. Jesus, in one of the most solemn hours of His life, went back to Jeremiah's prophecy of the New Covenant and its realization in the shedding of His own blood. The term was taken up by Paul, and especially by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

But Jeremiah's contribution to religion did not consist simply in his teaching. What he was and what he did were no less important than what he said. He was by nature an exquisite and sensitive spirit, too delicate and too fragile, it might have seemed, for the rough life of conflict in which his calling engaged him; too shy and nervous to face without shrinking the derision and curses of his fellows. He loved his people with that pure intensity of feeling and lucid insight which makes men's common patriotism seem a trivial and tawdry thing. He saw all their sin and folly with unblinded eyes, and recoiled from it with loathing. He would rather have taken the comfortless khan in the desert for his abode than breathe the poisoned air of his native land. Gentle and trustful, he seemed no match for the open violence or secret treachery which he again and again encountered. And yet through his long ministry of forty years he faced his foes with that loftiest courage which triumphs over nature, rebuked his people with relentless severity, and contradicted their dearest prejudices. There is no wrath so terrible as the 'wrath of the Lamb,' and Jeremiah's wrath was of that type. The feminine strain was very marked in his nature, in his love, his tenderness, the sure delicacy of his intuition, his reliance on a stronger arm, his exultation in submission to a stronger will after ineffective struggles against it. He knew what it was, like Paul, to kick vainly against the goad, and to bear about unceasing pain in his heart for his kinsmen according to the flesh. Of kinsmen according to the spirit he had but few; none indeed, such was the penalty of genius, in the full sense of the term. It was his fate to be shut out from those joys for which his appreciation was so keen, for which he seemed so fitted by nature. He felt his isolation, his exclusion from the common life of his fellows, its innocent pleasures, its grateful relaxations. With a mind turned in upon itself or its relations with God, turned outward on the inevitable fate of his people and the sin to which it was due, he brooded in solitude. His spirit was always tense, strung to a high pitch; he and his vocation had become one.

It was his loneliness which forced him more and more upon God. In his relations with God he displays what a more timid reverence would feel to be a daring familiarity. But his awe was none the less deep, nor did he think too meanly of his privilege to stand in the council of God. He enters with intimate sympathy into His relations with Israel, the wounded love, the burning indignation, the readiness to forgive. And he in turn lays bare his soul to God. Startled at the disclosure of the evil possibilities of his own heart, deceitful and desperately sick, he prays the skilled Physician of Souls, who knows his malady through and through, to heal him. Or when his lot becomes too bitter, and he can endure it no longer, he turns upon God now with plaintive expostulation, now even with fierce resentment. And God shews him scant sympathy, rather He rebukes him for faltering and bids him brace himself for trials still more severe, rising above his human weakness in the faith that the Divine promise of protection would be fulfilled.

And thus we understand how Jeremiah came to be what he was, the greatest of the prophets. We are singularly fortunate in this, that no Old Testament character is so intimately known to us. It is not simply that we are well-informed as to many of the outward events of his life. The vital thing for us is that we are taken behind the veil and see revelation at work; we know the inmost thoughts and feelings of a strangely attractive personality. To few men has it fallen to suffer with so keen an intensity, and few have been so singularly honoured in the work they have done for the world. There were other prophets who knew the secret of a lofty and splendid eloquence to which Jeremiah was altogether a stranger. There were poets whose reach and execution were far beyond anything that Jeremiah could attain. And yet there is no one in the Old Testament who speaks to our imagination and our sympathy as this lonely and tragic figure. He was not without great merit as a poet; he portrays Nature and human emotions with the hand of a master, and strikes the deep chords within us as but few have done. But it is the man himself who most appeals to us. We hear him crying to God to let the cup pass from him, and yet we see him forced to drain it to the dregs. We can tell one by one the bitter ingredients mingled in his draught: the dark sin of his people that had grown inveterate, the lighthearted folly with which it went dancing on the road to its inevitable destruction, the scorn and hatred heaped on him for treason to the country he loved beyond his life, the irritation at his rebukes, the incredulity of his warnings. We watch him as he staggers and totters under the weight of the cross to which God had doomed him, a lifelong agony for the sin and sorrow of his people, for God's pain and his own. It is God alone who can relieve him. But it was God who appointed his task, and would not relent. And thus we find in his book a new thing. Unlike other prophets, he has written down for us his emotions, his heartbroken appeals to God. Thus he became the prophet of personal religion because he had learnt the deepest meaning of religion in his own personal fellowship with God. So he rose to his conception of the New Covenant, and anticipated in that great prophecy the central truth of Christianity[1].

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[1] For a fuller development of some points in this and the

II. THE TEACHING OF JEREMIAH.

It was not the manner of Hebrew writers to argue for the existence of God, or elaborately to define Him. They had little concern with speculative problems, and even the godless scorners who said 'There is no God' were guilty not of theoretical but of practical atheism. The task of their prophets and lawgivers was not to give them a firmer assurance of the reality of the God they worshipped, but to insist that the deities they set by His side were unrealities, and to purify their worship from materialistic and immoral elements. To this Jeremiah forms no exception. His own sense of God was so immediate and convincing, his consciousness of intimate fellowship so clear, that he would have been under even less temptation to doubt His existence than those who had derived their belief only from unquestioned tradition. The urgent questions were rather those suggested by the

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following section the editor may be permitted to refer to what he has written in his *Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, pp. 11-15; *The Religion of Israel*, pp. 90-102; and his essay on *Messianic Prophecy* in *Lux Hominum*, pp. 58-61. Two estimates may be added from scholars who occupy an advanced critical standpoint: 'Nothing in the whole range of prophecy is more fascinating than his transparently veracious references to his intercourse with his God; the record of his agonizing mental experiences makes us all the more admire him for his ultimate self-subordination to the will of Yahwè, and his unhesitating acceptance of a perilous responsibility' (Cheyne, *Enc. Bib.* 3380). 'The salient features of Jeremiah's character are his sternness and his veracity, his loyalty and his courage, his sadness and his tenderness. . . . His physical courage may not always be equal to his spiritual intrepidity. His sensitive nature may shrink from actual suffering, and he may at times seek his safety in flight. But when the word of Yahwè comes, he consults not with flesh and blood, but proclaims his message regardless of consequences' (Schmidt, *Enc. Bib.* 2371).

heathen tendencies of his countrymen, the recognition of Canaanite and foreign deities, the assimilation of Yahweh to them, the disbelief in His moral government. Whether we should speak of Jeremiah as a speculative monotheist may be debated. But practically his position was indistinguishable from monotheism. The gods of the heathen are no gods, they are vanities. Yahweh fills heaven and earth, none can elude His vigilance. He is the God of nature, who has set the sand as a bound of the sea; its mutinous waves may toss and roar, but their chafing at His curb is all in vain. He gives the rains in their season and harvest at the appointed time. He is the God of history; all nations, even the mightiest, are at His disposal and the instruments of His will. His character is to be inferred rather from His government of the world and His attitude to the conduct of His people than from the definite statements made by the prophet, though these are not wholly wanting. A characteristic utterance is 'I am Yahweh, which exercise lovingkindness, judgement, and righteousness in the earth: for in these things I delight.' With all the assertions of His sternness towards sin there is constant reference to His goodness, grace, and readiness to forgive. These and other qualities, however, will be more fully brought before us in the sequel.

When Jeremiah first appeared before his countrymen as the spokesman of Yahweh, he tenderly recalled the happy relations between Israel and her God in the days of the nation's youth. Like Hosea, from whom he has derived the symbol of marriage to express these relations, he looked back to the nomad period as Israel's best and happiest age. Even after the long centuries of unfaithfulness, Yahweh remembers in her favour the love she showed Him as a youthful bride when He had rescued her from Egypt, the loyalty with which she followed Him through the uncultivated desert. And her love was met by an answering love; she was sacred to Him as the firstfruits, which none might touch on pain of His vengeance. He led her through all the perils of the pathless uninhabited wilderness, and brought her into the fruitful land of Canaan. And then, as if He had given her just cause of displeasure, she turned away and went in pursuit of false gods, defiled His land and made it an abomination. Like a refractory ox she snapped yoke and thongs and renounced the service of her master. Forgetful of all His goodness she made light of her marriage vows, sinning with her many lovers on every lofty hill and under every leafy tree. It was no fault of His, who had planted her as a choice vine, that she had become a foreign vine. The fault was all her own. Yielding to the perilous fascination of the agricultural life she had gone after the Baalim, the givers of fertility as she fondly imagined. How madly she had acted! She had left the unfailing fountain of living waters and with much cost and toil hewed out cisterns in the rock, thinking thus the better to slake her feverish thirst with their foul and stagnant water, which too often leaked away, leaving but a filthy sediment. As if the hot lustfulness and wild tumultuous excitement of Baal worship, the delirious raptures of a sensual religion, could bring her contentment and rest! Let East and West be ransacked for any parallel to her conduct and none would be found. For no other nation ever changed its gods, though they were but nonentities. But Israel has changed her God, who is her glory, for that which cannot profit.

This had been the sad history of the northern tribes as well as of Judah. And when the Northern Kingdom had disappointed Yahweh's expectation of reform, He put her away and gave her a bill of divorcement. Judah might have taken warning by her sister's exile, but she plunged even more deeply into sin. The story of the girdle ruined by Euphrates water was apparently intended to symbolize the religious and moral corruption of Israel by Assyrian and Babylonian influences. In the reign of

Manasseh foreign cults had become more and more prominent. 'They did worse than their fathers,' such is the prophet's verdict on the later apostasy of his people. The sun and moon and all the host of heaven were zealously worshipped, and the women were especially earnest in the cult of the Queen of Heaven. The hideous custom of child-sacrifice was practised in the Valley of Hinnom. It would seem that the people intended these gruesome offerings of their children for Yahweh, but He repudiates with horror all responsibility for this misapprehension.

Jeremiah had probably been familiar in early life with the popular worship of the country districts in the time of Manasseh and Amon, and we have no reason to suppose that matters had altered much when he received his call. The reformation did not take place till five years later, and his earliest prophecies permit us to reconstruct in some detail the religious conditions with which he was confronted at the opening of his ministry. The justice of the prophet's indictment would apparently not have been granted by the people. They indignantly repudiated the charge that they had gone after the Baalim. In reply he points to their 'way in the valley,' by which he intends the sacrifice of children in the Valley of Hinnom; but they would have explained this as an example of their ardour in the service of Yahweh. To Jeremiah such a protestation counted for nothing. It seemed to him only a mark of Judah's deep insincerity. What mattered the mere name of the deity when the rites by which he was honoured were heathenish? And so he complains of the blandishments she lavishes on Yahweh, 'Hast thou not but just now cried unto me, My father, thou art the friend of my youth?' Yet all the while she is saying 'My father' or 'My mother' to stock and stone. The host of heaven, and especially the Queen of Heaven, are still assiduously worshipped. Judah is like a young she-camel at mating time, stung by passion, restlessly crossing and recrossing her tracks in her desire, uncontrollable with her insatiable lust. Like a shameless wanton she races after her lovers till her shoes fall from her feet and her throat is parched by thirst. She professes her inability to reform, for all self-control is lost; she loves the strange gods, and after them she will go. Yet in the time of trouble it is from her own God that she claims deliverance, and, protesting her innocence, expostulates with Yahweh when calamity overtakes her, or reassures herself with the fond belief that His wrath will soon pass away; for she has learnt nothing from former chastisement.

But Yahweh views her conduct in a very different light. He sternly repels her deceitful endearments, and gives her unfaithfulness its dishonourable name. He answers her brazen assertion of her innocence with the threat that He will punish her for making it. How gladly, indeed, He would have dealt with her otherwise! He would have treated her as a son, waiving her inability as a daughter to inherit, and given her the goodliest heritage of the nations. But how can she expect Him to take her back? If a woman's first husband cannot receive her back after she has been divorced from him and united in legitimate marriage to another man, how can Yahweh receive her, who while still legally bound to Him has yet wronged Him by her sinful relations with many lovers? Her transgressions have been unpardonable, her guilt so ingrained that she cannot cleanse it away. Yet what would seem impossible to man is possible to God. Utterly defiled, irretrievably wicked as she seems to be, there is still an opportunity of repentance and amendment. On the bare heights, the scene of unnumbered sins, the prophet hears in imagination the brokenhearted wailing of his people in penitence for their unfaithfulness. And at once the inarticulate confession is met by Yahweh's gracious invitation to them to return, by His gracious promise that He will heal their apostasy. Then the people, who otherwise had not dared to address Him against whom they had transgressed so deeply, respond with the cry 'We come to Thee, for Thou art our God,' and with the confession that the sensuous orgies of their worship had brought them no real satisfaction. In Yahweh alone is salvation; the Baalim had robbed them not of animal victims alone but of their sons and daughters. They would lie down overwhelmed by shame and confusion for their sin. Then Yahweh sets forth the conditions on which she may return to Him and judgement be averted.

Alas! it was only in imagination that the prophet heard his people weeping for their sins. They seemed deaf to his appeals. He still continues to preach amendment, but in vain. He reiterates his charges of idolatry. But now he enters more closely into other forms of sin. His observation has led him to a pessimistic verdict. Rich and poor, teacher and taught, are all alike. It is a foolish, sottish people, wise to do evil, but with no knowledge to do good. One might ransack Jerusalem and fail to find a single individual who acts justly or seeks faithfulness. Men wax rich by deceit, and grow sleek by oppression, they wrest justice from the fatherless and the needy. All are given to covetousness and false dealing. Jerusalem keeps her wickedness fresh as a cistern keeps its water cool. Violence and spoil, sickness and wounds are to be found in her. The sanctities of the home are set at naught by widespread immorality. The great men who know God's will are defiant and refractory, and have not the excuse of ignorance which may be urged for the poor. The religious leaders, the priests and prophets, have entered into an unholy conspiracy, and the people love to be misguided by them. They give medical attention to the wound of the people, but content themselves with a superficial treatment of the symptoms instead of the drastic surgery which its gravity demands. Thus the prophet's prolonged assaying of his people has brought him to the melancholy conviction that there is no pure metal in them. For such a people, incredulous though it be of calamity, nothing remains except national destruction. No frankincense from Sheba, no calamus from a distant country, will be of avail to avert it ; burnt offerings and sacrifices will prove unacceptable. The foe from the north comes on to inflict Yahweh's vengeance. The people are inflammable wood, and the prophetic word in Jeremiah's lips is the fire which will kindle them.

The Deuteronomic reformation made an end of idolatry and of the heathenish rites which had invaded the worship of Yahweh. The suppression of the local sanctuaries and the concentration of the cultus at the Temple did much to purify religion. We are not in a position to follow the course of the prophet's ministry in the later part of Josiah's reign, so we do not know how he would have estimated the character of the people during that period. But we have reason to believe that he would soon perceive that the wound of the people had again been too lightly healed. When we come to Jehoiakim's reign we have ample evidence. It is not clear indeed to what extent idolatry had returned or the worship of the local sanctuaries been restored. The great address delivered at the Temple at the beginning of the reign charges the people with sacrificing to the Baal and walking after other gods, and the description of the worship offered to the Queen of Heaven is at present incorporated in the report of that address, though it may not have originally been included in it. In the same address we find reference to the abominations which have defiled the Temple, and the sacrifice of children in the Valley of Hinnom. But we have to allow for the possibility that these allusions were rather to the state of things in the pre-reformation period, and further that they may be due in some measure to later interpolation. For the altercation which took place in Egypt between Jeremiah and the devotees of the Queen of Heaven strongly favours the view that there had been no revival of her cult in

Judah, since they trace their misfortunes, culminating in their present evil case, to its cessation. We need not, on the other hand, deny that a good deal of idolatry probably went on, or that worship may have been revived at many of the high places. This would, we may presume, be of an unofficial character, there would be no formal repeal of Josiah's reforms or any re-establishment of cults he had suppressed. And this applies to the subsequent reigns, during which, as we learn from Ezekiel, sun worship, animal worship, and the wailing of women for Tammuz were practised, unless here again we ought to regard the description as referring to what had gone on at an earlier time.

The attack on other forms of sin naturally assumes greater prominence in the post-reformation period, but there is little to add to what has been already said. Theft, murder, adultery, perjury, oppression of the defenceless, the maladministration of justice, constitute along with idolatry the black catalogue of crimes and vices, which unless they cease from them will bring on the Temple the fate of Shiloh, and on the Jews an exile like that of Ephraim. Elsewhere the prophet complains bitterly of the deceit and treachery which have undermined all mutual confidence and poisoned all social intercourse. While their sin assumed many forms, fundamentally it was the refusal to hearken to God's commands given through His prophets. He had been unwearied in sending them to recall His erring people to the ancient paths, that in them they might find rest for their souls. But as Yahweh's child, Israel had repaid His love with ungrateful disobedience, as His wife she had broken her marriage vows. It was in the wrong relation to God that the root of all the mischief was to be found. No lavish ceremonial or costly sacrifices, no loyalty to the Temple could commend to His favour a people stained with such sins. So valueless in His eyes are their sacrifices that He tells them to take the burnt-offerings, reserved for Himself alone, and eat these as well as those sacrifices of which the worshippers partook; they were nothing but ordinary flesh robbed of all the sanctity which their consecration on the altar would otherwise have conferred.

But the most characteristic element in Jeremiah's doctrine of sin has not yet been mentioned, or he would not have made any essential advance on the prophets who preceded him. Gifted beyond all others with psychological insight and a keenness of introspection, he is not content with a merely empirical description of the manifestations which sin assumes. With delicate analytic skill he takes them back to their cause, which he finds in the evil heart of man, defiant of God's control, obstinate in taking its own course. Not, indeed, that this evil heart was an original factor in human nature. This might seem to be suggested by his famous question, 'Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?' For we might infer that he held evil to be as integral a part of man's nature as the colour of an Ethiopian's skin or the spots in a leopard's hide, and therefore as ineffaceable. But when he continues, 'then may ye also do good that are accustomed to do evil,' we see that the inference would be mistaken. Their moral inability was due not to any radical quality of nature, but to long-protracted habit. If the stork in the heaven knows her appointed times, if the turtle and the swift and the swallow observe the time of their coming, then surely man must have an instinct within him to guide him to God and to duty as unerring as that which prompts at the right season the migration of the birds. But, unlike them, he has disobeyed the instinct so that his heart has become blunted in its delicate susceptibilities to right and wrong, and can never, till it has been circumcised, recover its fine and true moral and religious sensitiveness. The heart of man, even in his own case, he knows to be 'deceitful above all things and desperately sick,' so intricate in its tortuous windings that God alone can search and know the man as he is in his inmost self. And this preoccupation, with the heart as the source of conduct, this change in the centre of gravity from the outward to the inward, forced him into an individualism in his conception of sin corresponding to that which we find in his portrayal of the moral and spiritual ideal in his doctrine of the New Covenant. So he does not content himself with an indictment against society and the State. He singles out the individuals of whom society is composed, and pronounces all without exception unclean. If there were but one righteous man in Jerusalem God would pardon the city. Hence he addresses himself not simply to the nation as a whole, but he bids each individual turn from his evil way.

From his pessimistic estimate of his people there followed an equally pessimistic forecast of the future. Not, indeed, that he allowed his efforts for their regeneration to be paralysed by the gloominess of his outlook. Their case was in truth desperate, but he put a desperate energy into his pleadings with them. Their lighthearted optimism made him despair of influencing them. Entrenched in the dogma that Zion was impregnable, complacently assured of their good standing with their God, they treated his warnings as the dreams of a fanatic whom the event had often discredited. And in their refusal to believe such blasphemy as that the Temple would share the fate of Shiloh, that Jerusalem would be destroyed and the nation hurled into exile, they had the support of the official representatives of religion.

But though Jeremiah strove with such earnestness to wake his people from a slumber that could end only in death, in his heart of hearts he had all but abandoned hope. The very appearance of a true prophet had always been a presage of disaster, a sure indication that Yahweh was meditating some terrible judgement on His people. This judgement might be averted by timely repentance, but in the temper of Judah Jeremiah detected no sense of need, no consciousness of realities. From the outset his message had been primarily one of breaking down and plucking up, and he never faltered in his conviction that God would speak His judgements against His people by the foe out of the north. The enemy sweeps on swift as a whirlwind, multitudinous and invincible, cruel and pitiless; the inhabitants flee for refuge into the fortified cities while invaders ravage the land, devouring their corn and fruit, their flocks and herds. But even in the cities they are not safe, for Jerusalem itself will not withstand the besiegers. Pestilence, famine, and sword will do their work and the remnant will go into exile. The city will become a heap of ruins, a haunt of jackals. The dead will lie unburied on the ground with none to bewail them. The foe will take the bulk of the population in great masses as fish are captured in a net, and then they will hunt out those that are left one by one from every chink and cranny of the hills and rocks where they have taken refuge. Thus the land will be completely denuded of its inhabitants. The sound of merriment will be hushed, the voice of the bridegroom and bride, a deathly stillness will brood over the land unbroken by the sound of the mill, nor will the darkness of night be relieved by the light of the cottage lamp. It is as though chaos had come back: the heavens are shrouded in blackness, no human form meets the eye of the prophet as it ranges over the landscape nor any bird in the sky, the fertile country has become desert, the cities are beaten down. And those who escape with their lives and are taken into exile will envy the dead, so wretched will be their lot, as they are tossed to and fro among the nations, dashed against each other without pity, and pursued by the sword till they are consumed. Moreover, the fall of Judah will involve that of the surrounding peoples, who also will be made to drink the wine from the goblet of God's anger.

But punishment is not God's last word to Judah. True, His anger will not be spent so soon as the optimists imagine, for seventy years must go by before the

Babylonian empire falls. But at last the day of deliverance will dawn. In his early ministry Jeremiah had anticipated the return of the northern tribes and their joyous life in the land of their fathers. And for the exiles of Judah who have been taken to Babylon he expresses a similar hope. They must meanwhile make themselves at home in their new country and wait God's good time. But on these exiles, though not on those in Egypt, Yahweh has set His eyes for good and not for evil, and at last He will restore them to their own land. Israel and Judah will be reunited and live in peace and prosperity under native rulers. And this manifestation of God's might and favour will so far surpass the deliverance from Egypt that they will cease to say, 'As Yahweh liveth, which brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt,' and will say, 'As Yahweh liveth, which brought up and which led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country, and from all the countries whither He had driven them.' And over this people thus happily reunited there will reign the Messianic king. He is described as a righteous Shoot. He is of David's race and will fulfil the ideal of a just and wise monarch, who keeps his people in security and peace. He will bear the name 'Yahweh is our righteousness,' and realize, as Zedekiah did not, the ideal implied in the name. It is noteworthy that in Jeremiah's doctrine of the Messiah there is, as we should anticipate, a welcome absence of those unhallowed dreams of far-extended empire, of the heathen annihilated or crushed into abject slavery, such as stain so many Messianic forecasts in the canonical and post-canonical literature of Judaism.

Such, then, is his political ideal. And his religious and ethical ideal corresponds to it. Alike for nation and individual he deprecates all trust in the arm of flesh. In a beautiful passage he draws a contrast between the man who trusts in man and makes flesh his arm and whose heart departs from Yahweh, and the man whose trust is reposed in Him. And similarly he would have his people abandon the vain hopes of help from foreign powers and rely on the living God alone. To Him alone glory belongs, and man must stand before Him in humility and awe. None should glory in his own wisdom, his might, or his wealth, but only in his understanding and knowledge of Yahweh, that it is He who executes kindness, judgement, and righteousness in the earth. It goes without saying that the prophet took for granted in the happy future which he anticipated for the people a complete abandonment of all those vices and crimes which he had had such constant occasion to rebuke in his own generation.

But his supreme contribution to religion still remains to be mentioned. It corresponds in its inwardness to his conception of sin. This is his doctrine of the New Covenant[1]. It stands contrasted with the Old Covenant, that made by Yahweh with Israel at the Exodus, inscribed with God's finger on the Tables of the Law, or written in a book. That covenant Israel had broken, and Yahweh had cancelled it before all the world by the destruction of the Temple and the exile of the nation. But He had annulled it, not because the sin of Israel had so wearied Him that His patience was exhausted, but because Israel had proved unequal to the demand it made. An external law had proved a failure, man's evil heart had paralysed its power to control the conduct of nation or individual. A new method had accordingly to be tried, which should deal radically with the seat of the evil. Since it was the stubbornness of the heart, its obstinate defiance of God's commandments, which had made the Old Covenant so ineffective, He would inaugurate a New Covenant and secure its success by capturing the stronghold which had so long maintained rebellion against Him, the heart which is the citadel of man's being. He would put His laws in men's inward parts and write them on their heart. This must be read in the light of what is said elsewhere, which implies a transformation of the heart. It is not the writing of Divine commands on a heart which is still rebellious that is intended. The heart is itself renewed, so that there is no conflict between the Divine injunction and the nature which is summoned to fulfil it. It is a circumcised heart, a heart from which the old moral and religious insensibility has been removed. The law of God and the heart of man no longer stand opposed to each other as external and internal. Man does God's will naturally and spontaneously because it is his own will, it has become an integral part of his personality, the law of his nature. In other words, it is not merely an intuitive knowledge of God's will that is intended. This would be secured by the writing of the law on the unregenerate heart, but the problem of obedience would be as far as ever from solution. Only when the heart itself had been renewed, when its refractory hostility to God's behests had been subdued, would not only the knowledge of His will but the conformity to it be achieved.

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[1] For further discussion of the problems connected with it see the notes on xxxi. 31-34.

Yet we must not undervalue the advance in the matter of knowledge which the New Covenant marked over the Old. A Code of Laws designed for large masses of people is inevitably of a generalizing character, it is lacking in flexibility and delicate adjustment to individual conditions. To correct this defect of rough approximation the legislator might look to a developed system of casuistry constructed with the aim of registering and legislating for all possible cases. But such an aim is quite unattainable in view of the variety and complexity of the characters and conditions themselves, and still more of the intricate situations to which their interaction gives rise. Conduct would become for the expert a matter of painfully regulated conformity with this code, from which all the bloom and aroma of unconsciousness and spontaneity would have departed. The ordinary man, on the other hand, would have to content himself with such vague extensions and applications of the law as his personal circumstances and temperament or the lessons of experience might suggest. What is really required is the power of instinctive and instantaneous self-adjustment to every situation as it arises, the knowledge of the exact response that should be made to the stimulus which each brings with it. Such an ideal it is the purpose of the New Covenant to attain. Thus what the Law could not do, in virtue of its general and external character, God would accomplish under the New Covenant, by giving men a heart to know Him (xxiv. 7), and then placing within this renewed heart His law as the spring of all action.

It is clear that if God gives to each a heart to know Him, no need would any longer exist for one to exhort another to acquaint himself with God. All would know Him from the least to the greatest. The relation of God to the individual would be immediate and direct, independent of the State or official order of religious teachers. It would nevertheless be a mistake to interpret Jeremiah as the prophet of an atomistic individualism. An individualist he was, and that in full measure. But the New Covenant itself is made with the nation. The religion remains the religion of Israel, a national religion. God and Israel are still the contracting parties to the New Covenant as to the Old. But the individualism which characterized the New made the religion national in a sense unattainable under the Old. For when the religion rested on external guarantees and was expressed in external institutions, while its laws were imposed by an external authority, when moreover the people was contemplated as a unit, without reference to the individuals of whom it was composed, then it was national, but in a general and superficial sense. Only when every individual in the mass is renewed in heart and his will brought into harmony with the Divine will, can the nation itself be truly called religious. Through its individualism the religion first became national in the full sense of the term.

What, then, of the dark apostasy which through their long history in Canaan had stained the history alike of Judah and Israel? What of the sins which had been committed by those who thus experienced this renewal of heart and implanting of the Divine Law? A complete amnesty is promised, God will pardon their iniquities and remember them no more. Only with such forgiveness and forgetfulness could happy relations between them be restored. Nothing is said in the passage of the conditions which made pardon and oblivion possible. It is of course assumed that the people have turned to God in penitence for their rebellion and with fervent determination to obey His will. But Jeremiah, like the Old Testament writers generally, while he recognizes that punishment is often inflicted on sin, seems to feel no difficulty in the Divine forgiveness of sin on the sole condition of repentance.

We cannot easily overestimate the significance of Jeremiah's doctrine of the New Covenant. It is the supreme achievement of Israel's religion, and its author was the loftiest religious genius who adorned the line of the prophets. For whereas other prophets did much to interpret religion and enforce its demands, he transformed the very conception of religion itself. Hitherto religion had been the concern of the nation with its God, the individual had no independent standing before the Deity. Not, indeed, that what we call personal religion was unknown, but that the stress lay on the national relationship, and the individual had no claim on his God apart from his connexion with his people. Jeremiah shifts the emphasis from the nation to the individual. The essence of religion he discovers in a personal relation to a personal God, where in fact it lies. Each knows God for himself, in the heart of each God places His law. His doctrine was thus an anticipation of the Gospel in that it asserted the worth of the individual to God and the personal character of religion, in its assurance of forgiveness, its transcendence of legalism, and the inwardness of its ethic. It might seem as if even Jeremiah failed to rise above the nationalism from which the religion of Israel never succeeded in escaping, since he still regards the covenant as made with Israel and Judah. But here it is necessary to distinguish between kernel and husk. It is true that his doctrine as stated in this passage is justly charged with this limitation. Elsewhere indeed he anticipates a conversion of the heathen (xii. 15, 16; xvi. 19, 20). This anticipation, however, perhaps scarcely coincides with universalism in the full sense of the term. But it could hardly be expected that even Jeremiah should take the step from nationalism into universalism, for which he would have felt no warrant, even if the thought had dawned upon him, and for which in fact the time had not come. Yet while formally religion remained national in his doctrine, essentially the national restrictions were surmounted. For religion, as he conceived it, was really independent of race and country. It needed no external embodiment, even the ark had ceased to possess any spiritual value. Religion, as he defined it, was not fitly confined to a single people; it was not a relationship between God and the Israelite, but between God and man. The universalism of Christianity was logically implicit in it.

The verses in which the doctrine is enshrined are not isolated in Jeremiah's teaching. They are the outcome of no transient flash of insight, which lit up for him spiritual depths he had never before explored. They are the ripe fruit of long experience, of deep meditation on the ultimate realities of the spiritual life. It was not given to him that he should clothe his thoughts in their most radiant expression. But if to the author of the seventy-third Psalm it was granted to utter once for all the blessedness of the soul to which naught in heaven or earth seems precious save fellowship with the living God, he strikes in that utterance a note made possible by Jeremiah.

The experience was verified by the Psalmist; it had been discovered by Jeremiah. He was the first to break through the crust of nationalism to the glowing centre of religion. And he who first proclaimed the truth that religion is in its essence the communion of the individual with God, must for ever rank as one of the world's supreme discoverers in the greatest of all realms.

III. THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH AS LITERATURE.

If we take the book as it stands, our estimate of its literary quality cannot be very high. No clear principle seems to have determined its arrangement, so that any one who reads the book straight through finds himself in a state of constant bewilderment as he moves backwards and forwards along the prophet's career, or, still worse, has no clue to the situation or period of the prophet's life reflected in the portion he may be reading. But even if the book were arranged in its chronological order and the circumstances which gave rise to each section were precisely known, the reader might still complain with justice that its style is often diffuse and pedestrian, it abounds in stereotyped formulae and constant repetition, and draws not a little on earlier writings. It is accordingly not strange that a rather unfavourable verdict has commonly been passed on Jeremiah's literary power. When all is said, it may be admitted that he was not Israel's supreme poet as he was her supreme prophet. Nevertheless his rank is high. Neither he nor Baruch is responsible for the book as it stands. The general arrangement is due to later editors, and there is a good deal of later matter in the book. The responsibility for the diffuse and conventional style rests to some extent on the heads of the supplementers. Large portions of the book are from the hands of Baruch, and it would be useless to form any opinion of Jeremiah's literary gift from these. We must draw exclusively on those portions of the book which contain Jeremiah's own utterances. When we limit ourselves to them the impression of literary greatness we receive is much higher. Of course, much will depend even then on our critical results. The more we eliminate from Jeremiah's own work those passages which are of slighter literary worth, the higher our estimate of his poetical genius naturally rises. This process probably has some justification up to a certain point, but Duhm has pushed it to an extreme, and it may be doubted whether some of the scholars who refuse to go his length have not gone too far in his direction. Students of our own literature will readily recall examples of poets, whose greatness none will question, from whom we have a mass of inferior work. At his best he reached a lofty height. But he was a prophet before he was a poet, and when the word burned within his heart he must utter it without tarrying till his lips also were touched by the Muse of poetry with a living coal from her altar.

Without entering at length into the vexed question of Hebrew metre, it may be said that Jeremiah displays a marked leaning to what is known as the Qina rhythm. A fuller description of this rhythm must be reserved for the introduction to Lamentations; here it may suffice to say that it is written in long lines divided into two unequal parts, the longer part of the line standing first. The presence of this rhythm in Jeremiah's oracles is often beyond all reasonable dispute, and when it has been disturbed it can frequently be restored by a simple and otherwise plausible emendation of the text. Apart from the letter to the exiles in Babylon, Duhm considers that we have nothing from Jeremiah's lips except sixty short poems written exclusively in this rhythm. Other scholars have refused to accept this drastic criticism. At present the whole question of Hebrew metre is in debate, and among those who believe that there was such a thing as a Hebrew prosody there exists a radical divergence even on fundamental issues. And while it may be granted that

Jeremiah shows a natural tendency to fall into rhythm, there are passages, the authenticity of which we have no valid reason for disputing, which cannot without undue violence be reduced to a rigid metrical scheme. Moreover, there are cases where metrical correctness is secured at the loss of literary effectiveness. For example, Duhm's reduction of the wonderful passage iv. 23–26 to Qina verses involves, in the present writer's judgement, a distinct loss in poetical beauty.

The diffuseness which characterizes the book as a whole is apt to conceal from us how great a master of style Jeremiah was. His prophecies abound in concise and pregnant utterances which it is not easy to forget. Some examples may be quoted: 'Is not my word as fire? saith Yahweh; and as a forge-hammer that shatters the rocks?' (xxiii. 29). 'For two evils hath my people committed; Me have they forsaken, the fountain of living waters, to hew out for themselves cisterns, broken cisterns, which hold no water' (ii. 13). 'An appalling and horrible thing is come to pass in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely and the priests teach at their beck, and my people love to have it so: and what will ye do in the end thereof?' (v. 30, 31). 'The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved' (viii. 20). 'If thou hast run with the footmen, and they have wearied thee, then how wilt thou strive with horses? And if in a land of peace thou fleest, then how wilt thou do in the jungle of Jordan?' (xii. 5). 'Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good that are accustomed to do evil' (xiii. 23). 'Why is my pain perpetual, and my wound incurable, which refuseth to be healed? wilt thou indeed be unto me as a lying *stream*, as waters that are not sure?' (xv. 18).

The prophet's style is a reflection of his personality. It is marked by deep sincerity and freedom from all that is artificial. It is an indication of his greatness that he should see the principles of the Divine action expressed in the most commonplace things. He draws his lessons from ordinary objects, from the scenes or occupations of everyday life. The almond-tree bursting into new life after its winter sleep, the caldron boiling on the fire, the refiner purifying the precious metal from its dross, the potter remaking the marred vessel, the fowler snaring the birds, the farmer breaking up his fallow ground, the fisherman taking great masses of fish in his net, or the hunter pursuing his victims one by one in the crannies of the hills, the robber sheltering in his cave, the Arabian lurking for plunder by the wayside, the thief disappointed when he is baulked of his spoil by discovery, the debtor and creditor with their mutual hatred,—all of these are pressed by the prophet into the service of his mission. Although he was excluded from the common life of his fellows and could not share their joys or sorrows, he yet watched them at their occupation or their pleasure with close and sympathetic observation. He may not go into the house of mourning, but he knows the common expressions of grief. Merriment is equally forbidden to him, but he has watched with delight the supple movement of the virgin as, adorned with timbrels, she rejoiced in the dances of the merrymakers. He has noticed that no bride, however forgetful she might be, forgot her sash. He has observed the division of labour in the family cult of the Queen of Heaven: how the children gather the firewood and the fathers kindle it, while the women knead dough to make cakes for their divinity. We learn of some familiar gestures from him, the covering of the head in sign of grief, the smiting on the thigh in sorrow or astonishment, the hands on the head in shame and distress. He draws some of his metaphors from his observation of travel. He notes how the wayfarer who passes through the land enters into no intimate relations with the people. If the traveller misses his path he must return to the cross roads to inquire. The perils of a journey supply him with several illustrations. Zedekiah is like the traveller who has strayed from the path and finds his feet suddenly sinking in the swamp. In his dependence on Yahweh the prophet has himself been like the traveller who has counted on a brook or spring but fears that its waters may run dry. The prophets are compared to men who are overtaken by the darkness and find the ground, hitherto smooth, become slippery under their feet; they cannot halt or return, but stumble on till they fall. We have a similar but even finer description in xiii. 16. Here Jeremiah flashes before us a picture of travellers on the mountains, who ramble with lighthearted confidence, till suddenly the sky is overspread, and there is a gloom like twilight. They still move on with stumbling feet, but warned by their experience, resolve to wait till the sky clears again. But as they tarry the gloom deepens till thick darkness settles down upon them. In this connexion we may observe how distasteful the pathless desert was to him, with its pits for the unwary, its drought and scanty herbage, which like the dwarf juniper just held on to life; the violent stifling sirocco which blows from it; its depressing loneliness, or the still more unwelcome presence of the Bedouin robber. Equally uncongenial was the tangled jungle that fringed the Jordan, where the lion lurked or whence he was driven by the flood of the river. He had also the usual Hebrew dislike of the sea which finds such striking expression in the Book of Job. Jeremiah, like Job, is most deeply impressed with the unquiet tossing of the sea in impotent mutiny against God's iron hand.

But while he dislikes the desert, the jungle, and the sea, he betrays the fullest sympathy with country life, which he had observed very closely. Birds and beasts, trees and shrubs, the permanent features of the landscape, pastoral and agricultural life, all supply him with illustrations or material for his descriptions. The instinct of the birds for migration at their appointed time enforces the conviction that man has a similar instinct for God. He has noted how the birds of prey turn upon a bird of plumage unlike their own. Riches forsake him who has gained them unlawfully, just as young birds desert the partridge who has hatched eggs in another bird's nest. A city nestled in an almost inaccessible retreat is compared to a bird which has made its nest in the cedars of Lebanon. The wicked who seek to take men in their toils are compared to the fowler who catches birds in his trap. When chaos seems to have resumed its sway the lover of the birds observes that they have vanished from the sky. The drying up of the pastures in the drought is so extreme that even the hind forsakes her newborn young. The wild ass gasps for air on the bare heights like the crocodile with its head out of the water, while its eyes fail for want of food. If the people break loose from control like oxen, the lion from the jungle will slay them, the wolf of the desert will spoil them, while the leopards give out their cry and lurk in the field outside the city to slay all that come out. Rebellious Judah is compared to a lion which has turned fiercely on Yahweh, and Ephraim after its restoration confesses that it has been as a calf untrained. Or again, Judah in her passion for false gods is likened to the she-camel at mating time restlessly interlacing her ways. Jeremiah compares himself, in the unsuspicious confidence he reposed in his false friends, to the lamb led to the slaughter.

Judah is like a luxuriant olive tree fair with goodly fruit, over which a violent thunderstorm has broken, so that the lightning has burnt its foliage and snapped its boughs. The destruction of a city is described as the kindling of a fire in a forest that shall devour all that is round about her. The royal house is compared to districts so rich in timber as Gilead or the summit of Lebanon, but it will be turned into a wilderness. Israel is often spoken of as a vine or a vineyard, though planted as a choice vine it turned into a wild vine. While the dwarf juniper in the desert just contrives to eke out a bare subsistence, the tree planted by the waters, which sends its roots to the stream, keeps its foliage green in the time of drought and bears its unfailing fruit. When there has been a failure in the grain harvest followed by a failure of the fruit, famine stares the people in the face. The prophet has watched the farmers at work and observed how the good farmer breaks up the fallow ground and does not sow among thorns, while others who are more careless sow wheat and get a harvest of thorns. He has watched them threshing their wheat, and seen how, when the violent wind comes from the wilderness, it sweeps away grain and chaff alike.

He is rich in metaphors, many of which have already been quoted. It will have appeared that he draws his illustrations most readily from the common life about him: the life of the shepherd, the herdsman, the ploughman and the artisan, the beasts of the field and the fowl of heaven. It is noteworthy that military metaphors are rare with him, though he lived in a time of war and we have powerful descriptions of the horrors of invasion from his pen. He himself is made by God a fortified city and a brazen wall which is impregnable against the assaults of the enemy. He describes slanderers as bending their tongue as a bow, the slanders being the arrows they aim at their victims; though later the tongue itself is described as a deadly arrow. When describing the foe out of the north he indicates how deadly is the rain of its arrows by saying that their quiver is like an open sepulchre. Illustrations from disease and the art of healing are slightly more frequent. The prophets are compared to physicians who heal the people's hurt too lightly. Seeing that new flesh has not replaced the old flesh in the body politic, the prophet enquires 'Is there no balm in Gilead, is there no physician there?' He asks God to heal the desperate sickness of his deceitful heart; or, again, he complains that his wound is incurable and refuses to be healed. Of metaphors derived from agriculture we may add to those already mentioned the comparison of the exiles and those who remained in Judah to the good figs and the bad figs respectively. In the exquisite description of the return from captivity he expresses the happiness of the people in the words "Their soul shall be as a watered garden". Especially fine is his personification of Death as the Reaper (ix. 21–23). No home can keep him at bay, for he steals in through the windows; no wealth can bribe him, for he rifles the palaces. No pity for weakness, no love for the tenderly cherished causes him to falter or discriminate: the ruthless scythe cuts down the children. Another personification which may be mentioned here is that which we find in vi. 1: as the prophet looks towards the north suddenly there flashes on his gaze the sinister figure of Disaster surveying the land she is about to devastate. Of metaphors from the animal world we may add the comparison of the foe to serpents who foil all the arts of the charmer, and of Jerusalem to a shepherd entrusted with a beautiful flock. A wealth of metaphors is naturally devoted to the relations between Yahweh and His people. She was at the first Yahweh's affectionate bride, but later proved unfaithful to Him. She was sacred to Him as the firstfruits which a man touched at his peril (interesting as Jeremiah's single illustration drawn from the cultus). Jerusalem keeps cool her wickedness as a cistern its water. The iniquity of Judah is too deeply ingrained to be purged away, her sin written with an iron stylus and diamond point on her heart. Her conduct is as unnatural as if the everlasting snow were to forsake the mountains or the cold streams of the hills run dry. Her forgetfulness of her God is as inexplicable as if a maid forgot her ornaments or the bride her sash. Yet Yahweh had been no barren wilderness to His people, no land of deep darkness where they might wander in hopeless perplexity. The close union between the two is symbolized by the loin-cloth which since it has become spoiled must be cast aside. Similarly Yahweh says of Jehoiachin that though he were as closely attached to Him as the signet-ring of His hand, He would nevertheless cast him away. He will be thrown away like a cheap terra-cotta image which had been broken or a worthless vessel. The destruction which is to come on Judah is compared to the laying of a tent in ruins, or the ravaging of a vineyard so that there are no grapes on the vine, no figs on the fig-tree, while the leaf fadeth. In her attempts to cajole the enemy she is likened to a faded woman vainly seeking by brave finery and darkening the edge of the eyelids to make herself charming to her sated lovers. The pitifulness of her fate is like that of the mother with seven children who from that height of bliss is cast by their sudden and simultaneous death into the depths of misery ; her sun has gone down while it was yet high noon. The compulsion of the Divine word within the prophet is likened to a fire in his bones. So too the same metaphor is used of it with another application. It is like a fire which burns the people, who are as inflammable as wood. In another place it is compared to fire and to a forge-hammer which shatters the rocks.

Jeremiah has great power in description. As examples of this we might refer to his description of the wilderness (ii. 6), or of the raging sea (v. 22), or the vivid pictures of the invaders and the desolation which they bring, culminating in the splendid and powerful vision of the return of chaos (iv. 23–26). But he is even greater in the expression of emotion. His power of indignant remonstrance is shown again and again in the course of his addresses to the people. As an illustration of his invective we might refer to his attack on Jehoiakim in xxii. 13–19. But he is supreme in the expression of passionate grief, all the more that his emotions were so much deeper than words could express. There is his pain for the sin and suffering of his people, the overpowering distress which finds an almost inarticulate utterance in iv. 19, 20. The dirge on the desolation of the mountains and pastures in ix. 10, or the dirge of the mourning women in ix. 17–22, which closes with the figure of Death the Reaper may be mentioned. Or again, the weeping for those who are slain by the sword or sick with famine in xiv. 17, 18. Above all there is the wonderful passage viii. 18—ix. 1, with its classical expression of passionate sorrow for its climax, 'Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!' But it is not only his own emotion which he describes. In iii. 21 we have a moving account of the penitent lamentation of Judah for its sin, and we may place by the side of it the figure of Rachel weeping in her tomb at Ramah and refusing to be comforted for the children she has lost. The prophet appears perhaps in a less attractive mood when he curses the day of his birth, but at least the vehemence of his utterance is a sign how deeply his feelings were stirred.

IV. THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH.

Attention has already been called to the lack of arrangement which the book presents. It contains prophetic addresses and a series of narratives. The former are collected mainly in its earlier, the latter in its closing part. Yet to this general rule there are numerous exceptions. There is further a bewildering disregard of chronology in the order. The prophecies are often undated. We are more fortunate in the biographical sections, but here the lack of chronological arrangement, which we are frequently left to infer from internal indications in the prophecies, is made patent by the chronological data themselves. It would be a hopeless attempt to fathom all the reasons for the present arrangement, though in several instances it is possible to guess with some plausibility the grounds on which certain sections of the book were placed in juxtaposition.

It has been usual with recent critics to start in their investigation from the narrative which relates the writing of the roll in the fourth year of Jehoiakim and the rewriting of it with numerous additions after the king had destroyed the original (xxxvi). Its historical trustworthiness is generally accepted. Pierson, it is true, put forward twenty-one arguments against it, but scholars have generally endorsed Kuenen's rejection of them. Schmidt, while admitting that some are of little weight, says that 'taken as a whole they are not without a certain cumulative force' (*Enc. Bib.* 2387), and considers that the story supplies us with no trustworthy clue to the composition of the book. We shall, however, be well advised to accept it and seek to reconstruct, so far as we may, the contents of the roll destroyed by Jehoiakim. That after the battle of Carchemish, which opened a new epoch in the politics of the world, Jeremiah should have brought together the utterances of his ministry, so that in their collected form they might make a last powerful appeal to his people, is perfectly natural. From this roll we should necessarily exclude all those prophecies which we had reason to suppose were later than 605 B.C. But it does not follow that the whole of Jeremiah's utterances found a place in the roll. It was designed to bring Judah to repentance by an announcement of the evil which Yahweh purposed to bring upon her. Thus prophecies on the northern tribes need not have been incorporated (we should read 'Jerusalem for 'Israel' with the LXX in xxxvi. 2), or those which concerned individuals. But such prophecies as Jeremiah had spoken with reference to Judah during that period would be reproduced in it. The prophecies 'against all the nations' were also to be included, since there is no warrant for the omission of these words (xxxvi. 2), inasmuch as the nations were involved in the downfall of Judah. Yet we ought not to press the phrase 'all the words that I have spoken unto thee' to imply that the collection was complete. The roll seems to have been brief, and the prophet had many like words to add when it was rewritten.

The question then arises, What prophecies may be assigned to the period indicated? In many cases we are left to fix the date by internal indications alone, and these are sometimes of a precarious character. The date of each section is discussed in the Commentary, and the reason for the dates assigned to any given section must be sought in the introduction to it. But one or two considerations of a more general character may be touched upon at this point. We cannot date Jeremiah's utterances by the type of doctrine they contain. We have no evidence for such theological development or change as would serve us for a criterion. The relation of his prophecies to Deuteronomy is a very complicated question, which may be mentioned here, although it does not so much affect the question as to the reconstruction of the roll burnt by Jehoiakim. If we took the view that the Law-book found by Hilkiah was written after Jeremiah began his ministry, then the question would have to be raised in particular cases whether Jeremiah had influenced the Deuteronomist or had been influenced by him, and the result would have to be taken into account in determining the date, those prophecies where Jeremiah was the original belonging to his earliest period, those where he borrowed from Deuteronomy being subsequent to its discovery. Those, however, who hold with the present writer that the Law-book was earlier than the time of Jeremiah but remained unknown to him till its discovery, would seem obliged to place those prophecies in which its influence is discernible after the reformation. Matters, however, are not quite so simple. For an examination of the prophecies which we have reason to regard as belonging to the pre-Deuteronomic period show clear signs of revision in their present form. It is only natural to assume that when in 604 B.C. Jeremiah dictated his earlier prophecies he added to them or modified them to suit the time when he was writing. Accordingly the presence of Deuteronomic elements must not be taken to mean that an address as a whole is necessarily post-Deuteronomic. Moreover we cannot forget that it is especially in the additions of later editors that the Deuteronomic phraseology tends to be most pronounced. The generally accepted view that the Law-book found by Hilkiah is to be identified with the nucleus of Deuteronomy is here adopted. If the view put forward by Kennett were correct, that the Deuteronomic Code is later than Jeremiah, the question would assume an altogether different aspect. But though this is a tempting suggestion to one who would gladly claim an even fuller originality for Jeremiah, there seems to be no sufficient reason for abandoning the usual view. At the same time it ought to be remembered that our Book of Deuteronomy contains a good deal more than the book on which Josiah's reformation was based.

If the results reached in the course of the Commentary are sound, the earliest prophecies of Jeremiah are to be found in ii—vi, xiii. 1–11, and those portions of xxxi which deal with the return of Ephraim. These sections of the book have for their theme the religious and moral corruption of Judah, with its punishment by the foe from the north, and the return of the northern tribes from exile. To the period immediately following the discovery of the Law-book and its acceptance by the people we should refer xi. 1–8 and xi. 18—xii. 6. To the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign vii. 1—viii. 3, viii. 4—ix. 1, xx. 7–13, xxii. 10–12 probably belong; perhaps also ii. 14–17. To the period immediately following the battle of Carchemish we should assign xxv and xiii. 20–27, together with such of the prophecies on the foreign nations as we may believe to have been written by Jeremiah by that time. After Jehoiakim's rebellion we should place xii. 7–17 and xv. 10–21. The following prophecies apparently belong to the reign of Jehoiakim, but we have nothing definitely to fix the period : ix. 2–22, x. 17–24, xi. 9–17, xiii. 15–17, xviii. 13–20, xxii. 13–19. From the brief reign of Jehoiachin we have xiii. 18, 19, xxii. 24–47. To the beginning of Zedekiah's reign we should refer xxii. 28–30 and xxiv. To 596–5 B.C. we should assign the correspondence with the exiles in xxix, and to 594–3 xxvii, xxviii. The curse on the day of his birth, xx. 14–18, may come from the troublous period towards the close of Zedekiah's reign. xxiii. 1–8 probably belongs to Zedekiah's reign, but it cannot be dated more precisely. After the destruction of Jerusalem we have xxxi. 27–34. In addition to these passages we have several the date of which cannot be fixed with any confidence: ix. 23–26, xiii. 12–14 (probably later than xxv), xiv. 1—xv. 9, xvi. 1—xvii. 18, xviii. 1–12, xxi. 11–14, xxii. 1–5, 6–9, 20–23, xxiii. 9–32.

In reconstructing the roll written in the fourth year of Jehoiakim we may assume that it included the account of his call in the first chapter, and the prophecies spoken with reference to Judah and the nations delivered up to that time. What these were we have seen to some extent definitely, but a large element of uncertainty remains, since we do not know how far we should include the prophecies which belong to the reign of Jehoiakim but the date of which is uncertain, and similarly those which we have reason to regard as genuine but cannot attach with confidence to any definite period of the prophet's life. Accordingly, while we may be fairly certain as to much which the roll contained, there remains a large margin of uncertainty whether considerable sections of Jeremiah's prophecies were included in it. It presumably opened with the account of his call and closed with the oracles on the foreign nations, so far as they had been uttered at this time, preceded by xxv. in its original form. The prophecies contained in it stood, we may suppose, in much the same order as at present. When the roll was rewritten we are told that there were added many like words. The second edition of the roll possibly contained some of the prophet's personal confessions and the attack upon Jehoiakim, together with the passages which deal with the restoration of the northern tribes. But if we are to suppose that the addition of the many like words was not a process extending over a considerable period we must assume that their contents are to be sought in those prophecies from which the original edition of the book had previously been taken. Which of these prophecies were inserted in the first roll, which were added in the second, is a question on which only precarious conjectures can be offered. During the years which remained, we may suppose that from time to time Jeremiah dictated the other prophecies now incorporated in our book.

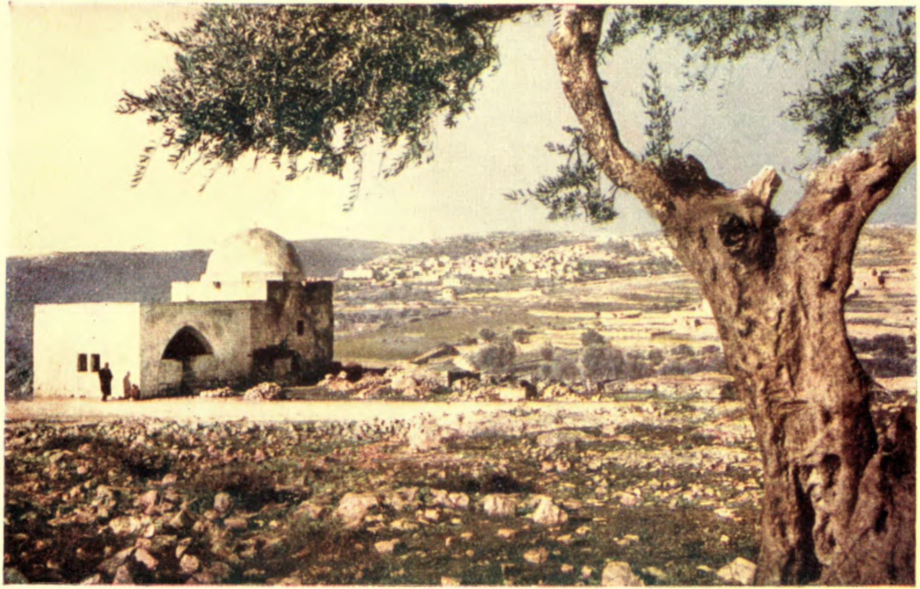
In addition to the prophecies of Jeremiah we have a series of narratives dealing with incidents in his career. These seem to have been written by an eyewitness who had an intimate acquaintance with the events and was in sympathy with the prophet. It can hardly be doubted that we owe them to Baruch. They are of the utmost value, and give us information on many episodes in Jeremiah's life of which we should otherwise be ignorant; they illuminate his character for us, and cast not a little light on his prophecies. It is regrettable that the prophecies are not dated with the same precision as the narratives; in many cases, indeed, are not dated at all. Although Baruch wrote down the prophecies and was the author of the biographical sections he does not seem to have united the two in a single work, otherwise the remarkable lack of arrangement to which attention has been already called would hardly have characterized our book. It is more likely that prophecies and biography maintained an independent existence for some time, during which they received not a little expansion. When the two works were combined it is impossible to say. Cornill considers that the author of the oracle on Babylon, l. 2—li. 58, must have had i—xlix before him essentially in its present form. This oracle on Babylon has been commonly assigned to the close of the exile, but Cornill regards it as a later work (see the introduction to these chapters).

For the critical problems which arise in connexion with individual sections reference must be made to the introductions devoted to them in the course of the Commentary. In spite of some attacks on the authenticity of certain portions it was commonly recognized till recently, especially since the publication of Graf's Commentary, that the book was substantially authentic. The only sections generally (though not universally) rejected were x. 1–16, xvii. 19–27, and l—li, together with lii which was derived from the Second Book of Kings. This position was considerably modified by Giesebrecht, Stade, Kuenen, Schwally, Cornill, and Smend. Duhm's criticism, however, went far beyond the position reached by these scholars, and was as revolutionary for this book as it had been for the Book of Isaiah. He considers that we have from Jeremiah himself, apart from the letter in xxix, only sixty short poems written in Qina rhythm, amounting to about two hundred and eighty verses. To Baruch's biography about two hundred and twenty verses are reckoned. Roughly speaking, then, five hundred verses belong to Jeremiah and Baruch, and this leaves eight hundred and fifty, that is somewhat less than two-thirds of the book, to later editors and supplementers. The two chief Commentaries on Jeremiah which have been published since Duhm's work, those of Cornill and Giesebrecht (2nd edition), while exhibiting considerable traces of Duhm's influence both occupy a much more moderate position, and Budde in his *History of Ancient Hebrew Literature* similarly expresses the view that Duhm has gone a great deal too far in a negative direction. Erbt, in his stimulating and original work on *Jeremiah and His Time*, also reaches pretty negative conclusions. His metrical theories have been derived from Sievers, and are accordingly quite different from those of Duhm, Cornill, or Giesebrecht. And he frequently breaks up into fragments sections which other scholars treat as unities. Cheyne has expressed the opinion, in which he agrees with Duhm, that 'the only parts of Jeremiah which can be confidently set down to that prophet are metrical in structure' (*Enc.*

Bib. 3878). An even more radical position than Duhm's is that taken up by Schmidt in his articles in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. Unfortunately the Introduction to the Book of Jeremiah promised in those articles has not yet appeared, so that the ground on which many of his critical conclusions rest are not available for examination. But so far as reasons are given or may be inferred, the present writer has not been able to feel their cogency. It ought no doubt to be admitted that the expansion which the works of Jeremiah and Baruch have received is by no means inconsiderable, but it may be questioned whether we are justified in going even so far as Giesebrecht or Cornill. The affectionate admiration which the prophet inspires not unnaturally prompts his expositors to restore his writings to a form more worthy of him. But this praiseworthy impulse needs to be controlled by considerations of a more objective character. In view of the striking disagreement on the question of metre which still prevails, it is especially necessary to be cautious in rejecting the authenticity of passages on metrical grounds exclusively.

V. THE TEXT.

The problems presented by the differences between the Hebrew text and the Septuagint (LXX) translation are of unusual interest, but at the same time of such difficulty that the most opposite solutions have been propounded for them. The most striking variation is the insertion of the prophecies against the foreign nations (xlvi—li) after xxv. 13 in the LXX. This will be considered in the discussion of xxv. Here it may simply be said that the prophecies against the foreign nations also stood at one time, it would seem, after xxv. 13 in the Hebrew text. That, however, is not their original position, which was probably at the close of xxv. The order of these prophecies also differs. For a discussion of the question which is to be



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RACHEL'S TOMB

preferred, the introduction to xlvi—li may be consulted. There are a few long and very many short passages or short expressions which are found in the Hebrew but are absent from the LXX. There are some additions to the Hebrew, but these are not numerous. Graf calculates that about 2,700 words of the Hebrew text, amounting to an eighth of the whole work, are not expressed in the LXX, while the additions made by the LXX to what we find in the Hebrew are very insignificant. Giesebrecht calculates that only about a hundred words of the LXX are absent in the Hebrew. This astonishing divergence between the two texts has naturally given rise to a prolonged controversy. Some scholars, especially Movers, Bleek, and Workman, give the preference to the LXX ; while others, especially Graf, Keil, and Orelli, give it to the Hebrew. The extreme position may be seen in Graf's almost savage onslaught on the LXX translator in the Introduction to his Commentary, a position all the more significant that he began his investigation with the most favourable view of the LXX. Workman, in *The Text of Jeremiah*, follows Graf's attack from point to point and is equally emphatic in preferring the Greek to the Hebrew.

The problem is certainly very complicated, so much so that Cornill abstains from a general discussion of it in his Commentary on the ground that it cannot be satisfactorily treated except in a monograph which bases its conclusion on a thorough and systematic examination of all the LXX material. It is desirable, however, to offer some general remarks on the question. The truth, we may safely assume, lies between the two extremes. On the one hand, Graf's indictment of the translator was far too severe. Very frequently the Hebrew contains favourite modes of expression or oft-repeated formulae which are omitted in the LXX. Thus the phrase 'saith Yahweh' is omitted sixty-four times. Instead of 'Yahweh of Hosts,' or 'Yahweh of Hosts, the God of Israel,' we usually have simply Yahweh. The name Nebuchadnezzar is omitted twenty-three times out of the thirty-six in which it occurs in the Hebrew. Where we have two or more synonymous expressions the LXX often reduces the number, and it omits pleonasms. Graf argues that we can quite understand the omission of these redundancies by a translator who aimed at greater brevity or conciseness; but we cannot account for their insertion on so large a scale as we find in the Hebrew text if they were not an original element in the book. This is undoubtedly a telling argument, especially to a modern reader, for whom the insertion of so much that is superfluous would seem an incredible proceeding. But against this *a priori* judgement we have to set considerations of an opposite character. It frequently happens that modern critics, with their metrical tests and keener eye for glosses, strike out on independent grounds words or clauses as additions which are absent in the LXX. And even if we refuse to find anything like so much expansion of Jeremianic matter as some of the more advanced critics, it is probable that the impression of diffuseness which the Hebrew constantly gives in contrast to the LXX is largely due to later editors or scribes. Moreover, the Commentary will show that the Greek text in many instances preserves the more original form. But it would be as great a mistake to argue for the general superiority of the LXX as for that of the Hebrew. Workman contends that the Greek translators faithfully rendered the text which they had before them, so that their variations must be accounted for not by any intentional divergence from the Hebrew but by the fact that they had a different Hebrew text from that which we possess. He also regards the text which the translators had before them as much purer than the present Hebrew text, and has attempted to reconstruct the original Hebrew by retranslation of the LXX where the two texts differ. His theory has been sharply criticized by Driver (*Expositor*, May, 1889) and H. P. Smith (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1890), who give cogent reasons for the belief that many of the variations were due to the translators and represented no difference in the original, the retranslations being in such cases so much lost labour. The problem has been discussed in detail and with great thoroughness by Streane in his volume *The Double Text of Jeremiah.* He acquits the translators of the carelessness or intentional alteration which have often been charged against them. He argues that their aim was to give a close rendering of the text they had before them, their literal reproduction of the original often amounting to a fault. So far as their omissions are concerned he considers that they were generally in the right. As to the variations, he says that many causes must be invoked to account for them, not, as Workman considers, a single cause. The conclusions to which his detailed examination has brought him may be briefly indicated. The translators, he says, worked on manuscripts which were fairly accurate but occasionally badly preserved. Their text was not modified by the tendency to diffuse expansion so much as the Palestinian copies. Where they did not faithfully render the text they had before them they were swayed by various motives, such as the desire for smoothness, the wish to interpret as well as to translate, the influence of national or local feeling, or the avoidance of harsh language about Jeremiah or the Jews. Unintentional deviations from the original might be caused by the illegibility of the manuscript, by ignorance of the meaning of words, by slips of eye or ear, by derivation of forms from the wrong root, by misunderstanding of contractions, by incorrect vocalization of the consonants.

A very impartial examination is given by Kuenen in his *Introduction* and by Giesebrecht in his *Commentary.* Kuenen says that both the defenders and the opponents of the LXX are guilty of exaggeration. The translator was certainly not free from arbitrariness. His idea of reliability and accuracy was not ours, and his knowledge was inadequate for the task. Nor can he be acquitted of the desire to simplify and abbreviate his text. On the other hand, the Hebrew has frequently experienced interpolation from which the LXX has remained free. In more than forty cases the Hebrew text is characterized by repetitions (of which Kuenen gives a list), and we should accordingly expect that the translator, if he had made a practice of striking out what was superfluous, would have omitted the majority or at least many of these. But this happens only in certain cases, in some of which there are cogent reasons against the originality of the repetition.

Giesebrecht considers that the manuscript from which the translators worked had been carelessly written, and was often characterized by confusion of consonants, transpositions and omissions of letters, words, sentences, and even whole sections. Yet for much of the variation the translator rather than his manuscript must be held responsible. He dealt freely with his text, and he had an imperfect linguistic equipment, especially on the lexical side, so that he frequently had to content himself with giving a rough and ready rendering rather than a close and accurate translation. Nevertheless he often preserves the better text, especially in the matter of omissions. What he has over and above the Hebrew text also contains good material.

From these representative judgements we may perhaps conclude that no general preference for one text or the other ought to be entertained. Sometimes the Hebrew preserves the original text, sometimes the LXX, and each case must be decided on its merits in the light of the general considerations which have been enumerated. Nor can it be said with any confidence which of the two preserves the greater number of original readings. In the great majority of instances the difference is intrinsically trivial. It is in their mass, and to a certain extent their distribution, that they become important. It may be added that H. St. J. Thackeray, in some articles in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. iv, has given reasons for the belief that the LXX translation of Jeremiah is the work of two hands, the former of whom rendered i—xxviii, the latter xxix—li. The former of the two he considers to have been the more competent. He finds evidence which suggests that he may have revised to some extent the latter part of the work, and that he should perhaps be identified with the translator of the greater part of Ezekiel and the whole of the Minor Prophets. The first half of the Book of Baruch he assigns with confidence to the second translator of Jeremiah. He leans to the opinion that the book was divided into two parts and assigned to different translators with a view to the more speedy accomplishment of the task, so that the translations were made at the same time. He returns to the subject in his *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint.*

Where the LXX and other Versions, of which the Old Latin is the most noteworthy (see the valuable appendix to Streane's *The Double Text of Jeremiah*), do not present any variation from the Hebrew but we nevertheless have reason to suppose that the Hebrew text is corrupt, the original reading can be restored only by conjectural emendation. That this method is attended with serious drawbacks cannot be denied, and it is only very rarely that an emendation carries a moral certainty with it. There are many conjectures, however, to which a high probability attaches. The rest range through all degrees of probability or improbability. An emendation is sometimes indirectly suggested by the LXX where on re-translation a Hebrew text is produced which, while it is not the original, yields the probable original with a very easy emendation. Where a passage can be regarded with some confidence as written in metre, we have a help both in detecting corruption or the addition of glosses and limiting the licence of conjecture.

VI. SELECTED LITERATURE.

Of the older commentators it is enough to name Calvin. The chief modern commentaries are naturally in German. The following may be enumerated: *Ewald, Hitzig, Graf, *Nägelsbach (in Lange), *Keil, *Orelli, Giesebrecht, Duhm, Cornill.[1] The English commentaries are all old, those by Payne Smith (*Speaker's Commentary*), Streane (*Cambridge Bible*), and Cheyne (*Pulpit Commentary*) may be mentioned here, but there is a recent work by Brown in the *American Baptist Commentary*. In the *Expositor's Bible* the book has been treated by C. J. Ball and W. H. Bennett. Of works dealing with the career and teaching of the prophet the following may be selected: Cheyne, *Jeremiah* (in *Men of the Bible*); Marti, *Jeremia von Anathoth*; Erbt, *Jeremia und seine Zeit*; Bruston, *Le prophète Jérémie et son temps*; Ramsay, *Studies in Jeremiah*; Findlay, *The Books of the Prophets*, vol. iii; Gillies, *Jeremiah: The Man and His Message* (a work largely influenced by Duhm and Erbt). Translations are given in several of the Commentaries. Other translations are: (a) into German: Reuss, Rothstein (in Kautzsch the third edition is enriched with much fuller introductions and notes), Duhm; (b) into French: Reuss; (c) into English: Rotherham (in the *Emphasized Bible*), Buchanan Blake (in *How to Read the Prophets*), and Driver, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, a revised translation, with introduction and short explanations*; also Kent in *The Student's Old Testament* (received too late for reference in the present Volume). A useful edition of the Revised Version, with brief annotations and introduction, is contained in Woods and Powell's *The Hebrew Prophets*, vol. ii; unfortunately it makes no use of the most important German commentaries, Keil's work hardly belonging to that category. The most serviceable edition of the Hebrew text is in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, but Cornill's edition in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, together with his *Die metrischen Stücke des Buches Jeremias reconstruiert* and Giesebrecht's *Jeremias Metrik*, should also be consulted. On the textual criticism, in addition to the discussions in introductions, commentaries, and dictionaries, it may be enough to mention Movers' *De utriusque recensionis vaticiniorum Jeremiae Graecae Alexandrinae et Hebraicae massorethicae indole et origine commentatio critica*; Workman, *The Text of Jeremiah*; Streane, *The Double Text of Jeremiah.*

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[1] Those marked with an asterisk have been translated into English, but in the case of Orelli later editions have appeared in German.

Further discussions may be sought in the Introductions to the Old Testament, especially those by Kuenen, Driver, König, Cornill, Bennett, M'Fadyen; in histories of Israel (above all Wellhausen's *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*); in works on Old Testament theology or the history of the religion of Israel (especially Smend and Stade); in dictionaries (especially Hastings's and the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*) and articles in periodicals, notably in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

The English student who knows no language but his own has unfortunately no recent British Commentary apart from the present work. He can, however, with the aid of books and articles, especially Driver's exact translation, A. B. Davidson's valuable article in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, and the sympathetic expositions of Findlay and Gillies, gain a fairly adequate conception of Jeremiah's personality and work. The student who can read German has at his command exegetical literature on the book of the highest rank. Of the older works, Graf's full and thorough Commentary is the most important, and should not be neglected. Orelli is unduly conservative, but his Commentary, especially in its most recent edition, is a really useful work. The first edition of Giesebrecht's Commentary marked a considerable advance, and in the recent second edition he has frequently, though perhaps not so often as one could wish, discussed the views which have been put forward in the meantime. Yet while suggestive, stimulating, and balanced, like everything he writes, it is perhaps less noteworthy than some of his other works. Duhm's Commentary opened a new era in the criticism of the book. However true it may be that his views are too often arbitrary and controlled by theory, it must be said on the other hand that his insight, his power of sympathetic exposition, his intense admiration for Jeremiah, combine to make his work one of the most valuable ever devoted to the interpretation of this book. The most helpful of all Commentaries is the masterly work of Cornill. He has been deeply influenced by Duhm, to whose genius he pays the most generous tribute. But he retains his independence, is less revolutionary, less ridden by theory. He has devoted to his task the labour of many years, inspired and sustained by glowing enthusiasm for the prophet. His Commentary is a model of clear, penetrating, and sympathetic interpretation. He who can procure only one large work should unquestionably select this. It is greatly to be wished that it might be made accessible to the English reader.

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS

J.	Prophecies or narratives of which Jeremiah was the author.
S.	Additions by supplementers.
JS.	Jeremianic text worked over by supplementer.
B.	Baruch's memoirs of Jeremiah.
BS.	Text of Baruch worked over by supplementer.
R.	Redactor.
I.	Author of x. 1–16.
K.	Author of xvii. 19–27.
E.	Extracts from the Second Book of Kings.

The above symbols should be used in connexion with what is said in the introductions and notes on the various passages. Where a section is assigned by its symbol to Jeremiah or Baruch, it must not be inferred that it has been untouched by later editors. It would, however, have led to undesirable complexity if every intrusion of the supplementer had been indicated by the insertion of a symbol in the text. Besides, in many instances it is an open question whether clauses or sentences ought to be treated as insertions. In cases where JS and BS are employed it will be understood that a substantial element is probably to be assigned to the supplementer. Those renderings in the R.V. margin which the editor prefers to the renderings in the text are indicated by †,

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

B. C.	
639.	Accession of Josiah.
c. 630.	Scythian migration begins.
626.	Call of Jeremiah.
621.	Discovery of Deuteronomic Law.
610–594.	Pharaoh Necho king of Egypt.
608.	Death of Josiah.
608.	Three months' reign of Jehoahaz (Shallum) and deportation to Egypt.
608.	Accession of Jehoiakim (Eliakim).
607.	Fall of Nineveh and destruction of Assyrian Empire.
605.	Egypt defeated by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish.
605.	Nebuchadnezzar becomes king of Babylon.
604.	Baruch writes the roll containing Jeremiah's prophecies.
603.	Roll burnt by Jehoiakim and rewritten with additions by Baruch.
c. 598.	Jehoiakim after three years' submission rebels against Nebuchadnezzar.
597.	Death of Jehoiakim.
597.	Three months' reign of Jehoiachin.
597.	Jehoiachin and the flower of the nation taken captive to Babylon.
597.	Accession of Zedekiah (Mattaniah).
594–589.	Psammetichus II king of Egypt.
593.	Surrounding peoples send ambassadors to Jerusalem to plan revolt against Babylon.
589–564.	Pharaoh Hophra king of Egypt.
c. 588.	Revolt of Zedekiah.
586.	Destruction of Jerusalem, and second captivity to Babylon.

THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET

JEREMIAH

[R] THE words of Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah, of the 1

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i. 1–19. THE CALL OF JEREMIAH.

It is probable that this account of Jeremiah's call about the year 626 B.C. was dictated by the prophet himself. Duhm has felt himself forced to the conclusion that, while the chapter may possibly incorporate some material from Jeremiah's poems and Baruch's biography of the prophet, it is of post-exilic origin. The main objection he urges against the view that we owe the story of his call to the prophet himself is the lofty mission assigned to him in verse 10. There he is set in authority over the nations and kingdoms. So exalted a function he thinks Jeremiah was not conscious of fulfilling. It may be freely admitted that in a narrative perhaps written down twenty-three years later we have not a minutely accurate transcript of what took place, but one coloured by the prophet's subsequent experiences. But we have strong reasons for the view that the main thoughts may be accepted without hesitation. The tiny Jewish state had been caught into the current of universal politics, its career was inextricably blended with that of the nations. Hence in the nature of the case a prophet to Judah was a prophet to the nations. The word he uttered about Judah inevitably had a range beyond it, for what affected the smaller affected also the larger area. And in the fact that he prophesied over other peoples we may see that he was conscious of exercising a ministry, which was not restricted to Judah. Such a limitation would indeed have been strange, when we remember how Amos, and Isaiah before him, had uttered oracles concerning the nations. And Jeremiah was fully aware that the horizon of his predecessors was not bounded by Israel. He says to Hananiah, 'The prophets that have been before me and before thee of old prophesied against many countries, and against great kingdoms, of war, of evil, and of pestilence.' If, however, it is urged that Jeremiah is not simply charged with uttering prophecies about the nations, but is said to be actually set over them, and that such a position is too great, the answer lies in a truer understanding of Hebrew ideas of prophecy. It was not a mere prediction that the prophet uttered, the bare description of some future event. Since it was the word of God, it was filled with His priests that were in Anathoth in the land of Benjamin:

Divine energy. It passed from the prophet's lips into an independent existence of its own, and itself accomplished the task which God had appointed for it and did not return to Him void. We find this thought in Isa. lv. 10, 11, in Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones (Ezek. xxxvii), and in Zechariah's vision of the flying roll (Zech. v. 1–4). It receives a very striking expression in Heb. iv. 12–14 (see the editor's note on this passage). Jeremiah himself describes the words of God in his mouth as a fire to consume the people (v. 14) and as a hammer to shatter the rocks (xxiii. 29). Accordingly we need feel no hesitation on account of the position assigned to him. The word he proclaims determines the destinies of the peoples. And one consideration pleads strongly for the belief that we have here the prophet's own account of his call. For if we owed it to a later writer, he would in all probability have modelled his description on the call of Isaiah and Ezekiel. We should have had a far more splendid and impressive picture. He would not have been content to initiate the great prophet into his life-work in a manner so commonplace. Cornill has also pointed to Isa. xlix. 1 as a proof that the author of the Servant of Yahweh passages (i.e., as he thinks, the Second Isaiah himself) has drawn from the description of Jeremiah's call, and therefore that Jer. i. 5 lay before him in exactly its present form. If so, the Jeremianic authorship of the passage receives strong attestation.

i. 1–3. Title describing the book as containing the words of Jeremiah of Anathoth, received by him in the reign of Josiah and his successors.

4–10. Yahweh told me that before my birth He had predestined me to be a prophet to the nations. I pleaded my youth as a reason why I should not go, but He sent me on my mission and bade me be undismayed. Then He placed His words in my mouth and gave me a commission over the nations.

11, 12. By the vision of the rod of an almond tree Yahweh taught me that He was wakeful to fulfil His word.

13–19. By the vision of a caldron I learnt that evil would come upon Judah from the north, and that its kings would be the instruments of Yahweh to inflict His judgements on Jerusalem and the cities of Judah. Yahweh bade me utter His word without fear, and assured me of His protection against all my enemies.

1–3. These verses create critical difficulties. Verse 2 refers to Jeremiah's call, whereas the following verse seems to presuppose that it refers to an experience similar to those enjoyed in subsequent reigns. Moreover, as the text stands, the whole of Jeremiah's

to whom the word of the LORD came in the days of Jo- 2
siah the son of Amon, king of Judah, in the thirteenth
year of his reign. It came also in the days of Jehoiakim 3

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prophetic activity in the reign of Josiah after his thirteenth year is passed over in silence. Originally then the title simply asserted that the word of Yahweh came to Jeremiah in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign. This title referred simply to chap. i, but it was taken to have a wider scope by an editor who wished his readers to understand that Jeremiah prophesied in later reigns also, and therefore added the third verse. The original title has been reconstructed as follows by the help of the LXX: 'The word of Yahweh which came to Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah, in the days of Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah, in the thirteenth year of his reign.'

1. The words. The plural occurs also in Amos i. 1, and is taken by several in both places to mean 'The history,' but the translation in the text is probably correct; the reference is to Jeremiah's prophecies, though the book contains a good deal of biographical material.

Hilkiah is by some identified with the chief priest of that name, famous for his discovery of the 'book of the Law' in the Temple in the eighteenth year of Josiah (2 Kings xxii), and therefore a few years later than Jeremiah's call. But this is unlikely. We should have expected some indication of the relationship, and the rest of the verse suggests that Jeremiah did not belong to the Jerusalem priesthood. His family resided at Anathoth.

of the priests. Probably it is Jeremiah rather than Hilkiah who is so described. The form of expression is apparently chosen because Jeremiah, while of priestly lineage, did not himself act as priest.

Anathoth: to be identified with Anâta, which lies three or four miles ($1\frac{1}{4}$ hours) north-north-east of Jerusalem. It was the home of Abiathar, the priest and loyal follower of David, after Solomon thrust him out of his office and banished him to his estate. If, as has been suggested, Jeremiah traced his descent from Abiathar, he was a member of the family which in its earlier days had custody of the ark.

2. Josiah came to the throne 639 B.C., Jeremiah's call may be dated in 627 or 626. Winckler's denial that the date is trustworthy is arbitrary scepticism.

3. Nothing is said of the prophecies uttered by Jeremiah after the destruction of Jerusalem. It has been inferred that this verse was prefixed to a collection made in the interval between the fall of Jerusalem and the murder of Gedaliah, but this is very pre-the son of Josiah, king of Judah, unto the end of the eleventh year of Zedekiah the son of Josiah, king of Judah; unto the carrying away of Jerusalem captive in the fifth month.

4 [J] Now the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,
5 Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee, and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee; I
6 have appointed thee a prophet unto the nations. Then

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carious, and it is safer to assume that we have here an addition from the hand of some reader or editor.

4. On this narrative of Jeremiah's call, see the Introduction, pp. 5–10.

5. Similarly the Servant of Yahweh (i.e. the historical Israel) speaks of himself as chosen for his work before his birth (Isa. xlix. 1, 5), while Paul, who like Jeremiah expresses the conviction once only, speaks of himself as set apart for his mission before his birth (Gal. 1. 15). It is very noteworthy that in each of the three cases, this predestination is connected with a task to be performed for the heathen, though Jeremiah is not sent, like Paul, to preach to the Gentiles.

knew thee: i. e. chose thee. The same word is used for the election of Israel in the great utterance of Amos, 'You only have I known of all the families of the earth' (Amos iii. 2), also in Hos. xiii. 5 (at any rate according to the present text).

sanctified. The term has no ethical meaning; it simply implies that God consecrated him for His service.

unto the nations. On the scope of Jeremiah's mission and the suspicions which the description of it has aroused, see the introductory note to this chapter. There is no need to strike out 'unto the nations,' with Rothstein, or to emend the text with Stade and read 'to my nation.' Had this been intended we should almost certainly have had 'to my people,' this term rather than 'my nation' being the customary designation. It is true that the expression 'a prophet unto the nations' might suggest a mission exclusively or predominantly to them, and this would not harmonize with Jeremiah's actual function, but a Hebrew prophet would understand that he was sent in the first instance to his own people.

6. Duhm considers the reluctance here expressed to imply the conception that prophetic speech is based on ripe experience rather than ecstatic inspiration, since Jeremiah pleads his youth which is inconsistent with the former but not with the latter, inasmuch as the young may be inspired just as well as the old. Since he

said I, Ah, Lord GOD! behold, I cannot speak: for I
am a child. But the LORD said unto me, Say not, I am 7
a child: for [a] to whomsoever I shall send thee thou shalt
go, and whatsoever I shall command thee thou shalt
speak. Be not afraid because of them: for I am with 8
thee to deliver thee, saith the LORD. Then the LORD 9
put forth his hand, and touched my mouth; and the

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[a] Or, *on whatsoever errand*

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doubts whether this was Jeremiah's own view, he urges this as one of the reasons for suspecting the authenticity of the narrative. But obviously Jeremiah may have thought of the prophetic gift very differently before he experienced it from what he felt afterwards. Moreover it is by no means clear that his reluctance sprang from a sense of his inexperience. It is rather the consciousness of insignificance, the shrinking of a sensitive and timid nature, which God rebukes in His reply (cf. verses 17–19). The case is naturally different from that of the much older Moses who urges his lack of eloquence as his reason for refusing the commission to go to Pharaoh.

Lord GOD: properly 'Lord Yahweh.' Inasmuch as the word which was usually substituted for Yahweh in reading immediately precedes, the Jews substituted Elohim, i.e. God, for it, and the English Version has adopted this, indicating that Yahweh is in the original by printing in capitals.

a child. The Hebrew word was used in a wider sense than that in which the English term is employed. The LXX brings out the sense by rendering 'too young.'

7. When God chooses the messenger, appoints the mission and dictates the message, what matter the limitations of His servant? It is He who is pledged to secure success.

to whomsoever: probably this rendering is to be preferred to that of the margin 'on whatsoever errand,' though it involves the awkwardness of translating the same words 'whomsoever' in this clause, and 'whatsoever' in the next. If we followed Giesebrecht in deleting 'because of them' in the following verse as taken from 17 and disturbing to the metre, the margin would be preferable and the text somewhat smoother.

8. This verse makes it clear that timidity rather than the sense of inexperience is the cause of Jeremiah's reluctance. It is therefore natural that Duhm should suspect it, but the fact of its partial repetition in 19, and its similarity to part of 17, are quite inadequate reasons for striking it out.

LORD said unto me, Behold, I have put my words in thy
10 mouth: see, I have this day set thee over the nations and
over the kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, and
to destroy and to overthrow; to build, and to plant.

11 Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,
Jeremiah, what seest thou? And I said, I see a rod of
12 [a] an almond tree. Then said the LORD unto me, Thou

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[a] Heb. *shaked.*

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10. The loftiness of Jeremiah's position as God's vicar on earth, and the mighty work he is to achieve, are explained by the Hebrew conception of prophecy as effecting its own fulfilment; see the introductory note to this chapter (pp. 77 f.). The sense of lofty vocation is not inconsistent with humility. Jesus could describe Himself as 'meek and lowly in heart,' though He claimed in the same breath to stand in a unique relation to God. In view of the character of Jeremiah's work more stress is naturally laid on its destructive than on its constructive side, four verbs being used to express the former, while two only are employed for the latter. It is true that the LXX omits 'and to overthrow,' and probably it was not read by the author of Ecclus. xlix. 7. It is accordingly omitted by some modern scholars from the Hebrew text. But this omission disturbs the balance of the sentence. Examples of both sides of his mission will meet us in the course of the book.

set thee: literally 'made thee an overseer;' it is his function to act as Yahweh's deputy.

11–19. In the rest of the chapter we are concerned no longer with judgement on the nations but with judgement on Judah, and with the nations only as the instruments of this judgement. The arguments by which Duhm seeks to establish that this also is later seem to the present writer too slender to bear the weight of such a conclusion.

11. On the meaning of this vision see the Introduction, pp. 8 f.

a rod of an almond tree. This is the rendering usually adopted. The word translated 'almond tree' is, with the probable exception of Eccles. xii. 5, elsewhere used in the sense of 'almond.' Accordingly, since Eccles. xii. 5 is doubtful, some scholars deny that the rendering 'almond tree' is justified. They take the word as a participle from the verb *shākad* ('to watch' or 'wake') and point *shōkēd.* In this way we have precisely the same word as in the following verse. But probably little difference was made in pronunciation between *shākēd* and *shōkēd*, and 'a wakeful stem' is not a very happy phrase for a stem which is just beginning to bud.

12. We may compare the impassioned appeals to Yahweh

hast well seen: for I [a] watch over my word to perform it.
And the word of the LORD came unto me the second 13

[a] Heb. *shoked.*

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from psalmists and prophets that He should awake from His sleep to save His people, also Luke xviii. 7, Rev. vi. 9–11, Mark iv. 38. Jeremiah knows that Yahweh needs no such cries, He is moving already towards the fulfilment of His purpose. The thought recurs in xxxi. 28, xliv. 27.

13–14. The second vision teaches the prophet that judgement is to come from the north. It is not easy to understand the description given or the precise application of the details. The most obvious view is that the face of the caldron is the side which faces the spectator, this is 'from the face of the north,' i.e. apparently the caldron is itself in the north. It is 'blown upon,' i.e. the flame is fanned under it to make it boil. When it boils over, the mischief which is brewing in it will be poured out over the south and especially over Judah. This interpretation (cf. G. A. Smith: 'the ominous North was once more boiling like a caldron,' *Jerusalem*, ii, p. 228) may be correct, but it is exposed to objections. The expression 'and its face is from the face of the North' (so literally) is both clumsy and obscure. The word rendered 'north' is strictly 'northward,' but this need not be pressed, since the locative form may be employed simply in the sense of 'north.' Both objections are removed by Duhm's interpretation. He translates 'and its face is turned northward' (pointing *mophnē* instead of *mippᵉnē*). Luzzatto, followed by Perles, had already made a similar suggestion (*mophnīm*). Duhm supposes that the caldron is supported on three sides by stones, while the fourth side is open and the fire is fed from it; this open side or face looks north; the fuel and flame therefore come to the caldron from the north. The figure is in that case quite different. The idea is not that the scalding contents of the pot will pour down on Judah from the north, but that the fire and fuel which make it boil are brought from the north. The caldron will then be thought of as in Judah, its inhabitants are thought of as within it, while the fuel which makes it boil represents the enemy. Against this it may be urged that the face is said to be the face of the caldron, not that of the fireplace. But what is the face of the caldron? It might be used for the spout or lip of a vessel, but the caldron was, it would seem, a very large vessel (see 2 Kings iv. 38), and would presumably have no lip. With some hesitation the present writer adopts Duhm's suggestion. We have then an excellent commentary in Ezek. xxiv. 3–14, cf. xi. 3. It was in fact common among older interpreters to regard the Jews as corresponding to what was being boiled in the pot, but the interpretation of the fire

time, saying, What seest thou? And I said, I see a seething caldron; and the face thereof is from the north.
14 Then the LORD said unto me, Out of the north evil [a] shall break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land.
15 For, lo, I will call all the families of the kingdoms of the

[a] Heb. *shall be opened.*

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as the Chaldeans, and that which overflows as the people sent into exile, was hardly warranted by the terms of the passage.

13. seething: literally 'blown upon;' a fan made of feathers was used to fan the flame beneath the caldron.

caldron: a large vessel like our boiler or copper, as we see from the story of the poisonous wild gourds in 2 Kings iv. 38–41, where the word is used of the pot in which the meal for Elisha and the sons of the prophets was cooked.

14. the north. All that is clear to Jeremiah at present is that trouble is to come from the north. From the north had already come the successive invasions of Assyria, into the north the ten tribes and the Judaean captives of Sennacherib had disappeared. In Jeremiah's time Assyria was loosening its hold on Palestine, and the Babylonians, with whom he later learnt that the foe from the north was to be identified, were not as yet apparently before his mind in this connexion. If he thought of a definite enemy it was probably the Scythians. The north was looked upon as the home of the mysterious and uncanny, from which such a portent as the Scythian invasion might naturally be expected. Duhm sees an apocalyptic trait in this reference to the foe from the north, but this is uncertain, and the inference that the passage must be late even more precarious.

break forth: the literal rendering of the Hebrew is 'be opened,' but its use in the sense 'be let loose' is rather questionable. Houbigant proposed 'shall be blown' (*tuppaḥ*), i.e. kindled. This corresponds to 'blown upon' in verse 13, and harmonizes with the LXX. It is adopted by several scholars, and should probably be accepted. It involves the omission of one consonant.

15. Duhm finds in this another feature of the later apocalyptic, according to which the nations were to gather at Jerusalem to execute judgement and then themselves be destroyed. This thought was, it is true, characteristic of the later eschatology, but it is not clear that the reference to the kingdoms of the north would not suit quite well the conditions of Jeremiah's time. It might perhaps have been felt to be a sufficiently accurate description of the Scythians, even though in v. 15 they are spoken of as a single nation (see note on v. 15). It would suit the Babylonians north, saith the LORD; and they shall come, and they shall set every one his throne at the entering of the gates of Jerusalem, and against all the walls thereof round about, and against all the cities of Judah. And I will 16 [a] utter my judgements against them touching all their wickedness; in that they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, and worshipped the works of their own hands. Thou therefore gird up thy 17 loins, and arise, and speak unto them all that I command

[a] Or, *speak with them of my judgements*

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even better. The great empires of Assyria and Babylonia contained many subject peoples, and the monarch bore the title 'King of kings,' his vassals being themselves kings, cf. Isa. x. 8. We have an excellent parallel to this assembling of the nations at Jerusalem in a much earlier prophet, if, as is probable, Isa. xvii. 12–14 belongs to Isaiah.

For **all the families of the kingdoms** we should probably read, with the LXX, simply **all the kingdoms.** 'Families' is perhaps a variant of 'kingdoms.'

set every one his throne. Seats were set for the administration of justice; here the thought is of the penalty to be inflicted on the captives. The gate is often used in the Old Testament to designate the judgement-seat. The expression does not mean to besiege; the capture of the city is thought of as already accomplished. Accordingly Giesebrecht may be right in regarding as a late addition the last two clauses of the verse which suggest a siege.

16. Jeremiah reminds us of Hosea, in that he lays the chief emphasis on religion. He is as sensitive to the moral shortcomings of his people as the most ethical of his predecessors. But he finds the root of Judah's misconduct in its wrong relation to God. Hence his passionate denunciations of idolatry, which is here singled out as the cause of the Divine judgement on Judah.

utter my judgements against them: the margin **speak with them of my judgements** more correctly renders the Hebrew. In itself the expression simply means that Yahweh will dispute with them in judgement. Naturally the righteous God will have right on His side, and when He has won His case, penalty will follow suit. But this is not expressed, though it is involved.

burned incense: rather **offered sacrifice**; the word is used for any kind of sacrifice that went up in smoke, of course including the incense offering.

thee: be not dismayed at them, lest I dismay thee before
18 them. For, behold, I have made thee this day a defenced
city, and an iron pillar, and brasen walls, against the
whole land, against the kings of Judah, against the princes
thereof, against the priests thereof, and against the people
19 of the land. And they shall fight against thee; but they
shall not prevail against thee: for I am with thee, saith
the LORD, to deliver thee.

2 2 And the word of the LORD came to me, saying, Go, and

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18. an iron pillar: omitted by the LXX; perhaps correctly, for it does not suit so well the metaphor of a siege.

walls: the LXX reads the singular, and this is preferred by several scholars.

ii. 1—iii. 5. ISRAEL'S UNPARALLELED UNFAITHFULNESS TO HER GOD.

With this chapter a section seems to begin which closes with chap. vi. It embraces more than one discourse, and, while it represents Jeremiah's earliest prophecies, contains some later elements. It will be simplest to treat the critical problems as they arise. The first break comes at iii. 6. The first portion, ii. 1—iii. 5, belongs apparently in its original form to the time immediately succeeding his call. But it bears marks of the revision which the prophet gave it in the reign of Jehoiakim.

ii. 1, 2^a. Title.

2^b, 3. Yahweh remembers Israel's love for Him when she was His youthful bride in the wilderness, the untilled land. She was sacred to Him as the firstfruits; woe to any who violated that sanctity.

4–13. What fault was there in Yahweh that the Israelites left Him to follow empty idols and themselves become like them? They forgot Him who had led them through the perils of the trackless and desolate wilderness, and when He brought them into the goodly land of Canaan they defiled it. Priests ignored Him, rulers rebelled against Him, prophets spoke in the name of unprofitable idols. So Yahweh will contend with them and their descendants. Let them send to Cyprus or Kedar, and see if there has been any parallel to the conduct of Israel. The heathen remain true to their gods, though they are but false gods, but Yahweh's people have exchanged Him for worthless idols. Well cry in the ears of Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith the LORD,

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may the heavens shudder at conduct so ungrateful! For Yahweh's people have wrought two evils, forsaken Him, the reservoir of living waters, and hewn out leaking cisterns, which do not even retain their stagnant water.

14–19. Is Israel a slave? No, but why then has he become a prey? The lions have roared against him, and wasted his land; Egypt afflicts him. It is Israel's abandonment of Yahweh which has brought this about. And why [from his own failing cisterns] does he turn to the Nile and the Euphrates? His sin shall punish him; let him learn how bitter a thing is apostasy.

20–28. Of old time Israel threw off restraint and went wantonly astray in idolatrous worship. Yahweh planted it a choice vine; it has changed to a strange vine. No washing can cleanse away its deep stains. How can the people deny that they are defiled with the Baalim, and that in face of their conduct in the Valley of Hinnom? They are like a she-camel driven by the sting of uncontrollable lust, seeking and not needing to be sought. Vain the admonition not to run the shoes off the foot and the throat parched with thirst; nothing will deter Israel from her pursuit of strange gods. Yet Israel and its leaders will be bitterly disappointed, who call stocks and stones their parents and have turned their back on Yahweh. They appeal to Him in the day of their trouble; but let their multitude of manufactured gods save them if they can!

29–37. Why do they find fault with Yahweh? Their own rebellion is to blame. Chastisement has proved useless, the sword has slain the prophets. Yahweh has been no desert land to Israel, or land of dense darkness: why then do His people stray from Him? so ungratefully forgetful, so schooled to wickedness, guilty of the blood of the poor. Protestations of innocence, and political scheming, will alike prove unavailing.

iii. 1–5. A man cannot return to his divorced wife, who has become the wife of another: how can Israel, the wife adulterous with many lovers, return to Yahweh? Her lust has been insatiable, and punishment has left her still shameless, still claiming Yahweh as the companion of her youth and deprecating His anger, but persistent in her sin.

ii. 1, 2^a. The LXX reads simply, 'And he said, Thus saith the Lord;' this is too brief to be the original heading, yet the Hebrew presents difficulties, since what follows is scarcely an address to the people. Giesebrecht considers that 'Go, and cry in the ears of Jerusalem, saying' should be regarded as a later insertion.

2. The Pentateuchal narratives, on the contrary, emphasize the

I remember [a] for thee the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals; how thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown. 3 Israel *was* holiness unto the LORD, the firstfruits of his increase: all

[a] Or, *concerning*

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rebelliousness of Israel in the wilderness, and Ezekiel endorses this darker judgement, seeing in Israel's history from its sojourn in Egypt onwards nothing but unredeemed wickedness, and he is followed in this by some of the later Psalmists.

kindness: a very rich and beautiful word, often used of God's lovingkindness. Several, including Graf, have so explained it here of God's love for Israel. But all the recent commentators interpret it as Israel's love to God. This is much the more probable view, since the phrase to remember something for a people implies that it was a characteristic of that people. It is supported by 'how thou wentest after me.' The sense is unusual, but is apparently found in Hos. vi. 4, 6, Isa. lvii. 1.

in the wilderness: so full of the dangers graphically enumerated in verse 6. In the time of difficulty she cleaves fast to her God, and follows Him cheerfully through all the perils and privations of the desert.

in a land that was not sown: where they were fed, according to the ancient story, with the manna and water out of the rock.

3. Israel's loyal love to Yahweh was answered by His devoted care and protection of her. She was holy to Yahweh. The term **holiness** has here no moral significance; she was set apart for Him alone, like the firstfruits which no man might eat save the priests, and they only as God's representatives living on His bounty (Num. xviii. 12, 13). Those who transgressed this restriction on the firstfruits were visited with penalty. So Yahweh jealously maintained His sole right in Israel; all who devoured it were found guilty and punished. At the outset all nations were alike 'common,' i.e. not specially appropriated by Yahweh. Israel's national consciousness was bound up with the belief in its election: 'You only have I known of all the families of the earth' (Amos iii. 2).

firstfruits of his increase: Ex. xxiii. 19, Deut. xxvi. 2-11. The firstfruits of Yahweh's produce might seem to imply that the other nations would constitute the remainder of His harvest, and all nations alike ultimately become holy to Him. But the thought is concerned rather with the consecration of Israel than with Yahweh's proprietorship of all nations; we should accordingly render 'his firstfruits of increase.'

that devour him shall be held guilty; evil shall come upon them, saith the LORD.

Hear ye the word of the LORD, O house of Jacob, and 4
all the families of the house of Israel: thus saith the 5
LORD, What unrighteousness have your fathers found in
me, that they are gone far from me, and have walked
after vanity, and are become vain? Neither said they, 6
Where is the LORD that brought us up out of the land of
Egypt; that led us through the wilderness, through a

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4. Duhm considers that 3 finds its true continuation in 14 and regards 4–13 as an inserted passage, but on rather *a priori* grounds as to what Jeremiah can and cannot have written. The failure of the Qina rhythm, which is perhaps resumed in 14, prejudices him against its ascription to Jeremiah. Later commentators have accepted it as substantially Jeremiah's, so also Erbt. Cornill thinks its authenticity is guaranteed by the use made of it in the Song of Moses. Orelli reverses the relationship, but regards the present passage as by Jeremiah. It is not easy to believe that such a section can be the work of any later editor; the thoughts are those of Jeremiah, worthy of him alike in character and expression. We see from verse 20 that he dated Israel's apostasy far back in the past.

There is no need to regard verse 4 as a later insertion. Jeremiah addresses collective Israel, the northern tribes were an object of special interest to him, though they had gone into exile nearly a century before.

5. Surely it was not without reason that Israel left Yahweh for idols? Yes, without reason; there was no unrighteousness in Yahweh to excuse their apostasy.

vanity: the word literally means 'breath,' then 'nothingness.' It is a characteristic term of Jeremiah for the false gods, in contrast to the living and true God. It is the cognate verb which is rendered **are become vain** at the end of the verse, and the thought suggested is that, by following these empty divinities, Israel participated in their character. Like god, like people.

6. They did not meditate on Yahweh's rescue of them from Egypt, and His safe guidance of them through the perils of the pathless desert. The dangers and terrors of the wilderness are described with a touch of poetical exaggeration, natural to one who regarded it from the standpoint of settled life; cf. Isa. xxx. 6.

land of deserts and of pits, through a land of drought
and of [a] the shadow of death, through a land that none
7 passed through, and where no man dwelt? And I
brought you into a plentiful land, to eat the fruit thereof
and the goodness thereof; but when ye entered, ye defiled my land, and made mine heritage an abomination.
8 The priests said not, Where is the LORD? and they that
handle the law knew me not: the [b] rulers also transgressed

[a] Or, *deep darkness* [b] Heb. *shepherds.*

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pits: i.e. the cracks or fissures in the ground, into which the traveller might easily stumble and perish.

the shadow of death. This interpretation of the term has been strongly defended by Schwally and Nöldeke. Usually modern scholars point the consonants with different vowels, and translate 'deep darkness,' as in the margin. (See note on Job iii. 5.) The expression is in any case metaphorical; just as in deep darkness men cannot see their way and stray blindly hither and thither, so in the trackless desert they may easily lose themselves and wander in bewilderment. The LXX renders 'unfruitful,' but it is questionable if the translator found a corresponding Hebrew word in his text, and it would spoil the assonance in the present Hebrew text to adopt it.

7. Delivered from the wilderness, they were brought into Yahweh's land, the fruitfulness and security of which stood in happy contrast to the barren and dangerous desert. The land was placed at their disposal, but they used their opportunity to defile it with idolatry and wickedness (cf. Ezek. xx. 27–29).

mine heritage: i.e. the land of Palestine, as in Ps. lxxix. 1. Generally the term refers to the people, but the parallelism does not permit this here. To the consciousness of the early Hebrews Yahweh was pre-eminently a wilderness Deity. This largely accounts for their adoption of the worship of the Canaanite Baalim, whose favour was regarded as necessary to the success of the crops, although this did not mean conscious defection from their national God. Gradually they came to recognize Palestine as Yahweh's land.

8. It is a common feature of an earlier period to find the official representatives of religion, the priests and prophets, denounced by the prophets of a higher type, such as Micaiah, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. The tradition is continued by Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

handle the law: the phrase suggests a law-book, not necessarily the Deuteronomic Code, but collections of rules, which were

against me, and the prophets prophesied by Baal, and
walked after things that do not profit. Wherefore I will 9
yet plead with you, saith the LORD, and with your children's children will I plead. For pass over to the isles 10
of Kittim, and see; and send unto Kedar, and consider
diligently; and see if there hath been such a thing.
Hath a nation changed *their* gods, which yet are no gods? 11
but my people have changed their glory for that which
doth not profit. Be astonished, O ye heavens, at this, 12
and be horribly afraid, be ye very desolate, saith the

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in circulation among the priests, and which formed a basis for the later legislation.

the rulers: literally 'shepherds,' i.e. the kings and princes. For 'transgressed' it would be better to render 'rebelled,' especially since it is said of rulers.

by Baal: this rendering suggests that there was a god who bore the name Baal as peculiarly his own. Probably this was not the case; the word is not a proper name but an appellative, borne by the local deities of the various districts of Palestine. The true rendering is 'by the Baal,' and here it is employed as a collective designation of these local deities, rather than with special reference to Melkart, the Baal of Tyre, whose worship was fostered by Ahab and fanatically promoted by Jezebel.

things that do not profit: i.e. the idols, who in the time of distress could bring no help to their worshippers, but only ruin.

9. plead: an archaism for **contend,** which should have been substituted here and elsewhere. See Driver, pp. 336 f.

10. The Kitians were properly the inhabitants of Kition, i.e. Larnaka in Cyprus. 'The isles of the Kitians' (as the phrase may better be rendered) means Cyprus and other islands in the West. Kedar is used apparently not simply for the tribe which went by that name, but for the Arabian tribes generally. The prophet means, Inquire both in the West and the East.

11. If the nations changed their gods, it would be but the substitution of one nonentity for another, yet each remains loyal to its own; how incredible the folly and ingratitude which has made Israel an exception to the rule, and caused her to exchange Yahweh, her glory, for useless idols!

12. Cf. Isa. i. 2.

be ye very desolate. An alternative rendering would be 'be ye dried up,' which is explained to mean, be ye stiff with horror, a sense which the word does not bear elsewhere. The R.V. is also

13 LORD. For my people have committed two evils; they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold
14 no water. Is Israel a servant? is he a homeborn *slave*?

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unsuitable; we should probably follow the LXX and render the whole clause, 'Be appalled, O ye heavens, at this, and shudder exceedingly' (so Driver and other scholars).

13. The folly of the people is exposed in a very effective metaphor. They have ready at hand a reservoir in which living waters are stored up, pure, cool, perennial, and plentiful. And they leave this living water, drawn from streams and fountains, which they can have without labour, without money or price, and with great toil and expense hew out cisterns in the rock and store their water in them. This water, flat, stagnant, putrid, they prefer to the springing water from the fountain. But these rock-cisterns were very liable to crack, and thus the indescribable liquid they have stored with such trouble leaks away and is lost (see Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 287). So Israel, whose national existence was based on its relations to Yahweh, who had equipped it with all its vital energy, turns from Him to dead idols (cf. 27). How much happier could she have said, 'All my springs are in Thee!'

14–17. Ewald regarded these verses as a later insertion, on the ground that they break the connexion between 13 and 18. He thought that they were inserted by Jeremiah at the close of his life in Egypt. Cornill also considers that, while unquestionably Jeremiah's composition, they did not originally belong to this context. There is no clear connexion between 13 and 14, whereas 18 links on admirably to 13; Israel finds its cisterns broken and goes to the Nile and the Euphrates. Moreover it is difficult to harmonize the situation presupposed in 16 with that presupposed in 18. This might be met by treating 16 as an insertion made by Jeremiah when the roll was re-written. But, in view of the interruption of the connexion between 13 and 18, it is simplest to suppose that the verses, while written by Jeremiah, owe their present position to a compiler, who was guided by the observation that 16 and 18 both speak of Egypt. Schmidt (*Enc. Bib.* 2385) regards 14–19 as a late insertion, written perhaps in the beginning of the period of the Seleucidae, 198–143 B.C. (loc. cit., 2392).

14. The questions require a negative answer; Israel has not become a prey on account of its servile position, but for some other cause. We must not suppose that the prophet expects an affirmative answer, and explain 'servant' to mean 'servant of Yahweh' (so Hitzig) or 'homeborn' to mean a son of the house. The R.V. 'homeborn *slave*' gives the sense which the word always

why is he become a prey? The young lions have roared 15
upon him, and [a]yelled: and they have made his land
waste; his cities are burned up, without inhabitant. The 16
children also of Noph and Tahpanhes have [b]broken the
crown of thy head. Hast thou not procured this unto 17
thyself, in that thou hast forsaken the LORD thy God,
when he led thee by the way? And now what hast thou 18

[a] Heb. *given out their voice.*

[b] Or, *fed on*

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possesses elsewhere. The slave who was born into slavery was not likely to escape from it, even though the Hebrew slave of a Hebrew master; but the Book of the Covenant prescribed that the Hebrew slave who had been a freeman might regain his liberty at the end of six years (Exod. xxi. 2-4). Israel is a son, not a slave.

15. The reference is apparently to the earlier devastation inflicted by Assyria.

his cities are burned up: an alternative reading is 'are laid waste;' some scholars prefer it. Duhm transfers the clause to the close of the preceding verse, taking it of course as interrogative. He thus secures in 14, 15 two regular Qina stanzas.

16. The verse may be rendered as a prediction or a statement of what is actually happening, but the context greatly favours the latter. If it describes an existing situation, that can only be the battle of Megiddo, followed by the suzerainty of Egypt. But at that time the Assyrian empire had ceased to exist, and the Jews would not be found seeking help from Egypt. Accordingly 16 seems to spring from another situation than 18.

Noph (xliv. 1, xlvi. 14, 19): probably Memphis, the capital of lower Egypt. **Tahpanhes** is Daphne, or Defenneh. See xliii. 7-9, xliv. 1, xlvi. 14.

broken: this implies a different vocalization from that in the present text, which gives the sense 'fed on,' as in the margin. Although the latter is accepted by several scholars, the phrase 'have fed on the crown of thy head' is too strange to be probable. 'Broken' is perhaps too strong. It is simplest to transpose two consonants and substitute 'make bare' (*yᵉʿaruk*), cf. Isa. iii. 17. We do not know, it is true, that the verb bore this sense, but it seems to be sufficiently attested by the fact that the word for 'razor' is derived from it. The historical circumstances to which Jeremiah refers are probably the defeat and death of Josiah at Megiddo, and the brief subjection of Judah to Egypt. In that case this verse (and perhaps 14-17) dates from a later period in Jeremiah's career than the bulk of the chapter.

17. when he led thee by the way: i.e. in the time of the

to do in the way to Egypt, to drink the waters of [a] Shihor? or what hast thou to do in the way to Assyria, to drink
19 the waters of [b] the River? Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee: know therefore and see that it is an evil thing and a bitter, that thou hast forsaken the LORD thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord, the LORD of hosts.
20 For of old time [c] I have broken thy yoke, and burst thy

[a] That is, the Nile. [b] That is, the Euphrates.

[c] †Or, *thou hast*

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wilderness wandering and the entrance into Canaan. But this was the time of Israel's loyalty, moreover it is not the wickedness of a distant past which is responsible for its present misfortune. The words are absent in the LXX, and the syntax of the Hebrew is very strange, though a slight emendation would cure this. They are almost certainly no part of the original text, but, as Movers and others have pointed out, have originated through a scribe's blunder. He wrote the first four words in the Hebrew of the next verse twice over.

18. The thought is linked to 13. Israel has forsaken the fountain of living waters, and hewn out cisterns, which nevertheless leak so that they are left only with the muddy dregs. Accordingly they turn to the Nile and the Euphrates. The point is not so much that they leave Yahweh for the idols of Egypt and Assyria as that they fly to these powers for political help. Similarly Hosea had reproached the Northern Kingdom for oscillating like a silly dove between Egypt and Assyria, and Isaiah had been forced to oppose similar tendencies in Judah. While the primary stress in the passage is on political relationships, it should be remembered that in antiquity these often involved mutual recognition of deities.

Shihor is not the stream which separates Egypt from Palestine, as in Joshua xiii. 3, 1 Chron. xiii. 5, but, as the margin rightly says, the Nile, in which sense it is perhaps used in Isa. xxiii. 3. 'The River' is the Euphrates.

19. Duhm omits the words 'and thy backslidings shall reprove thee,' and is thus able to translate 'misfortune' instead of 'wickedness.' In that case we get an excellent sense: disaster alone will bring the people to their right mind. The continuation in this and the following verse rather favours the present text. Sin brings its own punishment.

20. I have broken. We should unquestionably adopt the marginal translation, 'thou hast broken,' as practically all recent bands; and thou saidst, I will not [a] serve; for upon every high hill and under every green tree thou didst bow thyself, playing the harlot. Yet I had planted thee a 21 noble vine, wholly a right seed: how then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me? For though thou wash thee with lye, and take thee 22 much soap, yet thine iniquity is marked before me, saith the Lord GOD. How canst thou say, I am not defiled, 23

[a] Another reading is, *transgress*.

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scholars do, following the LXX and Vulgate. There is no suitability in a reference to God's breaking of the Egyptian yoke at the time of the Exodus, either as an explanation of 19, or as explained by 20 b. The meaning is that of old Israel threw off all restraint. We should no doubt retain the reading 'I will not serve,' which suits the statement that she had snapped her yoke. The other reading 'I will not transgress' is quite out of harmony with the context, and the Hebrew word is not used elsewhere in this absolute sense.

every high hill. The worship at the high places, even when offered to Yahweh, had a tendency to be assimilated to the licentious cult of the Baalim; the description given in the latter part of the verse is literally as well as figuratively accurate.

21. It was not God's fault that Israel had thus gone astray. He had set her at the outset on the right path. With a reminiscence of Isaiah's parable of the thankless vineyard (Isa. v. 1–7), Jeremiah insists that it was a vine of excellent quality, a Sorek vine of genuine stock, which Yahweh planted, from which good fruit might have been expected. The Hebrew is harsh and ungrammatical. The simplest emendation, though somewhat precarious, yields the sense: 'How hast thou turned to a foul-smelling thing, a strange vine.' Gillies translates 'How art thou then turned to bitterness, A degenerate vine.' (reading *limᵉrōrōth gephen*).

22. lye. The word so rendered means 'natron,' a mineral alkali; the word rendered 'soap' stands for a vegetable alkali. The guilt of Israel is such that no washing will remove it. Cf. Lady Macbeth's pitiful words on the blood-stains from which nothing will cleanse her hands.

marked: or **ingrained.** The Hebrew word occurs only here in the Old Testament. The Versions agree in taking it to mean 'filthy,' 'stained,' and this sense, which is supported by the Aramaic, is required by the context.

23. In this verse Jeremiah quotes and rebuts a statement made

I have not gone after the Baalim? see thy way in the
valley, know what thou hast done: *thou art* a swift
24 [a]dromedary traversing her ways; a wild ass used to the
wilderness, that snuffeth up the wind in her desire; in

[a] †Or, *young camel*

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by the people, to the effect that they are not guilty as he says. But the meaning is not clear. They may feel the charge that they have gone after the Baalim to be an unwarranted description of their conduct in keeping up old forms of worship. They may in that case possibly have recognized that they were no part of the religion of Yahweh, and yet have refused to regard them as a form of Baal-worship. More probably, however, the difference between people and prophet lay in this, that they emphasized the destination, he the quality of their worship. If the worship was rendered to Yahweh they felt that it ought not to be described as Baal-worship; Jeremiah insists on the contrary, that to serve Yahweh with the heathenish and immoral rites of Baalism is no better than downright worship of the Baalim. The name they gave to the deity was unimportant; their Yahweh was not his Yahweh, but no better than a Baal. Had the passage been written after Josiah's reformation, the meaning would apparently be that, whatever had been the case previously, the Baalim had now been abandoned for Yahweh. But this is unlikely, and less suitable to the context.

I have not gone. Duhm omits these words; if rightly, the people are not denying their worship of the Baalim, but that such worship involved any defilement.

thy way in the valley: i.e. the sacrifices to Molech offered in the Valley of Hinnom (see note on vii. 31).

dromedary: better **young camel,** as in margin. The word is used for a camel which has had no foal.

traversing: a better rendering would be 'interlacing.' She is continually driven to and fro by the sting of passion; she does not go forward quietly on her appointed way, but moves restlessly backwards and forwards, crossing and recrossing her old tracks, impelled by low desires.

24. If the text is correct, we may suppose either that Israel is now compared to a wild ass, as previously she had been to a camel, or that the camel is herself compared to the wild ass snuffing up the wind. The latter is very unlikely, a metaphor within a metaphor is awkward. The Hebrew for wild ass is irregularly written, the unpointed text suggests 'a heifer.' Duhm thinks a heifer is intended, and argues that the context requires an animal naturally tame but leading for a time the wild desert-life. Israel

her occasion who can turn her away? all they that seek
her will not weary themselves; in her month they shall
find her. Withhold thy foot from being unshod, and thy 25
throat from thirst: but thou saidst, There is no hope: no;
for I have loved strangers, and after them will I go. As 26
the thief is ashamed when he is found, so is the house of
Israel ashamed; they, their kings, their princes, and their
priests, and their prophets; which say to a stock, Thou 27
art my father; and to a stone, Thou hast [a] brought [b] me

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[a] Or, *begotten me* [b] Another reading is, *us.*

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was originally pious, but subsequently snapped her yoke. This does not suit the wild ass, which never wears the yoke at all. Cornill, followed by Rothstein, omits the first part of the verse (as far as 'desire'). He thus avoids the difficulties of the present text, and the passage runs much more smoothly. It may have been inserted from xiv. 6.

occasion: the word occurs nowhere else in Hebrew. Probably it means 'rut.'

will not weary themselves. The desire on her part is so intense that those who pair with her need give themselves no trouble to find her. In the month of mating she will seek them, they will not need to seek her. So Judah in her idolatrous passion runs after her lovers, i. e. the false gods.

25. The prophet further rebukes Israel's shameless passion. There seems to be no reference to the practice of approaching the altar with bare feet and calling to the deity with loud voice till the throat is parched. Possibly the point is that the sandals were removed when one wished to run more quickly, but more probably the meaning is 'Do not run the shoes off your feet.'

There is no hope. Israel rejects the injunction as all in vain, she has lost her self-control and is at the mercy of her passions.

strangers: i. e. strange gods.

26. The thief who is caught is disappointed of his booty and has nothing but confusion and penalty for his pains, so Israel will gain nothing better from her trust in the idols; cf. Isa. i. 29-31.

27. By **stock** and **stone** idols of wood and stone are intended, including perhaps the Asherah or wooden pole and the obelisk or stone pillar. There is no thought that the deities thus identified with the material images are the human ancestors who are worshipped as divine. Fatherhood and motherhood express the relation of deity to worshipper, not of ancestor to descendant.

forth: for they have turned their back unto me, and not
their face: but in the time of their trouble they will say,
28 Arise, and save us. But where are thy gods that thou
hast made thee? let them arise, if they can save thee in
the time of thy trouble: for according to the number of
thy cities are thy gods, O Judah.
29 Wherefore will ye plead with me? ye all have trans-
30 gressed against me, saith the LORD. In vain have I

Duhm rightly remarks that ancestor-worship had as good as no significance for Israel.

brought me forth: should be adopted rather than margin 'begotten me' (or 'us'). The stone is addressed as mother because the Hebrew word for 'stone' is feminine.

Arise, and save us. It must be remembered that, however prone to idolatry the Israelites were, they still regarded Yahweh as their national deity, on whose help they had a right to count. The extirpation of the worship of the Tyrian Baal had expressed the conviction, which Elijah had burnt into the consciousness of Israel, that Yahweh alone was Israel's God. But contact with Assyria had altered Judah's attitude. New cults had been imported, especially that of the Queen of Heaven, and found favour with the people. The sense of Yahweh's 'jealousy,' of His intolerance of companion deities, had been weakened, and while they worshipped other gods, they still regarded Yahweh as charged with the responsibility of their safety.

28. The prophet recognizes that a people may rightly look to its deity for deliverance, but draws the conclusion that the gods worshipped by Judah should honour this obligation or cease to be worshipped. She had no right to make a demand on Yahweh which she did not make on the gods she set by His side. The divided allegiance did not match the undivided claim.

The last portion of the verse is also found in xi. 13. The LXX adds here, 'and according to the number of the streets of Jerusalem they sacrifice to the Baal,' which agrees with the continuation in xi. 13 according to the LXX text of that passage. Ewald and Cornill adopt this.

29. What right, then, had the people to complain against Yahweh because of their misfortunes? What else did their rebellion deserve? 'Plead' is here very misleading; the Hebrew means to 'expostulate.'

30. The verse is rather difficult, and has been variously explained. The **children** must not be understood literally, nor is

smitten your children; they received no [a] correction: your own sword hath devoured your prophets, like a destroying lion. O generation, see ye the word of the LORD. 31
Have I been a wilderness unto Israel? or a land of [b] thick darkness? wherefore say my people, We are broken loose;

[a] Or, *instruction* [b] Or, *darkness from Jah*

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there a reference to the young warriors slain in battle. They are the members of the community generally, without reference to age; they had been smitten, but learnt nothing from their correction. Giesebrecht reads 'your fathers,' which involves only a trifling emendation, but it seems less suitable to the context.

The latter part of the verse is commonly supposed to refer to the killing of the prophets in Manasseh's persecution. If this had been the sense, it is more likely that 'my prophets' would have been said. Probably we should read with the LXX 'the sword,' and explain that the sword of Yahweh had slain certain false prophets, of whom we have no information elsewhere.

31. Once more Yahweh insists that Israel's defection was justified by no defect in Him. He had not been to His people an unprofitable, unkindly desert land, nor a land of dense darkness, where they might easily miss their way. He had satisfied their needs by His bounty. For though He had been their desert-deity, it was He and not the Baalim who had given them 'the corn, and the wine, and the oil' (Hos. ii. 8). He had also been their light, guiding them by the clear, sure word of prophecy. Perhaps the thought may also be present that Yahweh has not been to His people a gloomy and terrible wilderness, otherwise they might excusably have shrunk from Him.

The beginning of the verse is probably corrupt. The Hebrew means 'O generation that ye are, see the word of Yahweh.' The construction is possible, but Yahweh's reference to Himself in the third person is strange, as is the expression 'see the word.' The LXX reads 'hear the word,' and for the preceding words gives 'and ye did not fear,' connecting this with 30 where it makes good sense. It is not quite easy to see, if the LXX represents the original, how the present Hebrew text originated. The opening sentence is regarded by Duhm and Cornill as a later addition, but it does not much relieve the difficulties to make a later editor responsible for them.

thick darkness: the margin 'darkness from Jah' (i.e. Yahweh), cf. 'flame of Yah,' Song of Songs viii. 6, seems to give the sense of the Hebrew, but since this is strange on Yahweh's lips we should probably omit a letter and read simply 'darkness.'

broken loose: this seems to be the meaning of the Hebrew,

32 we will come no more unto thee? Can a maid forget
her ornaments, or a bride her attire? yet my people have
33 forgotten me days without number. How trimmest thou
thy way to seek love! therefore even the wicked women
34 hast thou taught thy ways. Also in thy skirts is found

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and is sufficiently guaranteed by Arabic, so that no emendation is necessary. The LXX renders 'We will not be ruled over.'

32. Israel's conduct is as incomprehensible as that of a maiden who forgot her ornaments or a bride who forgot her sash.

attire: i.e. headband (as in Isa. iii. 20, A.V.), see Aldis Wright's *Bible Word-Book*. But while the precise meaning of the Hebrew word, which occurs elsewhere only in Isa. iii. 20, is unknown, it must have been a kind of girdle which formed an indispensable part of the bride's attire. The Revisers translate by 'sash' in Isa. iii. 20, and this ought to have been substituted here.

33. trimmest suggests rather more than the Hebrew, which means to make good or right; her course is rightly designed to reach a wrong goal. The R.V. rendering of the latter portion of the verse gives a good, caustic sense; she has attained such a mastery, that even the experts in immorality are her pupils. But it would be better to translate 'therefore to evil things thou hast accustomed thy ways.' The LXX, however, presupposes a rather different text, 'therefore thou hast done wickedly in corrupting thy ways,' and this is supported by the contrast we thus gain with the verb in the first clause.

34. This is a very difficult verse. If we retain the present Hebrew text the meaning is apparently as follows: I have found your garments stained with the blood of the innocent poor: you did not find them breaking into houses, in which case you might justifiably have killed them (Exod. xxii. 2), but you slew them on account of their opposition to all these heathenish practices of yours. This reads in a good deal, and the text is almost certainly corrupt especially at the end of the verse. 'All these' needs to be defined, it may be these practices, or these garments, i.e. 'thy skirts.' Orelli makes the tempting suggestion that two words have fallen out, and that the text originally ran 'concerning all these things I will contend with thee.' This may be correct; in any case it is preferable to the LXX punctuation 'upon every oak,' for if they had been engaged in idolatrous worship Jeremiah could not have described them as innocent. There are other interpretations, but none of them probable. The corruption seems to be at present incurable.

in thy skirts: the LXX reads 'on thy hands,' and omits **poor.**

the blood of the souls of the innocent poor: [a] I have not found it at [b] the place of breaking in, but upon [c] all these. Yet thou saidst, I am innocent; surely his anger is turned 35 away from me. Behold, I will enter into judgement with thee, because thou sayest, I have not sinned. Why gaddest 36 thou about so much to change thy way? thou shalt be ashamed of Egypt also, as thou wast ashamed of Assyria. From him also shalt thou go forth, with thine hands 37 upon thine head: for the LORD hath rejected thy confidences, and thou shalt not prosper in them.

[d] They say, [e] If a man put away his wife, and she go from 3

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[a] †Or, *thou didst not find them* [b] See Ex. xxii. 2. [c] Some ancient authorities have, *every oak.* [d] Heb. *Saying.* [e] See Deut. xxiv. 1–4.

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35. Giesebrecht thinks that this verse is unsuitable in its present position, and suggests that originally it may have stood after iii. 1. It is better, however, where it is, and iii. 1 and iii. 2 ought not to be separated. In reply to Israel's protestations of innocence (see 23) and assurance that Yahweh's anger has passed away, He announces punishment for this assertion of guiltlessness (cf. 1 John i. 8–10). The view that prosperity and righteousness were closely associated seems to have emboldened the Jews to make this assertion. They infer from their good fortune that Yahweh is not angry with them.

36. The present pointing of the Hebrew word may be defended, though 'gaddest about' is too strong a translation. The LXX presupposes a different pointing, which should probably be accepted: 'How light a matter thou esteemest it to change thy way!' The reference is not to constant change of policy. We do not know what historical situation lies behind the allusion to the disappointment experienced from Assyria, or of the negotiations with Egypt which are expected to end in similar disappointment.

37. The hand on the head is a sign of deep shame and distress; cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 19.

in them: this is the view generally adopted, though the Hebrew is peculiar, and some improve it by a slight change in the text. Cornill connects it with the first word of the next chapter (see note), and reads 'to escape.'

iii. 1. They say. The Hebrew means 'saying,' and it is commonly recognized that the text is corrupt or incomplete. It him, and become another man's, shall he return unto her

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cannot be connected with 'hath rejected' in the preceding verse, because another clause with a different subject has intervened, and because there is no natural connexion between the statement in ii. 37 and the question in this verse. Usually the word comes at the end of such a formula as 'And the word of Yahweh came to me,' or 'And Yahweh spake unto me,' and since we have a similar heading to this in 6 without 'saying,' it has been conjectured that originally it stood in a slightly different form at the beginning of the chapter: 'And the word of Yahweh came unto me in the days of Josiah the king, saying.' It may be questioned, however, whether a title is in place here. If a new oracle begins here, such a heading is appropriate, not, however, if there is no break between this verse and the preceding chapter. The LXX and Syriac and one Hebrew MS. omit the word. It may have originated as Cornill suggests (see note on ii. 37). Reifmann's suggestion, adopted by Perles, that the word is an abbreviation of 'Go, say,' avoids the difficulty of the present text, but the text thus gained is too abrupt.

It is generally thought that there is a reference to Deut. xxiv. 1-4, which forbids a husband to take back a woman to wife whom he had previously divorced; such conduct is abomination to Yahweh, and causes the land to sin. This is thought to explain the curious fact that while the verse begins with a reference to the return of the husband to the wife, the application reverses the relationship and speaks of Israel's return to Yahweh. The pollution of the land is also supposed to be a reference to the law in Deuteronomy. It is, however, very questionable whether there was any reference to Deut. xxiv. 1-4, at least in the original text of this passage. Quite apart from the question whether the Code had at that time been published, there is a difference between the two cases, in the fact that Israel has not been divorced. Moreover we should probably read with the LXX 'that woman' instead of 'that land,' which has probably arisen through assimilation to Deut. xxiv, and perhaps 'shall she return to him' instead of 'shall he return unto her.' In earlier times, the legitimate marriage of the divorced wife with a second husband seems not to have been a bar to renewal of the old relations (cf. the case of David and Michal). Jeremiah, however, regards the woman as defiled for her former husband by her union with another man; but whether this union is legitimate or illegitimate he does not say, so that it is not clear whether he is contemplating the same case as the Deuteronomist. His argument is apparently this: If a man divorces his wife and she lives with another man, how can her first husband take her back, defiled as she is for him? But Judah's case is still worse, for she has not been divorced and has contracted an adulterous union not with one lover but with many. How can she expect

again? shall not that land be greatly polluted? But
thou hast played the harlot with many lovers; [a] yet
return again to me, saith the LORD. Lift up thine eyes 2
unto the bare heights, and see; where hast thou not
been lien with? By the ways hast thou sat for them, as
an Arabian in the wilderness; and thou hast polluted
the land with thy whoredoms and with thy wickedness.
Therefore the showers have been withholden, and there 3
hath been no latter rain; yet thou hadst a whore's forehead,
thou refusedst to be ashamed. Wilt thou not from 4

[a] †Or, *and* thinkest thou *to return &c.?*

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the old relations with Yahweh to be restored, since He must regard her as utterly defiled?

yet return. This is certainly incorrect. It is no gracious invitation that we have here, any more than in Isa. i. 18, but an indignant rebuke of the idea that she might return to Yahweh as a matter of course. The margin 'and *thinkest thou* to return' gives the sense, but not forcibly enough; the sense might be expressed thus 'and return to me? saith Yahweh!'

2. the bare heights, a favourite expression of Jeremiah's, are the hill-tops denuded of trees, which were congenial spots for worship. There Yahweh's people went wantonly astray after the false gods.

an Arabian: i.e. a steppe-dweller; there is probably no reference here to the fact that these highway robbers belonged to the tribe known as the Arabians (xxv. 24). The point of the comparison is the lying in wait by the wayside; the Arabian's object is of course different.

3. Cf. Amos iv. 6–11. The latter rain generally fell in March or April. But the LXX presupposes a different text, 'And thou hadst many shepherds as a stumbling for thee.' On the basis of this Duhm restores the text 'And thy many friends were a snare to thee.' This suits the context, and this or a similar sense is probably to be accepted. The friends are the lovers or false gods, through pursuit of whom Israel had fallen into misfortune.

4. The shamelessness with which the prophet has just charged her, is displayed in the fact that she uses endearing language to Yahweh at the very time when she is ardent in her devotion to other gods. Many consider that this reflects the new conditions introduced by the Deuteronomic Reform, which disappointed the prophet by its superficial character. But it would probably suit the earlier period, for even in the worst times of

this time cry unto me, My father, thou art the [a] guide of
5 my youth? Will he retain *his anger* for ever? will he
keep it to the end? Behold, thou [b] hast spoken and
hast done evil things, and hast [c] had thy way.
6 Moreover the LORD said unto me in the days of Josiah

[a] †Or, *companion*
[b] †Or, *hast spoken* thus, *but hast done &c.*
[c] Heb. *been able.*

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idolatry yet experienced, Israel seems not to have wavered in the conviction that Yahweh was her national God. And the reproach would be even more appropriate then than at a time when the worship of false gods had been suppressed. We must, of course, remember that the people as a whole did not readily rise to the exclusive standpoint of the prophets, and saw no inconsistency in combining the worship of Yahweh with that of the local Baalim, even when it rejected the worship of a foreign deity such as the Baal of Tyre. And in the time of Manasseh foreign cults had been introduced to a quite unexampled degree.

Wilt thou not. This rendering gives an entirely false sense. It is no appeal to Israel's better feelings which Jeremiah makes here, but a caustic accusation of her deceitfulness, in using wheedling language to the husband whom she is all the while betraying. We should render 'Hast thou not just now called me my father, the companion of my youth?' (adopting a slight change from the LXX). Duhm omits 'my father,' which he thinks has been introduced from 19, as unsuitable to the representation of Yahweh as the companion of Israel's youth, and the whole description of Israel's unfaithfulness. Both relationships were, it is true, asserted by Hosea, though not in such close juxtaposition.

5. The former part of the verse is usually taken to be a continuation of Israel's words, asking if Yahweh's anger is to endure for ever. Yahweh then retorts that, while uttering excellent sentiments, her conduct has been utterly bad (cf. the light-hearted optimism in Hos. vi. 1–3 and its rebuke in vi. 4). This is probably correct, though Duhm with some alteration gets the sense, 'Will anger be retained for ever, will it be kept till the end?' taking this as Yahweh's question to Judah.

had thy way: literally **been able.** Duhm takes the closing words to mean 'thou hast done evil to the uttermost.' Erbt suggests 'thou hast been crafty against me.'

iii. 6–18. ISRAEL, LESS GUILTY THAN JUDAH, INVITED TO RETURN.

These verses present a very difficult problem, for which several solutions have been offered. The main theme of the section is the king, Hast thou seen that which backsliding Israel

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that Judah has taken no warning by the fate of the Northern Kingdom, but has also gone wantonly astray after false gods; therefore since Israel has been less guilty than Judah, Yahweh invites her to confess her sin and return from exile. The term 'Israel' is accordingly used here in the narrower sense to designate the ten tribes, and thus excludes Judah which is placed in direct contrast with it. In ii. 1—iii. 5, on the other hand, the term is not employed in this limited meaning. It is used of the elect people as a whole, but since with the captivity of the ten tribes their relationship to Yahweh was annulled or at any rate suspended, and the Southern Kingdom alone remained to represent the people of God, the title 'Israel,' which expressed the theocratic idea, was restricted to it, so far as Jeremiah was addressing his contemporaries or dealing with the history after the fall of Samaria. The same is true apparently of the section which follows iii. 18. Accordingly Stade, whose view has been accepted by Kuenen, Cornill, and Driver, considered that iii. 6 ff. did not originally belong to its present context, and that before its insertion iii. 19 immediately followed iii. 5, as is indeed suggested by the antithesis implied in the opening words of 19. Duhm, however, thinks that this distinction between the ten tribes and Judah is due to a redactor. Jeremiah meant by the return of Israel Judah's return to God, but the redactor misunderstood him to refer to the return of the ten tribes from exile. Only 12^{b} and 13 are left to Jeremiah, the redactor being responsible for the rest. He was influenced, he thinks, by Ezekiel's similar unfavourable verdict on Judah in comparison with Israel. But it is more probable that Ezekiel was indebted first to Jeremiah. The older prophet's relationships were with the Rachel tribes, and his sympathies were naturally drawn to his exiled kinsfolk. Moreover he could not fail, as he thought of Israel's history, to be struck by the apparent inequality of God's dealings with the two kingdoms. Israel's punishment had not been unjust, but the subsequent sin of Judah in the reign of Manasseh merited an even heavier punishment. Even if he contemplated exile for Judah, he believed in her restoration, and justice involved a similar restoration for the less guilty Israel. But at the period to which this oracle belongs he seems to have hoped that Judah's exile might be averted by repentance. All the more imperative that the privilege of return upon repentance should be offered to Israel. We may therefore regard the thought as genuinely Jeremianic, and treat this section as a whole as the prophet's work dating from the reign of Josiah. Giesebrecht, however, does not admit that it closes with iii. 18, or that iii. 19 should immediately follow iii. 5. He believes that

hath done? she is gone up upon every high mountain
and under every green tree, and there hath played the
7 harlot. [a] And I said after she had done all these things,
[b] She will return unto me; but she returned not: and

[a] †Or, *And I said, After she hath done all these things, she &c.*
[b] Or, *Let her return unto me*

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iii. 1–5 is an independent prophecy, and takes iii. 6—iv. 2 as a unity, apart from later insertions. He finds too marked a contrast between iii. 1–5 and iii. 19 ff. to admit of their being taken as a single oracle, and he considers that Jeremiah does not apply the term Israel to Judah alone. Nevertheless it is probably best to abide by the view that originally iii. 19 stood immediately after iii. 5, and that iii. 6–18 is as a whole the work of Jeremiah, but has properly no connexion with its present context. The question of later insertions may be deferred.

iii. 6–18. Yahweh had thought that apostate Israel would forsake her idols and return to Him. But when she failed to return and He had divorced her, faithless Judah took no warning by her sister's fate, but polluted the land with her idolatry and returned to Yahweh only in hypocrisy. Since Israel therefore was more righteous than Judah, He bade me invite her to confess her sin and return, and He would bring the repentant remnant to Zion, and give them shepherds who would feed them with true knowledge. The ark will in the days of the nation's prosperity be missed no more. All nations, forsaking their stubborn way, shall come to Jerusalem, and Judah and Israel shall return from the north country to Palestine.

6. The section as a whole seems to be correctly assigned to the reign of Josiah.

backsliding: the Hebrew word is a noun; more literally we might render 'apostasy Israel,' as if Israel were the very incarnation of the quality. 'Backturning' would preserve better the play on the double sense of the root, which runs through the passage, (a) turn the back on Yahweh, and (b) return to Him. (See Driver's note, p. 340.)

hath done: better **did**, similarly 'went up' and 'played.' The Northern Kingdom had come to an end about a century before, so that the tenses in the R.V. give a false impression.

7. This hope of her reformation was not a mere expectation which Yahweh had done nothing to realize, for as Jeremiah elsewhere insists, He had sent prophet after prophet to recall her to the true path.

her treacherous sister Judah saw it. And [a] I saw, when, 8
for this very cause that backsliding Israel had committed
adultery, I had put her away and given her a bill of divorcement,
yet treacherous Judah her sister feared not;
but she also went and played the harlot. And it came 9
to pass through the lightness of her whoredom, that the
land was polluted, and she committed adultery with stones
and with stocks. And yet for all this her treacherous 10

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[a] †Some ancient authorities have, *she saw that, for &c.*

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8. I saw: this makes no good sense; we should read with the Syriac 'she saw,' i.e. Judah saw that Israel was divorced for her unfaithfulness. Duhm thinks the reference is to Yahweh's abandonment of Shiloh (vii. 12 ff., xxvi. 6, 9) and choice of Jerusalem as His dwelling (Ps. lxxviii. 67, 68). But since the palmy days of the northern tribes all came after the destruction of Shiloh, it is most unlikely that the writer should regard this as Yahweh's manifest repudiation of Israel. The only natural reference is to the exile in 722 (cf. Isa. l. 1), by which she was driven out of Yahweh's house and land (Hos. ix. 3, 15). For the 'bill of divorcement' cf. Deut. xxiv. 1, 3.

9. lightness: this is probably the meaning if the text is correct, though the word does not occur elsewhere, and the sense will be 'her light-hearted unfaithfulness.' It might mean 'voice' or 'report,' but this is improbable. A slight correction (*q^{e}lon*) would yield the sense 'through the disgrace,' and some give this sense to the present term. Perles (*Analekten*, p. 72) thinks we should read *kol* (instead of *qol*), 'through all her,' &c.

the land was polluted: the pointed text can only mean 'she was polluted with the land.' The pointing should be changed and we should read 'she polluted the land' (so Targum and Vulgate).

10. Apparently the reference is to the failure of the Deuteronomic Reformation. Cornill thinks that it ascribes the downfall of Judah to it. He urges that while Jeremiah would have shared the conviction that no reformation would have been of any avail apart from a change of heart, he could not have said that if undertaken with all the heart the reform would have saved Judah. Accordingly he treats the verse as a later insertion. But this is very questionable, for it is by no means clear that the passage looks back on the downfall of Judah as an accomplished fact, and Jeremiah soon realized the superficial character of the reform. The

sister Judah hath not returned unto me with her whole
11 heart, but feignedly, saith the LORD. And the LORD
said unto me, Backsliding Israel hath shewn herself more
12 righteous than treacherous Judah. Go, and proclaim
these words toward the north, and say, Return, thou
backsliding Israel, saith the LORD; I will not [a] look in
anger upon you: for I am merciful, saith the LORD, I will
13 not keep *anger* for ever. Only [b] acknowledge thine iniquity, that thou hast transgressed against the LORD thy
God, and hast scattered thy ways to the strangers under
every green tree, and ye have not obeyed my voice, saith

[a] Heb. *cause my countenance to fall upon you.* [b] Or, *know*

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verse is meant to form the basis for the judgement in the next verse.

her treacherous sister Judah. We should read simply **treacherous Judah,** with the LXX. The pronoun can only refer to Israel, but Judah is the antecedent, so that 'her sister' is simply an intrusion from 7, 8, where also the LXX omits it.

11. Israel is more righteous, since Judah might have profited by the warning of her sister's fate, but she went on in her sin, and then added insincerity to her other offences by pretending to return to Yahweh. Ezekiel says that Jerusalem, by the abominations she has committed, has justified her sisters Samaria and Sodom. They are righteous when compared with her.

12. So Jeremiah is bidden turn his gaze towards the North, into which a century earlier the exiles had disappeared, and utter that prophetic word of Yahweh which will not return to Him void, summoning the captives to come back to their own land.

13. acknowledge: marg. **know** is the literal translation; the R.V. text gives the sense.

scattered thy ways is a strange phrase; we may perhaps compare ii. 23, 25. Cornill's suggestion 'lavished thy love' is ingenious, but the sense imposed on the verb is dubious.

14–18. This section creates serious difficulties. Apparently the meaning is not that the whole of the exiled tribes are to return to Palestine and then a chosen few of these were to be brought to Jerusalem, but that only a small remnant would return from exile and these would be taken to Jerusalem. This is presupposed by 16; the tiny community is not to be limited to Zion, but to spread abroad in the land. But according to chap. xxxi it is a great the LORD. [S] Return, O backsliding children, saith the 14

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company, the whole of Israel it would seem, that is to return, and they will dwell upon the mountains of Samaria and the hills of Ephraim. This is obviously the more natural anticipation, but it is difficult to imagine that Jeremiah expected a feeble remnant of the northern tribes to come back to Palestine and settle in Jerusalem. It would be possible to mitigate this difficulty by reading 'bring them,' were it not that 16 presupposes that only a few will at first dwell in the land. The closing verses, 17, 18, have been for long an object of suspicion. Jeremiah does not elsewhere represent the idolatry of the heathen as due to their stubbornness, and it is questionable whether he expected all the nations to be gathered to Jerusalem to worship Yahweh. The thought that Jerusalem will be the throne of Yahweh, apparently in contrast to the cherubim over the ark, is also not too readily to be ascribed to a prophet who sets aside material media for the worship of Yahweh. Further 18 represents Judah as returning with Israel from the exile. This is not in harmony with the rest of the section, which suggests different treatment of the two. Are we then to take the same view of 16? There is not a little to suggest this. Many consider that it presupposes that the ark had perished and was missed by the people. This is not certain, but if it be granted, it does not follow that Jeremiah could not have written it, since it is quite likely that the ark had disappeared before his time. The verse seems also to be linked to the context, and should therefore, it may be argued, fall under the same judgement. But this may be accounted for by the view that the passage has grown up round a genuine Jeremianic nucleus. The fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple had been prophetic certainties to Jeremiah long before they happened, and he must have meditated on the future relations between Yahweh and His people. The popular religion identified the ark with the presence of Yahweh. Such a conception must have been utterly repulsive to Jeremiah, with his spiritual view of religion. The blessed future to which he looked forward was the era of the New Covenant, the ark was the ark of the old covenant; how natural for the dissolution of the covenant to be associated with that of its material embodiment! Moreover the ark conferred, in the eyes of the people, its peculiar sanctity on the Temple. And there is a striking parallel between the attitude taken by prophet and people to the ark, with that taken by them towards the Temple. The exclamation 'The ark of the covenant of Yahweh,' corresponds to the other popular watchword 'The temple of Yahweh are these' (vii. 4); and while the present passage does not predict that the ark will be destroyed, it presupposes or contemplates its destruction. If then the verse stood alone, there would be no reason for

LORD; for I am a husband unto you: and I will take
you one of a city, and two of a family, and I will bring
15 you to Zion: and I will give you shepherds according to
mine heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and
16 understanding. [J] And it shall come to pass, when ye

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rejecting it, but strong reasons for regarding it as genuine, all the more that it is not the type of utterance characteristic of the later period. But it does not stand alone. The contrast implied in 17 between Jerusalem and the ark as the throne of Yahweh may well be due to a later writer who failed to grasp the depth of Jeremiah's words. And the words 'when ye be multiplied and increased in the land,' which connect the thought with 14, seem to be another editorial link. They imply that when the people were few and settled in Zion they would desire the ark, but when they grew numerous and overspread the land they would dispense with it. But such a thought is extremely strange in itself. Accordingly the present writer is of opinion that the saying on the ark is authentic, but that 14, 15 with 17, 18 are a later insertion, together with the clause 'when ye be multiplied and increased in the land.' It is, of course, not easy to understand how the genuine oracle became detached from the context in which it presumably stood, but every solution is encumbered with difficulties.

14. I am a husband. The verb occurs in the present text of xxxi. 32, where it is often taken to mean 'reject.' Whether this view be correct or not in that passage (see the note), it is certainly incorrect here, though some have so interpreted it. It means 'I am a baal,' and this word embraces the ideas both of lord and husband. The writer chooses it probably with reference to the worship of the Baalim, to indicate that Yahweh is Israel's true husband and lord. The Israelites used to speak of Him as their Baal, but the peril of confusion with the local Baalim was such that in Hos. ii. 16, 17 we read 'thou shalt call me Ishi; and shalt call me no more Baali. For I will take away the names of the Baalim out of her mouth.'

two of a family. The family or clan must mean here a large subdivision of the tribe, including more people than the 'city.' The term 'city' was used for quite small places.

15. shepherds: i.e. kings, see xxiii. 1–8, Ezek. xxxiv. 23. Their function is to be teachers.

16. The sense of the original oracle of Jeremiah was that when the New Covenant has been instituted, each will have direct and first-hand knowledge of God, so that the ark which guaranteed and mediated His presence with the nation will be obsolete. The

be multiplied and increased in the land, in those days, saith the LORD, they shall say no more, The ark of the covenant of the LORD ; neither shall it come to mind : neither shall they remember it ; neither shall they [a] visit
it ; neither [b] shall *that* be done any more. [S] At that 17
time they shall call Jerusalem the throne of the LORD ; and all the nations shall be gathered unto it, to the name of the LORD, to Jerusalem : neither shall they walk any
more after the stubbornness of their evil heart. In those 18
days the house of Judah shall walk [c] with the house of Israel, and they shall come together out of the land of the north to the land that I gave for an inheritance unto

[a] †Or, *miss* [b] †Or, *shall it be made any more* [c] Or, *to*

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individual has become the religious unit. On the history of the ark, see *The Religion of Israel* in *Century Bible Handbooks*, pp. 19–22 and the Appendix to *Samuel* by Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy, with his article 'Ark' in Hastings's *One Volume Bible Dictionary.* In the Second Temple its place was taken by a stone. There is a curious irony in the story of 2 Macc. ii. 4 ff. that Jeremiah hid the ark in a cave on Mount Nebo, together with the tabernacle and altar of incense—Jeremiah, of all people !

shall that be done any more : the margin should be substituted ; the meaning is that a new ark will not be made to take the place of the old.

17. The later writer seems to have understood Jeremiah's oracle to mean that the ark over which Yahweh was enthroned between the cherubim would be no longer needed, since Jerusalem itself would become His throne.

to the name of the LORD, to Jerusalem : omitted by the LXX, probably correctly. 'To the name' is generally taken to mean 'because of the name,' but this is dubious.

18. Judah will return with Israel from exile. This presupposes that the return of Israel is to take place after the overthrow of Judah and the expiation of her sin by an adequate captivity. The standpoint of the author is apparently post-exilic, the return from the Dispersion is a common element in the later delineations of the future. Cf. the similar prophecy, Hos. i. 11, itself in all probability a late passage, and for the reunion of Israel and Judah, Ezek. xxxvii. 16–28, Isa. xi. 12–14.

19 your fathers. [J] But I said, How [a] shall I put thee

[a] †Or, *would . . . nations!*

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iii. 19—iv. 4. BROKEN-HEARTED PENITENCE, FOLLOWED BY AMENDMENT, WILL BE GRACIOUSLY ACCEPTED.

We now return to the prophecy which was interrupted by the insertion of iii. 6–18. This section probably closes with iv. 4, rather than iv. 2, since a new prophecy apparently begins with iv. 5.

iii. 19, 20. Yet how gladly Yahweh would have treated His daughter Israel as a son, endowing her with a son's inheritance! But she has disappointed His faith in her loyalty, and gone astray from Him.

21–25. But hark! there is on the heights the sound of tearful entreaty; it is the cry of Israel, penitent for her sin. Graciously Yahweh bids her return to Him, and He will heal her apostasy. Israel turns to Yahweh her God, confessing how vain were her tumultuous orgies in honour of the heathen gods, how Yahweh alone was her help; idolatry had been her ruin, she is overwhelmed with shame for her rebellion.

iv. 1–4. If Israel will abandon her idols, and sincerely swear fealty to Yahweh, then the nations will invoke blessings on themselves in His name. Let Judah prepare the soil for the good seed, and sow it where the thorns will not choke it, and circumcise the heart, otherwise the evil of her doings will cause her to be consumed with the inextinguishable fire of Yahweh's anger.

19. This verse should be read in immediate connexion with 5. It is rather obscurely expressed. The R.V. suggests that Yahweh asks how He can place Israel among the children, i.e. the other nations, and give it an inheritance. The margin is better; it is not a question, but the expression of a deep desire. The probable meaning of the verse was first pointed out by Duhm, whose interpretation has been generally accepted. Israel is Yahweh's daughter, for here she is referred to as a woman, and it was not usual for daughters to inherit (Num. xxvii. 1–8). But He would put her among sons, i.e. treat her as a son and grant her an inheritance, setting aside, as Job did with his daughters, the usual inability of daughters to inherit. 'Children' should be 'sons,' since the point of the passage is the contrast with daughters. Graf missed the contrast, but otherwise gave the right explanation. We need not inquire who 'the sons' are, whether heathen nations or angels; the prophet is simply concerned with Israel, and means no more than how joyfully would Yahweh deal with Israel as a son. It is not necessary to discuss other interpretations of the passage.

among the children, and give thee a pleasant land, [a] a
goodly heritage of the hosts of the nations? and I said,
[b] Ye shall call me My father; and shall not turn away
from following me. Surely as a wife treacherously de- 20
parteth from her husband, so have ye dealt treacherously
with me, O house of Israel, saith the LORD. A voice is 21
heard upon the bare heights, the weeping *and* the sup-
plications of the children of Israel; for that they have
perverted their way, they have forgotten the LORD their
God. Return, ye backsliding children, I will heal your 22

[a] †Or, *the goodliest heritage of the nations* [b] †Another reading is, *Thou shalt . . . and shalt not &c.*

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a goodly heritage of the hosts of the nations: the margin is better. The literal rendering is 'heritage of the beauty of the beauties of the nations,' the word translated 'hosts' being rather the plural of the word for 'beauty.' Cp. Ezek. xx. 6, 15, Dan. xi. 16, 41, and (with 'land' omitted) viii. 9.

20. husband: literally 'friend,' perhaps intentionally chosen as a vaguer term in preference to wife, since Israel has just been spoken of as daughter.

house of Israel: not Israel as distinguished from Judah, but Israel as the general name for the people of Yahweh. Practically it is equivalent to Judah, which after the fall of the Northern Kingdom remained the sole representative of the elect nation.

21. And now in a moving passage Jeremiah depicts the passionate penitence of the people. In place of the light-hearted claim to have amended their ways, and the confident assumption that Yahweh's anger was a mere passing mood, we see them broken and ashamed. At first it is but the inarticulate weeping that we hear, the contrite heart relieves itself in moans and tears, before it composes itself to fashion its emotion in speech. Moreover, crushed as they are with the consciousness of their sin, they dare not address their deeply-injured God. Only when they hear His gracious invitation and promise do they present themselves to Him, confessing the vanity and hurtfulness of idolatry.

the bare heights: not in the land of exile, as Giesebrecht thinks, but in Israel. The weeping so finely described is on the high places; the scene of her idolatry is the scene also of her penitence.

22. Cf. Hos. xiv. 4. The LXX, probably under the influence of vi. 14, viii. 1, seems to have read for 'your backslidings' 'your

backslidings. Behold, we are come unto thee ; for thou
23 art the LORD our God. Truly in vain is *the help that is looked for* from the hills, the [a] tumult on the mountains : truly in the LORD our God is the salvation of Israel.
24 But the [b] shameful thing hath devoured the labour of our fathers from our youth ; their flocks and their herds, their
25 sons and their daughters. Let us lie down in our shame, and let our confusion cover us : for we have sinned against the LORD our God, we and our fathers, from our youth even unto this day : and we have not obeyed the voice of the LORD our God.

[a] Or, *noisy throng* [b] Heb. *shame*. See ch. xi. 13.

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breaches,' the same word as that rendered 'hurt' in those passages.

23. The general thought is that the hills, where the worship of the high-places was carried on, can afford no help : this comes only from God. The expression, however, is difficult, as is suggested by the italics in the R.V. The Hebrew text is literally 'Truly in vain from the hills, the tumult the mountains.' A change in pointing gives for the last clause 'the tumult of the mountains.' Some follow the Versions, and read 'Truly in vain are the hills, the tumult of the mountains.' Driver considers that Hebrew idiom would not say absolutely that the hills were in vain, but would specify what in connexion with them was in vain. Accordingly he inserts a word to balance 'the tumult,' rendering 'Truly in vain is [the sound] from the hills, the tumult on the mountains.' The wild ecstatic religion practised in the popular nature-worship could bring no real satisfaction and peace.

tumult : margin **noisy throng** ; the sense is not affected.

24. the shameful thing, literally **the shame** (*bosheth*). Since 'shame' is used here for the Baal, but in the next verse in its proper sense, it is not unlikely that Jeremiah actually wrote 'the Baal' and that the substitution of *bosheth* made by the Jews in reading has here been taken into the text : cf. Ishbosheth for Ishbaal, Mephibosheth for Meribaal (as the name should probably be spelt). The reference is to the days of Manasseh, when idolatry claimed not animal victims alone but the worshippers' own sons and daughters. The words 'from our youth,' however, are an unsuitable limitation, and have probably been accidentally inserted from 25.

25. It is not clear whether 'from our youth' has an individual or a national reference. If the latter the words, with the remainder

If thou wilt return, O Israel, saith the LORD, unto me 4
shalt thou return: and [a] if thou wilt put away thine

[a] †Or, *if thou wilt put . . . and wilt not wander, and wilt swear . . . then shall the nations &c.* or, *then shalt thou swear . . . and the nations &c*

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of the verse, may be a later addition, since the phrase in 24 seems to refer to the youth of those who are speaking. But there is no need to suppose that only post-exilic Jews confessed the sins of their ancestors as well as their own.

iv. 1, 2. To this heart-broken confession we now have Yahweh's reply. The rendering in R.V. text, though accepted by several recent scholars, is difficult. It apparently involves two senses of 'return.' In the first instance the meaning is, If thou returnest to God from thy evil way; the clause 'unto me shalt thou return,' must express a return to God in a different sense, perhaps a return from exile to Yahweh's land, and such a double sense is improbable. Those who adopt this view usually translate verse 2, 'And shouldest thou swear . . . then shall the nations,' &c. In favour of this view it may be said that then we get three parallel sentences, each expressing a condition to be fulfilled by Israel with the reward that will follow, and the balance is better preserved than on the alternative view. The latter is partially represented in R.V. marg., but we ought to extend the correction to the first clause also, and render 'If thou wilt return, O Israel, saith the LORD, yea, return unto me: and if thou wilt put away thine abominations out of my sight, and wilt not wander, and wilt swear . . . then shall the nations,' &c. In that case we have a threefold condition, followed by a promise in the last clause. It is objected that the verb rendered 'wander' does not bear the moral sense of wandering from God, but in view of its rarity it is questionable if this restriction is justified. A simple emendation, *tarud* for *tanud*, 'and wilt not break loose' (ii. 31), would, as Driver says, remove this objection. We should probably accept this translation of the two verses, and thus avoid the awkwardness of giving a double sense to 'return' in the first clause. The margin gives a second alternative to the text 'if thou wilt put . . . and wilt not wander, then shalt thou swear . . . and the nations,' &c. This is not so good.

Cornill regards the two verses as a later insertion, mainly on the ground that the demand made is too slight to meet the requirements of the situation. Only in 3, 4, which are among the grandest in the prophetic literature and comprise Jeremiah's whole theology in a couple of brief sentences, does the speech reach a worthy close. Giesebrecht considers that iii. 19-25 are addressed to the ten tribes in exile, and therefore closes the speech with iv. 1, 2, taking iv. 3, 4 with the address to Judah as beginning a new rather than

abominations out of my sight, then shalt thou not be
2 removed; and thou shalt swear, As the LORD liveth, in truth, in judgement, and in righteousness; and the nations shall bless themselves in him, and in him shall they glory.

3 For thus saith the LORD to the men of Judah and to

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as closing the preceding prophecy. But these verses are far more effective as the climax to the latter than as the introduction to the former. While this is the case, there is no serious difficulty in retaining iv. 1, 2, especially as 3, 4 would follow abruptly on iii. 25.

abominations. Driver renders 'detestable things,' as in A.V. of Ezek. v. 11, vii. 20, where it is joined with another word which means 'abomination,' and in Ezek. xxxvii. 23, where it stands by itself. See article 'Abomination' in Hastings's *Dict. of the Bible.* The word embraces the whole idolatrous worship of Judah.

be removed: if this rendering is adopted, the meaning is that Israel will not be driven any longer from Yahweh's presence like Cain. More probably we should render 'wander,' and take the word in the sense of wandering from God. In either case we should connect the word translated 'out of my sight,' literally 'from before me,' with this clause not the preceding.

swear: no longer as a mere formula, but with a heart wholly loyal to God.

in him: we might render **in it**. Neither is quite suitable. If God is referred to, we should expect 'in me;' if Israel, 'in thee.' The former is suggested by Isa. lxv. 16, 'shall bless himself in the God of truth,' the latter more strongly by the parallel passages in Genesis (xii. 3, &c.), 'in thee shall all the families of the earth bless themselves;' i.e. Israel's blessedness will be such that all nations will desire a similar blessedness for themselves. The third person may be due to Gen. xviii. 18, if Jeremiah may be supposed to have been familiar with this. On the other hand, the word 'glory' is not so applicable to Israel, though it is not confined to glorying in God.

3, 4. What is involved in the conditions laid down in the preceding verses receives here a classical expression. The ground, which has lain so long untilled, must be broken up. The hard unresponsive disposition must bear the discipline of plough and harrow, and be thoroughly prepared to receive the good seed. But that is not enough, for the soil is encumbered with evil growths, and unless these are cleared away, they will choke the seed and prevent it from ripening and bearing fruit. The people must break with their past, remain no longer unaccustomed to

Jerusalem, Break up your fallow ground, and sow not among thorns. Circumcise yourselves to the LORD, and 4 take away the foreskins of your heart, ye men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem: lest my fury go forth like fire, and burn that none can quench it, because of the evil of your doings. Declare ye in Judah, and publish 5

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goodness, and give the new seed the most ample opportunity of unhindered growth.

It would be better to read with five MSS., with the LXX and other Versions, 'and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.'

Break up your fallow ground: the phrase may have been borrowed from Hos. x. 12, but possibly it was current among the people.

4. Circumcision qualified a man to enter into the covenant relationship in which Israel stood to Yahweh. This was an external circumcision corresponding to the external nature of the covenant. Jeremiah demands an inward circumcision, a cleansing and dedication of the heart. Such a doctrine naturally points the way to his supreme contribution to religious thought, his epoch-making conception of the New Covenant (xxxi. 31–34), in which he approximates to the New Testament. If the men of Judah thus make for themselves a new heart, all may yet be well. If not, judgement must be executed.

iv. 5–31. A TERRIBLE FOE WILL INFLICT THE UTTERMOST PENALTY ON JUDAH.

Jeremiah had in imagination heard the penitent weeping of his countrymen on the scene of their transgression, and demanded from them a radical reformation, a renewal of the heart. But of this deep repentance, on which his hope had fondly rested, there was no sign, and now the prophet proclaims the doom. The Scythians are approaching, the agents of Yahweh's vengeance. The prophecies which deal with the Scythians are continued to the close of the sixth chapter. While they were uttered about 626 B.C. they bear the mark, in their present form, of the revision to which they were subjected in the reign of Jehoiakim. They are apparently somewhat later than ii. 1—iii. 5, iii. 19—iv. 4, for the references to the approaching judgement are more definite in their description.

iv. 5–10. Summon the people to take refuge in the fortified cities, for destruction is coming from the north. The lion has come from his lair, a destroyer of nations, to lay the cities in utter ruin. Lament for this calamity, since Yahweh's anger is not

in Jerusalem; and say, Blow ye the trumpet in the land: cry aloud and say, Assemble yourselves, and let us go
6 into the fenced cities. Set up a standard toward Zion:

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turned away. Bewilderment will seize the king and the leaders of the people, and they will complain that Yahweh has deceived His people with false promises of peace.

11–18. A hot blast of judgement comes against Judah, too strong to carry away the chaff and leave the grain. The multitudinous hosts sweep on swiftly to the doom of Judah. Renounce thy sin, Jerusalem, that ruin may be averted. The tidings come from the north that the besiegers are on their way. It is thy rebellion which has brought this trouble upon thee.

19–22. My heart is torn with emotion at the battle-cry, all the land is spoiled. The people are besotted, and wholly abandoned to evil.

23–28. I gazed at the earth, and it was chaos; at the heavens, and they had no light; at the mountains, and they swayed to and fro. I gazed, there was no man, and the birds had fled. The fertile land was a wilderness, the cities destroyed. Yahweh will make the land a desolation, though not irretrievably. Earth and heaven will mourn, but this is His settled purpose.

29–31. The inhabitants forsake the cities, and seek refuge in the rocks and thickets. Vainly dost thou seek to fascinate thy lovers, Jerusalem; they seek thy life. I have heard Zion's voice shrieking in her uttermost anguish: 'Alas, I faint before my murderers!'

iv. 5. The text can hardly be in its original state. The proclamation would not be made in Jerusalem that the inhabitants should flee for safety to Zion. It is awkward that one group of people should be told to bid a second group say to a third group 'Assemble yourselves,' &c. We should also expect those addressed in the first clause to be bidden to blow the trumpet. Duhm strikes out the introductory words and begins the passage with 'Blow ye the trumpet,' he also omits the second 'and say' which adds to the clumsiness of the present text. This greatly lightens the verse, but is a rather violent remedy. Giesebrecht simply strikes out 'and in Jerusalem,' and very cleverly suggests that the first 'say ye' has really originated from 'saith Yahweh,' with the abbreviated form of which it is nearly identical. He thus gets the text 'Declare ye in Judah and publish, saith Yahweh. Blow ye,' &c. This is a very probable emendation.

the trumpet: i. e. the horn.

6. While the country people of Judah flee into the other fortified cities as well, they naturally go for the most part to

flee for safety, stay not: for I will bring evil from the
north, and a great destruction. A lion is gone up from 7
his thicket, and a destroyer of nations; he is on his way,
he is gone forth from his place; to make thy land desolate, that thy cities be laid waste, without inhabitant.
For this gird you with sackcloth, lament and howl: for 8
the fierce anger of the LORD is not turned back from us.
And it shall come to pass at that day, saith the LORD, 9

Jerusalem; hence the command to 'set up the standard toward Zion,' in order to guide them.

flee for safety: better, **bring (your households) into safety** (Driver): cf. Isa. x. 31, R.V. marg., 'make *their households* flee.'

destruction: literally 'breaking' or 'breach,' a favourite word with the prophet and his contemporaries.

7. Under the metaphor of a lion's attack the conqueror's onslaught is described. He is a destroyer of nations; this trait is thought by some to suit Nebuchadnezzar better than the Scythians, and therefore to have been introduced by the prophet when he published his prophecies in the reign of Jehoiakim. But if the view taken in the next note is correct, it is better to suppose that the Scythians are intended.

thy land: it would be better to read 'the earth,' and omit the rest of the verse 'that thy cities,' &c., which may have been added from ii. 15, ix. 11. The prediction that the cities are to be utterly destroyed does not suit very well the injunction to flee into them.

9. Duhm considers 9–11[a] as a later insertion, partly on account of the change in metre, partly because it is unlikely that after Jeremiah has by his highly effective description set us right in the midst of the excitement created by the enemy's approach, he should calmly postpone it to the indefinite future. 'In that day' is, he says, a mere phrase with which the later supplementers so regularly introduce their additions that it is usually a sign of non-authenticity. But, except on the unwarrantable hypothesis that Jeremiah invariably wrote in a single type of metre, the metrical argument cannot settle the question; moreover 'in that day' is found in passages which there is no reason to suspect, some of which are in fact retained as original by Duhm himself. If the change of rhythm justified the assumption that the prophecy as originally composed was without these verses, they might well have been inserted when he dictated over again the contents of the roll burnt by Jehoiakim (**xxxvi. 2**).

that the heart of the king shall perish, and the heart of the princes; and the priests shall be astonished, and the
10 prophets shall wonder. Then said I, Ah, Lord GOD! surely thou hast greatly deceived this people and Jerusalem, saying, Ye shall have peace; whereas the sword
11 reacheth unto the soul. At that time shall it be said to this people and to Jerusalem, A hot wind from the bare heights in the wilderness toward the daughter of my

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heart often means 'intelligence,' but here perhaps 'courage.'

10. The present text represents Jeremiah as reproaching Yahweh for misleading the people by promises of peace. Jeremiah, however, did not prophesy of peace but of calamity. Orelli thinks the reference is to Huldah's prophecy (2 Kings xxii. 18-20). But this is most unlikely, since that is fundamentally a prophecy of disaster. Nor does Jeremiah think of Yahweh as putting a lying spirit in the mouth of the prophets (1 Kings xxii. 20-23). We should adopt the reading of the Arabic Version, 'And they shall say.' The reference is to the false prophets, who persistently predicted good fortune, and did so in the confidence that they were uttering Yahweh's word. When overwhelming disaster gives the lie to their optimism, they will turn upon Yahweh, accusing Him of deceiving His people.

11, 12. The main drift of the sentence is clear: the hot sirocco from the desert shall burst on Judah with a blast too violent to winnow the chaff from the grain and carry it away. It will carry away chaff and grain alike. But the Hebrew presents several difficulties. The absence of predicate in 11^b may be best cured by reading, with Cornill, 'A hot wind comes from the wilderness' (LXX apparently did not read 'the bare heights'). The translation 'for me' is also dubious; according to usage we should render 'against me.' This is difficult, since the blast is directed against Judah. We must translate 'A full wind came from these against me,' i. e. the Jews had previously set a violent wind in motion against Yahweh, and in just retribution will be swept away by the sirocco (Giesebrecht). But this explanation of their fate is very abruptly introduced, and it would be better to omit 'shall come for me,' and render the previous words as in the margin, 'a wind too strong for this,' better 'for these,' i. e. for winnowing and cleansing (Gillies omits the word rendered 'for these' as due to dittography of the preceding word). For a vivid description of the sirocco see G. A. Smith's *Jerusalem*, ii, 12; it is abridged from Dr. Chaplin's account, or that given by E. F. Benson in the opening chapters of *The Image in the Sand*.

people, not to fan, nor to cleanse; [a] a full wind from these 12
shall come for me: now will I also [b] utter judgements
against them. Behold, he shall come up as clouds, and 13
his chariots *shall be* as the whirlwind: his horses are
swifter than eagles. Woe unto us! for we are spoiled.
O Jerusalem, wash thine heart from wickedness, that thou 14
mayest be saved. How long shall thine evil thoughts
lodge within thee? For [c] a voice declareth from Dan, 15
and publisheth evil from the hills of Ephraim. make ye 16
mention to the nations; behold, publish against Jerusalem, *that* watchers come from a far country, and give

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[a] †Or, *a wind too strong for this*
[b] See ch. i. 16.
[c] Or, *there is a voice of one that declareth &c.*

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13. The foe moves on, packed in dense masses like the clouds, his chariots swift as the hurricane, his horses swifter than griffons. The word rendered 'eagles' means griffons, a kind of large vulture very common in Palestine.

14. Duhm feels that the question 'How long shall thine evil thoughts,' &c., does not correspond to the description of the enemy as already coming, so he regards the verse as an interpolation (so also Erbt). Probably it was not in the original prophecy, but it may well have been added by Jeremiah when he dictated a second time the contents of the roll.

15. Dan was the northern, as Beersheba was the southern limit of the land. The foe comes from the north, hence the tidings of its approach is first heralded from Dan, then from the more southerly hill-country of Ephraim, which is nearer Jerusalem, about ten miles away. Instead of the margin, it would be better to render 'hark! one declareth.'

16. The reference to 'the nations' is very difficult. Why should they be told of the attack to be made on Jerusalem? Several render, 'Make mention concerning the nations, Behold there they are.' The nations will in that case mean the enemy. But this reads too much into 'Behold.' The text is probably corrupt. Duhm, Erbt, Cornill, and Giesebrecht are all agreed that 'from the hills of Ephraim' should be connected with this verse, but differ in their tentative restoration of the passage. Giesebrecht simply strikes out 'to the nations,' the others emend more radically. We must be content that we can recognize the main drift of the passage.

watchers. The word does not properly mean 'besiegers,'

17 out their voice against the cities of Judah. As keepers of a field are they against her round about; because she
18 hath been rebellious against me, saith the LORD. Thy way and thy doings have procured these things unto thee; this is thy wickedness; [a] for it is bitter, [a] for it reacheth unto thine heart.

19 My bowels, my bowels! [b] I am pained at [c] my very heart; my heart is disquieted in me; I cannot hold my peace; because [d] thou hast heard, O my soul, the sound

[a] †Or, *surely* [b] Another reading is, *I will wait patiently.*
[c] †Heb. *the walls of my heart.* [d] †Or, as otherwise read, *my soul heareth*

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though if it is retained we must impose this sense upon it. Omission of the first consonant would give a word bearing this sense. We should probably alter the second consonant and read 'leopards' (*n^e^merim*), with Duhm. 'Give out their voice' suits a wild animal; in ii. 15 it is used of young lions. The emendation accords with v. 6, 'a leopard shall watch over their cities.' Cf. Hab. i. 8.

17. The keepers of the field hardly suit the reference to 'leopards' in 16. Cornill suggests 'they are lying in wait on the field round about,' and this is probably the best restoration of the original text. The field is the open country round the city. Duhm attaches 'round about' to the preceding verse, and necessarily regards the rest of 17, 18 as an edifying insertion.

18. wickedness: i. e. the consequence of wickedness.

19. It is disputed whether in 19–21, which are unnecessarily regarded by Schmidt as a later insertion (*Enc. Bib.* 2388), the prophet or the people should be regarded as speaking. In spite of the plural 'my tents' (20), it is much the more probable view that the deeply emotional, sympathetic Jeremiah is here expressing his own feelings, just as in 23–26 he describes his own vision of desolation. The bowels are named as the seat of emotion.

I am pained. The reading in the margin, 'I will wait patiently,' gives no relevant sense. The alternative Hebrew text is correct, but we should render 'Let me writhe!' and take the next words also as an exclamation 'the walls of my heart!' Under the stress of his anguish he feels his wildly throbbing heart beating against its walls. We should adopt the margin, 'because my soul heareth,' in preference to the text, but more probably read 'I hear' and substitute 'my soul' for 'my heart.'

of the trumpet, the alarm of war. Destruction upon de- 20
struction is cried; for the whole land is spoiled: sud-
denly are my tents spoiled, *and* my curtains in a moment.
How long shall I see the standard, and hear the sound 21
of the trumpet? For my people is foolish, they know 22
me not; they are sottish children, and they have none
understanding: they are wise to do evil, but to do good
they have no knowledge.

I beheld the earth, and, lo, it was [a] waste and void; and 23
the heavens, and they had no light. I beheld the 24

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[a] See Gen. i. 2.

20. is cried. The Hebrew may mean 'breach meeteth breach,' i. e. one breach follows upon another.

my tents: i. e. the tents of my people. The curtains are the tent-hangings.

23. Now follows one of the finest, most powerful descriptions in the prophetic literature. In vision the prophet casts his glance over the earth and sky. He looks and looks again, but there is nothing to reassure him, only what fills him with alarm and anguish. Giesebrecht, in his second edition, regards the whole passage as late. He alleges the lack of connexion with what precedes and the apocalyptic colouring, and finds a confirmation in the diffuseness of the metre. It is true that in 23–26 we have not a strict Qina rhythm, and Duhm's attempt to reduce the passage to regularity yields a less impressive text. But there is no valid reason for robbing Jeremiah of this splendid vision of judgement. Cheyne apparently regards it as post-exilic (*Enc. Bib.* 953), similarly Schmidt (loc. cit. 2390).

The prophet first looks at the earth, and sees that the primaeval chaos (Gen. i. 2) has resumed its sway. The word rendered 'waste' more properly represents something unsubstantial or unreal (see Driver's note on Gen. i. 2 in his commentary. He renders the expression here 'formless and empty'). And just as the primaeval chaos has recaptured the earth, so the primaeval night has blotted all light from the sky.

24. As he gazes on this scene of desolation, his mind begins to individualize the features in the landscape. And naturally he seeks to escape from this bewildering shock of universal change by turning to the massive mountains, the everlasting hills, which abide when ruin overtakes the more perishable works of Nature and the flimsy structures of man. The mountains are still there,

mountains, and, lo, they trembled, and all the hills
25 [a] moved to and fro. I beheld, and, lo, there was no man,
26 and all the birds of the heavens were fled. I beheld,
and, lo, [b] the fruitful field was a wilderness, and all the
cities thereof were broken down at the presence of the
27 LORD, *and* before his fierce anger. For thus saith the
LORD, The whole land shall be a desolation; [S] yet
28 will I not make a full end. [J] For this shall the earth
mourn, and the heavens above be black: because I have
spoken it, I have purposed it, and I have not repented,
29 neither will I turn back from it. The whole city fleeth
for the noise of the horsemen and bowmen; they go into
the thickets, and climb up upon the rocks: every city is

[a] Or, *moved lightly* [b] Or, *Carmel*

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but they are swaying before the blast of God's judgement. It is a frequent element in the Old Testament theophanies.

25. And now his gaze is not directed to any object in particular (unless the object of 'I saw' has been accidentally omitted), but glances hither and thither to see if there is anything to which he may cling. But he is alone in the universe; mankind has vanished from the face of the earth, the birds fly no longer on the face of the firmament. The loving observer of Nature misses the birds from the landscape.

26. fruitful field: marg. Carmel, but the word is not a proper noun here.

thereof should probably be omitted.

27, 28. yet will I not make a full end. These words are probably a mitigating gloss, which is out of place before 28. There is no need to strike out the verses altogether. The order of the words in 28 [b] has been disturbed: we should read 'For I have spoken and have not repented, I have purposed and will not turn back from it' (so LXX).

29. The flight before the enemy. For 'the whole city' we should read, with the LXX, 'the whole land.' At the close of the verse G. A. Smith reads 'And there is no inhabitant in it. All is up!' (*bāh nōʼāsh* for *bāhēn ʼīsh*).

thickets. The Hebrew word means a dark cloud or mass of clouds. This sense is impossible here, and the word is generally explained to mean thicket. Possibly the original text gave 'caves' (cf. LXX, which has a conflate rendering).

forsaken, and not a man dwelleth therein. And thou, 30
when thou art spoiled, what wilt thou do? Though
thou clothest thyself with scarlet, though thou deckest
thee with ornaments of gold, though thou [a] enlargest
thine eyes with paint, in vain dost thou make thyself fair;
thy lovers despise thee, they seek thy life. For I have 31
heard a voice as of a woman in travail, the anguish as of
her that bringeth forth her first child, the voice of the
daughter of Zion, that gaspeth for breath, that spreadeth
her hands, *saying*, Woe is me now! for my soul fainteth
before the murderers.

Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, 5

[a] Heb. *rendest*.

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30. It is in vain that Jerusalem seeks to avert her fate by tricking herself out with scarlet raiment and gold ornaments, and making the eyes seem larger and brighter by darkening the rims of her eyelids with antimony. The enemy will not be cajoled by such charms. The reference to the 'lovers' does not suit the Scythians, but Judah's old allies the Babylonians. The verse presumably belongs to the revision of the prophecy in 605.

when thou art spoiled. Omitted by the LXX.

enlargest: Heb. **rendest**. For the practice, which is still common in the East, cf. 2 Kings ix. 20, Ezek. xxiii. 40, and the name of Job's daughter Keren-happuch, 'horn of eye-paint' (if the text is correct, see note on Job xlii. 14).

31. anguish: the sense required is 'a cry of anguish;' we should probably read, with the LXX, 'a cry.'

V. 1–31. THE UTTER CORRUPTION OF THE PEOPLE, AND THE DIVINE VENGEANCE.

Duhm considers that while the poems in the preceding chapter were composed at least partially, probably entirely, in Anathoth, those in this chapter were written in Jerusalem, where Jeremiah had recently settled. He thinks they betray a more intimate familiarity with the city and its inhabitants, which affected the prophet as Luther was affected by his residence in Rome. The oracles now take on a deeper ethical colouring, and the type of moral and religious life depicted is that of the city rather than the country (cf. Findlay's remark, 'this chapter reflects Jeremiah's first impressions of Jerusalem,' p. 185). Giesebrecht thinks that the difference discovered by Duhm is pure imagination. In view

and see now, and know, and seek in the broad places
thereof, if ye can find a man, if there be any that doeth
2 justly, that seeketh [a] truth; and I will pardon her. And

[a] †Or, *faithfulness*

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of the fact that Anathoth was little more than an hour's distance from Jerusalem, it is hardly probable that Jeremiah would find that residence in the capital made much difference to his earlier estimate. 'Anathoth lies only four miles from Jerusalem, and its inhabitants have constantly been in the closest economic relations with their capital.' (G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii, 227.)

v. 1–9. If there is one righteous in Jerusalem, Yahweh will forgive. But though they swear by Yahweh's name, they do so falsely; in spite of disaster they are obstinate in their sin. I excused them, however, because they were poor and ignorant, but when I went to the great men who knew God's will, I found them transgressors. Therefore they shall be torn in pieces. How can Yahweh pardon such a people, idolatrous and sunk in moral corruption? Shall He not be avenged on such a nation?

10–19. Let the destroyers do their work on the faithless, sceptical people, who will not credit the prophetic word. That word shall be a fire to consume them. For there is coming a mighty people, of unfamiliar speech, death-dealing, who will ravage the land, devour the flocks, and destroy the cities. They have served strange gods in their own land, they shall serve strangers in a foreign land.

20–29. Will not the people fear Yahweh, who curbs the rebellion of the tossing sea? They are rebellious, unmindful of Yahweh's goodness. The wicked entrap men, their houses are full of ill-gotten gain, they keep the orphan and the needy from their rights. Shall Yahweh not be avenged on such a nation?

30–31. How appalling the situation! The prophets prophesy falsely and support the priests, the people are well content it should be so, but how will it all end?

v. 1. The synonyms are accumulated to indicate that however thorough the search for a righteous man in Jerusalem, it will not be rewarded by success.

a man: omitted in the LXX, it has perhaps originated by dittography of the two following words, written in an abbreviated form. If so, however, it is likely that the whole clause 'if ye can find a man' should be omitted.

and I will pardon her: on even easier terms than Sodom (Gen. xviii. 32). But Jeremiah is apparently the speaker, not Yahweh, so Duhm may be right in the view that the words should be omitted.

2. If they call Yahweh to witness that they are speaking the though they say, As the LORD liveth; surely they swear falsely. O LORD, [a] do not thine eyes look upon [b] truth? 3 thou hast stricken them, but they were not grieved; thou hast consumed them, but they have refused to receive [c] correction: they have made their faces harder than a rock; they have refused to return. Then I said, Surely 4 these are poor: they are foolish; for they know not the way of the LORD, nor the judgement of their God: I will 5 get me unto the great men, and will speak unto them; for they know the way of the LORD, and the judgement of their God. But these with one accord have broken the yoke, and burst the bands. Wherefore a lion out of 6

[a] Heb. *are not thine eyes upon.* [b] †Or, *faithfulness*
[c] Or, *instruction*

---

truth, this implies that they are His worshippers. But the unreality of their religion is clear from the fact that they use Yahweh's name to attest the truth of their lies.

surely: the usual text reads 'therefore' (*lāken*), but this gives no suitable sense, and the attempts to find a more appropriate meaning are dubious. 'Surely' (*'āken*) is read by twenty MSS., and gives a good sense. Duhm reads *lō ken*, and takes it to mean 'dishonest,' 'false.' He then connects the last word of the verse with what follows, reading 'O Yahweh, are thine eyes set upon falsity—not upon faithfulness?'

3. We do not know to what disaster reference is made. Giesebrecht suggests the slaughter at Megiddo.

4, 5. As he considers their evil way, the explanation comes to him that those with whom he has been in contact are the common people, who have had no adequate training in the requirements of God, and whose conduct is the less culpable on that account. But when he turns to the men of position, expecting that the conduct of these experts in religion and morality will conform to their loftier privileges, he is quickly undeceived. Hosea had traced the sin of Israel to ignorance, 'My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge' (iv. 6), an ignorance for which the priesthood is to blame. The same charge against the priesthood is urged by Ezekiel. Those whose function it was to know the ordinance of Yahweh and communicate it to the people were the foremost in neglect of it.

judgement: i. e. ordinance (see Driver's note, pp. 344 f.).

6. The comparison of these spiritual magnates to oxen that

the forest shall slay them, a wolf of the [a] evenings shall spoil them, a leopard shall watch over their cities, every one that goeth out thence shall be torn in pieces: because their transgressions are many, *and* their back-
7 slidings are increased. How can I pardon thee? thy children have forsaken me, and sworn by them that are no gods: when I had [b] fed them to the full, they committed adultery, and assembled themselves in troops at

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[a] †Or, *deserts*

[b] Or, according to another reading, *made them swear*

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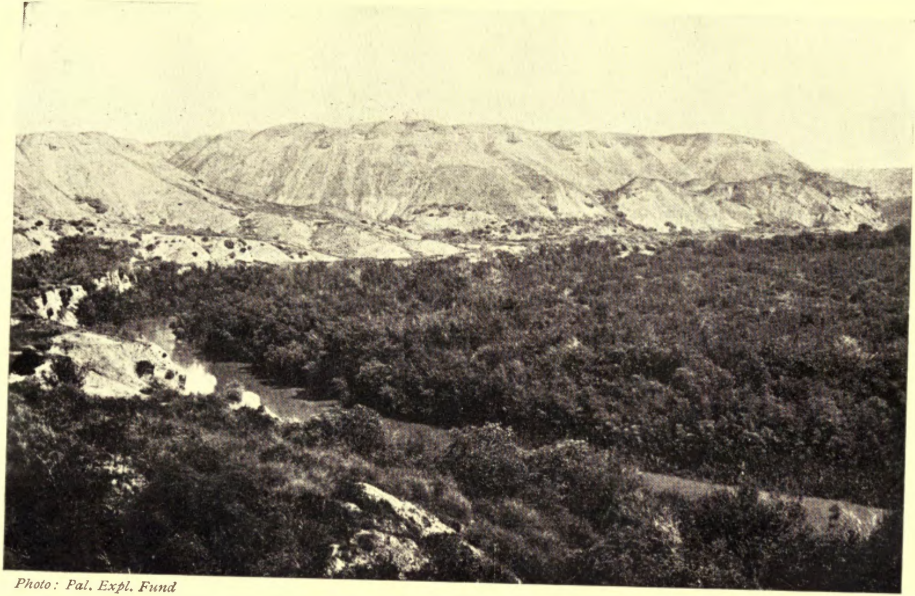
have broken the yoke and snapped their thongs suggests the metaphors (for the wild beasts are not to be literally interpreted) in this verse. The oxen have shaken off their bonds and roamed at large. But with the service of their master they have renounced his protection also; their witless straying brings them within reach of the beast of prey. The lion from the jungle of Jordan, the wolf of the steppes, the stealthy leopard, will convince them of their wicked folly when it is too late. Dante's allusion to this passage in the first Canto of the *Inferno* has been pointed out by various commentators.

a leopard: lurks a long while by the village, waiting till the unsuspecting victim comes within its spring.

7. The transition to the second person is abrupt, and we expect an indication that Yahweh is speaking. Duhm thinks the original reading was, 'How shall I pardon them? saith Yahweh, for they have forsaken me.' The last three consonants of the Hebrew for 'thy children' he regards as the initial letters of 'saith Yahweh, for.'

I had fed them to the full. This text is attested by the Massorah and the Versions, and is adopted by most modern commentators. In the main it yields an excellent sense; they pervert the prosperity which God's goodness has given them into an instrument of sin. Some MSS. read 'and I caused them to swear.' This seems to refer to the covenant between Yahweh and Israel. They had sworn allegiance to Him, but had broken their oath. The phrase is rather general for so specific a sense, and we should have expected it to come before the preceding statements.

assembled themselves in troops: this is the general view of the meaning. It is not only somewhat hypothetical, but the noun with which it is supposed to be connected is always used in a military sense, and if the verb is derived from it, it conveys the unsuitable idea of attack and plunder rather than assembling in



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THE PRIDE, OR SWELLING OF JORDAN

the harlots' houses. They were as fed horses [a] in the 8
morning: every one neighed after his neighbour's wife.
Shall I not visit for these things? saith the LORD: and 9
shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?

Go ye up upon her walls, and destroy; but make not 10

[a] Or, *roaming at large*

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companies. The usual meaning of the verb is to cut oneself, to make cuttings in one's flesh. This is generally regarded as irrelevant here. G. F. Moore, however, adopts it, taking the reference to 'the harlots' houses' to be figurative; the apostate Jews who resorted to the idol temple 'wished to bring over the deity to their side by self-mutilation' (*Enc. Bib.* 972). This suits the previous mention of 'them that are no gods,' and impurity is often a symbol of idolatry. But 8 strongly favours the view that the language here is not figurative. We should accordingly follow the LXX, and read with many scholars 'they made themselves sojourners' or 'made themselves at home' (*yithgōrāru* for *yithgōdādu*, r and d being easily confused in Hebrew).

8. The text is difficult. The translation 'fed' follows the Hebrew written text; the verb occurs nowhere else in Hebrew, but it is frequent in some of the cognate languages in the sense 'to nourish;' the participle here means well-nourished, full-fed. The Q^{e}re gives the participle of another verb, which is perhaps an equivalent of the word which follows. Most modern commentators prefer 'full-fed,' and this is probably best. Duhm prefers the Q^{e}re, Giesebrecht thinks we have no certainty as to the text.

in the morning: this translation cannot be legitimately derived from the present text, which does not admit of a participle in the singular. The rendering in the margin, 'roaming at large,' is not open to this objection, since it takes the word as a plural participle, but the existence of the word is very dubious (see Driver's note, p. 345). Giesebrecht feels with reference to this word also that we can have no certainty, but we should probably acquiesce in the now generally accepted view that it should be taken in conjunction with 'horses' to mean 'stallions,' and render, 'They were full-fed stallions.' This requires a trifling correction of the text.

10. her walls. The Hebrew word as so pointed does not occur elsewhere. The ancient authorities adopt this translation, and it is defended by Graf, Giesebrecht, and Cornill. The metaphor is that of a vineyard, the walls are not specially appropriate. The alternative rendering is 'her vine-rows,' which, apart possibly from Job xxiv. 11, has only post-Biblical attestation. The context

a full end: take away her branches: for they are not
11 the LORD's. For the house of Israel and the house of
Judah have dealt very treacherously against me, saith the
12 LORD. They have denied the LORD, and said, It is not
he; neither shall evil come upon us; neither shall we
13 see sword nor famine: and the prophets shall become
wind, and the word is not in them: thus shall it be done
14 unto them. Wherefore thus saith the LORD, the God of
hosts, Because ye speak this word, behold, I will make

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favours this: the enemy are bidden ravage the vineyard, i. e. Judah (xii. 10, Isa. v. 1–7, cf. ii. 21, vi. 9).

make not a full end: see iv. 27; either the whole clause or the negative should be struck out.

take away. The LXX 'leave' would suit the preceding clause in its present form. But the Hebrew text expresses the prophet's meaning.

12. It is not he: literally 'Not he.' The precise meaning is difficult to determine. Some explain, It is not he who speaks through the prophets, but while this suits the next verse, it is not suggested by the immediate context. We must not be misled by the words 'denied the Lord' to put an atheistic sense on the phrase; such a mode of thought had no vogue at the time. Giesebrecht, on the basis of the LXX, thinks the meaning is, It will not happen, i.e. what has been proclaimed in verse 10. But we should probably take the pronoun to refer to God, rendering 'Not He!' and regard the phrase as a popular exclamation, something like our own, meaning He will do nothing of the kind, cf. Zeph. i. 12.

13. the prophets. On Jeremiah's own lips the word generally means the false prophets, though he uses it of earlier true prophets. Here, however, we have a continuation of the people's words in the preceding verse, and on their lips the term bears another meaning. The sense is, These prophets who predict evil, such as Jeremiah, or Zephaniah, or Uriah (cf. xxvi. 20–24), are empty, uninspired foretellers of disaster. Jeremiah's own conviction was that the characteristic note of prophecy had always been its gloomy outlook (xxviii. 8).

the word: this is no doubt the meaning (so LXX), though the Hebrew is oddly pointed.

shall it be: better **may it be**; it is a formula of imprecation. The clause is omitted in Codex A of the LXX, and struck out as metrically impossible by Cornill and Giesebrecht.

14. Because ye speak . . . in thy mouth: this very rapid

my words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and
it shall devour them. Lo, I will bring a nation upon 15
you from far, O house of Israel, saith the LORD: it is [a] a
mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose
language thou knowest not, neither understandest what
they say. Their quiver is an open sepulchre, they are 16

[a] Or, *an enduring nation*

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transition from the second person plural addressed to the people to the second person singular addressed to Jeremiah, is strange. The people are referred to in the context in the third person: we should read this here, 'because they speak.'

Here, as elsewhere, the word of God, spoken through the prophets, has an inherent energy assigned to it (see Introduction to chap. i). It is a fire (cf. xxiii. 29) which consumes the people, who are as combustible as wood.

15. The LXX much abbreviates this verse. It omits 'it is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation,' and proceeds 'a nation the sound of whose language one shall not understand.' It also omits the first clause in verse 16. Duhm prefers the LXX, and the prolixity of the passage might appear to favour the view that it has been expanded. But the omitted clauses add to the effectiveness of the picture. The description of them as coming from afar recalls Isaiah's reference to the Assyrians (Isa. v. 26), and the allusion to the strangeness of their tongue recalls Isa. xxviii. 11 (cf. xxxiii. 19). Both traits suit the Babylonians, and the reference to the antiquity of the nation is specially appropriate to them. But since this prophecy probably belonged in its original form to the pre-Reformation period, when the Scythians were the foe whose coming Jeremiah announced, we should regard this description as referring to them, unless for some reason that is out of the question. It is urged that the Scythians were a young people. In Herodotus we read, 'As the Scythians say, theirs is the most recent of all nations' (iv. 5). In iv. 7 he tells us that they reckon a thousand years from their origin to the expedition of Darius against them. We cannot, however, suppose that Jeremiah had this information as to the view taken of their antiquity by the Scythians. He describes them as 'of old' and as 'mighty men,' using the same terms as in Gen. vi. 4. He may well have thought of the Scythians as a primaeval people like the Nephilim.

mighty. The word is used properly of a stream, and means 'never failing,' 'perennial.' (See Driver's *Deuteronomy*, p. 242.)

16. Their arrows are used with deadly effect.

17 all mighty men. And they shall eat up thine harvest, and thy bread, *which* thy sons and thy daughters should eat: they shall eat up thy flocks and thine herds: they shall eat up thy vines and thy fig trees: they shall [a] beat down thy fenced cities, wherein thou trustest, with the
18 sword. [S] But even in those days, saith the LORD, I will
19 not make a full end with you. [J] And it shall come to pass, when ye shall say, Wherefore hath the LORD our God done all these things unto us? then shalt thou say unto them, Like as ye have forsaken me, and served strange gods in your land, so shall ye serve strangers in a land that is not yours.

[a] Or, *impoverish*

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17. The translation '*which* thy sons and thy daughters should eat' is possible, but not natural, since it has no special point, and the act of eating is, in the other cases, attributed to the enemy; the obvious rendering is 'they shall eat thy sons and thy daughters.' This gives, however, a very unlikely sense, for the Scythians were not cannibals, and it is not advisable to impose a figurative sense on 'eat' in this clause, inasmuch as it bears a literal sense in the other clauses. The passage has close points of contact with Deut. xxviii. 49–53. Curiously there is in that passage a prediction of the eating of sons and daughters, but there it is the parents who eat them in the desperate hunger of the besieged. It is probable that the clause has been inserted here under the influence of Deut. xxviii. 53, or perhaps of Jer. iii. 24.

beat down. The word occurs only here and in Mal. i. 4, where Wellhausen regards text and meaning as doubtful. The R.V. gives the generally accepted rendering, and the text here is indirectly attested by the LXX. R.V. marg. (= A.V.) 'impoverish,' derives the form from another root and should be rejected.

18. From this verse to the end of the chapter Duhm recognizes nothing of Jeremiah's. Erbt takes much the same view, but admits that 22 may be from his hand. Schmidt strikes out 18, 20–29; Cornill, Giesebrecht, and Rothstein adopt a much more moderate position. All agree that 18 is a later addition, probably with justice, for such a mitigating announcement in this context greatly lessens the effect.

19. This is written in view of approaching exile, hence it probably belongs to the edition of 605; it is unnecessary to omit it,

Declare ye this in the house of Jacob, and publish it 20
in Judah, saying, Hear now this, O foolish people, and 21
without [a] understanding; which have eyes, and see not;
which have ears, and hear not: Fear ye not me? saith 22
the LORD: will ye not tremble at my presence, which

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[a] Heb. *heart*.

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with Duhm and Giesebrecht. The latter thinks that it comes from the same circle as Deut. xxix. 21 ff.

20–22. These verses were first rejected by Stade in 1883, and Cornill gave in his adhesion. Duhm adopted this view in his commentary, and Schmidt in his article in *Enc. Bib.* Cornill modified his position in his commentary. He was impressed by Giesebrecht's argument that 23 did not connect well with 19 and that 24^a clearly referred to 22^a. Since, however, all hangs together from 23, and nothing links well to 19, the rejection of 20–22 involves Duhm's conclusion that the rest of the chapter is late. For so heroic a measure Cornill was not prepared, accordingly he sifted the passage more carefully, rejecting 20, 21^b, and the greater part of 22 (after 'my presence'): in the last point he is followed by Rothstein. Giesebrecht, it is curious to note, has accepted Stade's view in his second edition. The passage makes upon him an impression of non-Jeremianic bombast, the metrical structure departs from that of Jeremiah, and there is much in detail that is questionable. It may well be asked, however, if even Cornill's criticism is not too drastic. 20 may be later, since such a style of address is not found elsewhere in Jeremiah. But there is no cogent reason for striking out 21^b, its repetition elsewhere does not prove that Jeremiah cannot have coined it, or that it must have originated with Ezekiel (xii. 2). For 22 see below.

21. foolish is struck out by Cornill. Apart from iv. 22 it occurs only in Ecclesiastes.

22. It is urged against this verse, apart from its somewhat cumbrous style, that the passages in the Old Testament which magnify the greatness of Yahweh in creation or the phenomena of Nature are of late origin, such as the creation passages in the Book of Amos. This argument may easily be exaggerated, since the idea of creation was not introduced so late into Hebrew thought as some have imagined, and the myth of the conquest and subsequent confinement of the rebellious ocean was primaeval. The points of contact with passages in the Second Isaiah, in Isa. lvi–lxvi, and in Job do not involve postponement to the exile or later, or the denial of Jeremiah's authorship. Besides, the verse connects admirably with what follows. The mutiny of the sea against God had its counterpart in Judah's rebellion, and Judah also will soon

have placed the sand for the bound of the sea, [a] by a perpetual decree, that it cannot pass it? and though the waves thereof toss themselves, yet can they not prevail;
23 though they roar, yet can they not pass over it. But this people hath a revolting and a rebellious heart; they
24 are revolted and gone. Neither say they in their heart, Let us now fear the LORD our God, that giveth rain, both the former and the latter, in its season; that reserveth
25 unto us the appointed weeks of the harvest. Your iniquities have turned away these things, and your sins have

[a] Or, *an everlasting ordinance, which it cannot pass*

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feel the curb of God's iron hand. It is true that the text presents difficulties, which are not apparent in the English translation, but the general sense is clear and free from objection.

by a perpetual . . . pass it. The margin treats 'ordinance' as in apposition to sea. It would perhaps be best to translate 'by a perpetual ordinance which it cannot transgress.'

the waves thereof toss themselves. The noun in the Hebrew really belongs to 'roar' in the next clause. The text should be translated 'though they toss themselves.' The verb, however, has no subject. If we read the singular, with the LXX, Old Latin, and Syriac, the subject would be 'the sea;' but the plural is finer and we should probably insert 'the waters thereof,' which has fallen out, cf. xlvi. 7, 8 (so Driver). Duhm considers that two variants have been combined, and striking out the inferior gets a text which runs more smoothly than the present, 'who have placed the sand as a bound for the sea, and though its waves roar yet can they not pass over it; though they toss themselves, yet they cannot prevail.' This may be correct, for the two groups of words which he treats as variants are more than half identical, and the awkward repetition of 'shall not pass over it' is removed. Yet the dissimilarity which exists between the alleged variants makes it hard to think that one originated from the other.

23. The heart of the people is like the rebellious sea.

24. rain: the general term for winter rain, which is further defined as early and latter, i. e. autumn and spring rain. The appointed weeks of the harvest are the seven weeks between the Feast of the Passover and the Feast of Weeks.

25. these things: an indefinite expression; the allusion is apparently to the things mentioned in the preceding verse, but whether to all the blessings or specifically to the appointed weeks of

withholden good from you. For among my people are 26
found wicked men : they watch, as fowlers lie in wait ;
they set a trap, they catch men. As a cage is full of 27
birds, so are their houses full of deceit : therefore they
are become great, and waxen rich. They are waxen fat, 28
they shine : yea, they overpass in deeds of wickedness :
they plead not the cause, the cause of the fatherless, that
they should prosper ; and the right of the needy do they
not judge. Shall I not visit for these things? saith the 29
LORD : shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as
this?

[a] A wonderful and horrible thing is come to pass in the 30

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[a] Or, *Astonishment and horror*

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harvest is not clear : the former is the more natural, failure of harvest was due to an earlier failure of rain. Cf. Amos iv. 6 ff.

26. The Hebrew text presents an unusual accumulation of difficulties, which cannot be discussed here. The R.V. gives the general sense. The LXX presents a simpler text, which is also shorter and avoids the worst difficulties : 'For ungodly men were found among my people, and they set snares to destroy men and caught them.' It is not clear whether the difference is due entirely to a difference in the Hebrew text, or whether difficulties are simply evaded in the LXX.

27. Just as the fowler snares his birds by deceit and fills his cage with them, so they acquire by deceit the wealth with which they fill their houses. 'Deceit' does not correspond to the treacherous mechanism by which the trap is sprung, but it means the ill-gotten gains of deceit, corresponding to the birds with which the cage is full.

28. The Hebrew text here also presents numerous difficulties, and the LXX varies considerably from it, mainly by omission. The R.V. seems to give the most probable sense of the present Hebrew text, but no confidence can be felt as to several details. The text is probably corrupt, and several attempts have been made to restore it.

they shine: the verb is supposed to mean 'to be smooth' or 'shiny,' if so the reference here is to their sleek condition, cf. Deut. xxxii. 15, Ps. lxxiii. 7, Job xv. 27, a sign to the Hebrews of the luxurious egoist who had forgotten God and exploited his fellows.

30. What all classes regard as perfectly normal, so completely

31 land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear
rule [a] by their means; and my people love to have it so:
and what will ye do in the end thereof?
6 Flee for safety, ye children of Benjamin, out of the

[a] †Or, *at their hands*

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has custom numbed their moral sensibilities, seems to Jeremiah with his soul so finely sensitive to ethical and spiritual values, a spectacle that should excite the deepest amazement and horror.

31. The priest and prophet are the official representatives of religion, against whose combined evil influence Jeremiah was not the first to protest. The worst feature is that the people (God's people!) are well content that this sinister alliance should work its baneful will.

bear rule by their means. It would be better to render as in the margin and interpret, the priests rule at the beck of the prophets, according to their guidance. Others translate 'bear rule at their side.' Buhl and Duhm, however, translate 'scrape into their hands,' i. e. the priests get money into their own pockets. The verb is used of Samson scraping the honey out of the lion's carcase (Judg. xiv. 9). It is more likely, however, that we should follow Hitzig and read 'teach' (*yōrū* for *yirdū*). Giving Torah or direction was one of the main functions of the priests.

vi. 1-30. THE INVADER BRINGS DESTRUCTION ON THE INCORRIGIBLE PEOPLE.

This chapter belongs to the same period as the preceding. Here also the Scythian invasion is the prophet's theme. But whereas in iv. 5 ff. the inhabitants are warned to escape to the fortified cities and Zion in particular, here the warning is given to leave Jerusalem since even there they will not be safe. Accordingly this chapter dates from a somewhat later time, and there appear to be marks of revision on republication in the reign of Jehoiakim.

vi. 1-8. Flee, Benjamites, from Jerusalem southwards, for ruin comes out of the north and Zion shall be ravaged. The invaders, having let slip the opportunity of a surprise in the noonday siesta, propose an assault by night. It is Yahweh who has ordained the siege to punish the unceasing wickedness of the city; let it take warning in time.

9-15. Utter ruin awaits Israel, for the word of Yahweh has become irksome to it. I am full of His fury, it will be poured out on all alike. For all are self-seeking and false, the leaders have healed the wound too lightly, unashamed at their sin they shall be put to confusion by disaster.

midst of Jerusalem, and blow the trumpet in Tekoa, and raise up a signal on Beth-haccherem: for evil looketh forth from the north, and a great destruction. The 2

16–21. For they refused Yahweh's warning to walk in the way of safety, nor would they hearken to His messengers. So let the nations know that calamity is coming on this people for their disobedience. Yahweh takes no delight in their offerings, He will bring them to ruin.

22–30. A cruel and mighty nation is coming from the north against Zion, filling her with anguish and terror. Let her prepare herself for the bitterest lamentation. God has made Jeremiah an assayer of the people, but no matter how long the smelting continues, the dross will not be purged away.

vi. 1. It is not clear why Jeremiah should address the Benjamites and bid them flee from Jerusalem. The city belonged largely to Benjamite territory, hence 'children of Benjamin' might be a synonym for the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Since Jeremiah himself belonged to Anathoth, which was situated in Benjamin, it is more probable that he is not addressing the whole population of the capital, but the Benjamite portion of it, especially those who had come, as he had done, from the country to settle in the city. He may have regarded these as less deeply corrupt than those who had been born and bred in the capital.

and blow . . . Beth-haccherem. It is probable that these words are an addition. Not only do they disturb the rhythm, but it is not easy to see why, if the flight is to be from Jerusalem, the trumpet should be blown in Tekoa, which lay twelve miles south of the capital. We cannot eliminate Tekoa from the text, for it is guaranteed by an assonance in the Hebrew, nor can we take it as a common noun cognate with the verb ('blow a blast') rather than as a place-name. It is very unlikely that two different sets of people are addressed, and that while the Benjamites are bidden flee from Jerusalem, the inhabitants of the south of Judah are to be warned by the trumpet in Tekoa. The whole of the passage is concerned with the attack on Jerusalem. Tekoa is chiefly famous as the home of Amos. The identification of Beth-haccherem is uncertain. If it is the Frank Mountain, three miles north-east of Tekoa, it would be fitly mentioned in connexion with Tekoa, since it was very suitable for a beacon.

evil looketh forth. This personification of Disaster is highly effective. It is also possible to translate 'evil is overhanging,' a less powerful expression.

2. The R.V. rendering is that usually adopted by those who retain the Hebrew text. But the text is suspicious in itself,

comely and delicate one, the daughter of Zion, will I cut
3 off. Shepherds with their flocks shall come unto her;
they shall pitch their tents against her round about; they
4 shall feed every one in his place. [a] Prepare ye war
against her; arise, and let us go up at noon. Woe unto
us! for the day declineth, for the shadows of the evening
5 are stretched out. Arise, and let us go up by night, and
6 let us destroy her palaces. For thus hath the LORD of
hosts said, Hew ye down [b] trees, and cast up a mount

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[a] †Heb. *Sanctify.* [b] †Or, as otherwise read, *her trees*

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and suspicion is confirmed by the wide divergence of the Versions from it. The rendering 'will I cut off' is dubious, and the word rendered 'comely' usually means 'meadow.' This sense harmonizes with the context, which represents the enemy under the figure of shepherds coming with their flocks to graze the country. Various suggestions for mending the text have been made, which cannot be discussed here. The general sense is that Zion is a meadow on which the enemy will pasture.

4. Prepare: literally **Sanctify.** War was esteemed a sacred matter, it was prepared for by sacrifices, the warriors were regarded as consecrated and placed under certain taboos. Hence the phrase 'to sanctify war' meant to begin hostilities. The enemy are vividly represented as addressing each other. First they propose an attack at midday, when the citizens will be taking their siesta; then, regretting that noon has slipped by, they plan an assault by night.

5. palaces. The LXX translates 'her foundations;' this may presuppose a different Hebrew text, but since the LXX does not elsewhere in Jeremiah render 'palace,' and in some other places renders as here, it is very precarious to infer that a different Hebrew text lay before the translator. Besides the expression 'destroy her foundations' would be too drastic; the Scythians might raze the buildings to their foundations, they would hardly destroy the foundations themselves.

6. The cutting down of trees in a long siege was permitted to the Hebrews by Deut. xx. 19, 20, provided they were not fruit trees, the destruction of which was prohibited. Duhm and Cornill regard the command to besiege Jerusalem as quite unsuitable to the Scythians, who might take a fortified city by assault but were unequal to conducting a siege. It would be appropriate to the Babylonians, but Cornill thinks that its unmetrical character

against Jerusalem: this is the city to be visited; she is
wholly oppression in the midst of her. As a well [a] casteth 7
forth her waters, so she [a] casteth forth her wickedness:
violence and spoil is heard in her; before me continually
is sickness and wounds. Be thou instructed, O Jerusa- 8
lem, lest my soul be alienated from thee; lest I make
thee a desolation, a land not inhabited.

Thus saith the LORD of hosts, They shall throughly 9
glean the remnant of Israel as a vine: turn again thine

[a] †Or, *keepeth fresh*

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forbids us to suppose that it was added by Jeremiah when he published the prophecy after Jehoiakim's destruction of the roll.

this is the city to be visited. A strange phrase; if the text is correct, the clause is apparently a marginal gloss which has been taken by mistake into the text. The LXX reads 'Ah false city,' which gives a much better sense. Giesebrecht by a slight emendation of the Hebrew text reads 'Ah city of plunder.'

7. a well. There is an alternative reading 'a cistern.' The difference is important. The well is self-fed, whereas the cistern has its water stored within it from without. The point of the former metaphor would be that sin is a product of man's own nature, the latter figure implies that wickedness is an alien element, but is welcomed and kept fresh in man's own heart. Cornill infers from xiii. 23 that Jeremiah regarded sin as not man's true nature, though through evil habit it might become his second nature, hence he reads 'a cistern.'

casteth forth. This rendering does not suit the reading 'cistern,' which should probably be preferred, and is also inferior on other grounds to the marginal translation 'keepeth fresh.' Although the wickedness of Jerusalem does not spring from an unfailing source within herself but is an alien element, yet she cherishes it and maintains its native vigour.

9. According to the usual interpretation of the passage, the captivity of Northern Israel corresponded to the main gathering of the grapes. Judah was left as a remnant, and now it is to be thoroughly gleaned. A difficulty is created by the singular 'thine' for which we should have expected 'your,' since the gleaners are referred to in the plural. If the text is correct, the chief of the grape-gatherers, i.e. the leader of the foe, is addressed. It is simpler to assume, with Hitzig, Graf, and others, that a consonant has been repeated by mistake, and that we should read 'turning back the hand.' Duhm, however, followed by Cornill, strikes out

10 hand as a grapegatherer [a] into the baskets. To whom
shall I speak and testify, that they may hear? behold,
their ear is uncircumcised, and they cannot hearken: behold,
the word of the LORD is become unto them a re-
11 proach; they have no delight in it. Therefore I am full
of the fury of the LORD; I am weary with holding in:
pour it out upon the children in the street, and upon the
assembly of young men together: for even the husband
with the wife shall be taken, the aged with him that is
12 full of days. And their houses shall be turned unto
others, their fields and their wives together: for I will
stretch out my hand upon the inhabitants of the land,
13 saith the LORD. For from the least of them even
unto the greatest of them every one is given to covet-

[a] †Or, *upon the shoots*

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three words and gets the sense that Yahweh bids Jeremiah search the people as the grapegatherer examines the vine to see if any good grapes still lie concealed. Then for the sake of these few good people, the nation may still be spared, as Sodom would have been spared if ten righteous could have been found in it. The excision is defended on metrical grounds, but it is rather violent. Yet it gives a better connexion with what follows.

10. Jeremiah's reply to this command. The people are hopelessly inaccessible to the Divine message. Their inward ear needs to have its covering removed that it may hear the prophetic word. The expression is uncommon, but Stephen calls his judges 'uncircumcised in heart and ears' (Acts vii. 51).

11. pour it out: this can hardly be a prayer addressed to Yahweh by Jeremiah, such a prayer he would not have uttered, moreover the previous statement that he is full of wrath suggests that he will pour it out. Accordingly if we retain the imperative we must suppose that, when Jeremiah says that he can no longer hold in the wrath of Yahweh of which he is full, Yahweh interrupts him with the command to pour it out. But the alteration of a point gives the much better sense 'I will pour it out.' Since the prophetic utterance carries with it its own fulfilment, Jeremiah by announcing doom brings it to pass.

12. For 12–15 cf. viii. 10–12, where the present passage is very largely repeated. 12^b is absent in the parallel passage, and is regarded as an insertion here by Duhm, Erbt, and Cornill.

ousness; and from the prophet even unto the priest
every one dealeth falsely. They have healed also the 14
[a] hurt of [b] my people lightly, saying, Peace, peace; when
there is no peace. [c] Were they ashamed when they had 15
committed abomination? nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush: therefore they shall
fall among them that fall: at the time that I visit them
they shall [d] be cast down, saith the LORD.

Thus saith the LORD, Stand ye in the ways and see, 16

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[a] Or, *breach* [b] Another reading is, *the daughter of my people*, as in ch. viii. 11, 21. [c] †Or, *They shall be put to shame because they have committed abomination: yea, they are not &c.* [d] †Or, *stumble*

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14. Jeremiah here touches one of the most ominous features of the time, the incurable optimism of the religious leaders. They have 'healed,' or rather given medical treatment to the wound of the nation. But they have not been radical enough, they have contented themselves with a superficial healing over of the wound, while it was festering beneath the surface. 'Hurt' is properly 'breach' (marg.). For 'my people' many MSS. read 'the daughter of my people,' as in viii. 11, 21.

15. Duhm and Cornill regard this verse as a later addition, Erbt retains simply 'nay, they were . . . blush.' The reasons are partly metrical and stylistic, partly rest on the feeling that the contents are not Jeremianic.

The LXX reads 'at the time of their visitation,' implying a different vocalization of the original consonants. This is confirmed by viii. 12.

be cast down: better as in marg., **stumble.**

16. It was no fault of Yahweh that they have thus sinned unto death. He had urged them to return to the ways of antiquity, which would conduct them to prosperity. But they had met all His warnings and entreaties with a flat refusal to obey; hence their doom will be due to their own inexcusable defiance of His behests.

saith: the present tense gives a wrong sense; it is not a new utterance of Yahweh, but what He had spoken at an earlier time. We should translate 'said.'

in the ways: i. e. where the ways meet. They must return to the parting of the ways, and then learn which are the ancient paths; it is these which will lead them to happiness. This con-

and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and
walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls: but
17 they said, We will not walk *therein.* And I set watchmen
over you, *saying*, Hearken to the sound of the trumpet;
18 but they said, We will not hearken. Therefore hear, ye
nations, and know, O congregation, what is among them.
19 Hear, O earth: behold, I will bring evil upon this people,

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servative tendency in Jeremiah is a wholesome reminder that the prophets were not the conscious innovators they have sometimes been represented to be.

rest for your souls. Our familiarity with the phrase in the gracious invitation of Matt. xi. 29 tempts us to read a deeper meaning into it here than it really contains. It has not the spiritual significance it bears on the lips of Jesus. It is not the inward peace which the soul finds in fellowship with God, but the peace and safety which they will secure by adherence to God's commands.

17. It is questionable on metrical grounds if the verse is in its original form, but no satisfactory restoration has been proposed. The general sense is not affected by this uncertainty. We should probably read 'over them' for 'over you,' to avoid the awkward change of persons.

I set: the tense does not indicate action in the future, as Duhm urges, but repeated action in the past: 'I ever raised up' (Driver). The 'watchmen' are the prophets, who give warning of impending disaster.

18. The last part of the verse is corrupt. 'Congregation' should, according to the parallelism, refer to the nations, but such a use of the word is unexampled. It cannot refer to Israel in this context. The clause 'know what is among them' is intolerably tame and much too indefinite. Numerous emendations have been proposed. Graf suggested 'and know what I have testified against them' (cf. Aquila's rendering 'and know the testimony that is among them'). Rothstein, however, thinks we should read 'ye heavens' for 'ye nations.' His reconstruction is 'Wherefore hear, ye heavens, and bear witness against them.' This matches the appeal to earth in 19 (cf. Isa. i. 2, Deut. xxxii. 1), and escapes the difficulty caused by the summons to the nations, which has led Cornill to follow Duhm in the view that 18, 19 are a later insertion. It seems to be the best emendation yet proposed.

19. Perhaps something has fallen out after 'Hear, O earth,' corresponding to the clause which originally followed the similar invocation in 18.

even the fruit of their thoughts, because they have not hearkened unto my words; and as for my law, they have rejected it. To what purpose cometh there to me frank- 20
incense from Sheba, and the sweet [a] cane from a far country? your burnt offerings are not acceptable, nor your sacrifices pleasing unto me. Therefore thus saith 21
the LORD, Behold, I will lay stumblingblocks before this people: and the fathers and the sons together shall stumble against them; the neighbour and his friend shall perish.

Thus saith the LORD, Behold, a people cometh from 22
the north country; and a great nation shall be stirred up from the uttermost parts of the earth. They lay hold on 23

[a] Or, *calamus*

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thoughts: probably we should read 'turning away,' with the LXX.

my law. The Torah of Yahweh is not to be understood in its later technical sense of the Pentateuchal law, unless the passage is late, but it ought not to be regarded as late on the ground that this word is used. It means 'direction' or 'teaching' (cf. Isa. i. 9).

20. Cf. Amos v. 21–25, Isa. i. 11–14. An elaborate ritual and costly sacrifices gave Yahweh no pleasure, as the people fondly imagined, if they were dissociated from obedience to His commands. Sheba, in south-west Arabia, was the chief source from which incense was derived in antiquity. The 'sweet cane' or calamus (Isa. xliii. 24, Exod. xxx. 23), not to be identified with the sugar-cane, was used in the production of incense. It probably came from India. Duhm and Cornill think that Jeremiah is not attacking the sacrificial system, but the new-fangled ritual fashions, which seemed specially fitted by their costliness to win the favour of God. Accordingly they regard the latter half of the verse as a later insertion. This would be more plausible if 18, 19 were deleted, since then we should gain a more effective contrast between the 'old paths' and the novel fashions. But there is little warrant for such drastic handling of the text, all the more as they involve 21 in the fate of 18, 19.

22. A fine description of the invader now follows, recalling that in v. 15–17. The Scythians were, originally at any rate, intended.

bow and spear; they are cruel, and have no mercy; their
voice roareth like the sea, and they ride upon horses;
every one set in array, as a man to the battle, against thee,
24 O daughter of Zion. We have heard the fame thereof;
our hands wax feeble: anguish hath taken hold of us,
25 *and* pangs as of a woman in travail. Go not forth into
the field, nor walk by the way; for *there is* the sword of
26 the enemy, *and* terror on every side. O daughter of my
people, gird thee with sackcloth, and wallow thyself in
ashes: make thee mourning, as for an only son, most
bitter lamentation; for the spoiler shall suddenly come
27 upon us. I have made thee a [a] tower *and* a fortress

[a] †Or, *trier*

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23. spear: the word means 'javelin.'

as a man: Rosenmüller and Duhm explain 'as one man.' But more probably it means as a man of war.

24. The people of Jerusalem express the emotions with which they hear the tidings of the enemy's approach.

25. Go . . . walk. The Hebrew should be read as a plural rather than a singular; the warning is addressed to individuals rather than the population as a whole. The fields and ways will be unsafe because of the enemy.

terror on every side: a favourite expression; see xx. 10, xlvi. 5, xlix. 29, Ps. xxxi. 13. Cf. the graphic description in Job xviii, especially verse 11, 'Terrors shall make him afraid on every side.'

26. wallow thyself: so Aquila, followed by many modern scholars. The Versions usually render 'sprinkle thyself;' so Cheyne, Cornill, Driver (see his note, p. 347).

an only son: cf. Amos viii. 10, Zech. xii. 10. The word bears its usual sense; there is no reference to the wailing for Tammuz or Adonis (Ezek. viii. 14), though he probably bore in Phoenicia a name equivalent to the word used here. No wailing for a dead god who was to come to life again, could match the agony of bereavement felt for one's own son irretrievably lost, with no brothers to mitigate the sense of utter desolation, to perpetuate the family, or perform the last offices for the parent.

27. The translation implies a strange mixture of metaphors; it is not the function of a fortress to test the conduct of the people. The margin 'trier' is obviously correct; Jeremiah's function is among my people; that thou mayest know and try their way. They are all grievous revolters, going about with 28 slanders; they are brass and iron: they all of them deal corruptly. The bellows [a] blow fiercely; the lead is con- 29 sumed of the fire: in vain do they go on refining; for the wicked are not plucked away. Refuse silver shall 30 men call them, because the LORD hath rejected them.

[R] The word that came to Jeremiah from the LORD, 7

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[a] Or, *are burned*

that of an assayer, as 29, 30 clearly indicate. The translation 'fortress' is correct but quite unsuitable. Michaelis, followed by many scholars, pointed differently and rendered 'gold-washer,' but this is destitute of proof. The word is probably a mistaken insertion, occasioned partly by i. 18, partly by the fact that the word used here in the sense of 'trier' means 'tower' in Isa. xxiii. 13 (so a cognate word in Isa. xxxii. 14).

28. Here also the text is difficult. Duhm has dealt radically and cleverly with it, but this is not the place to discuss his reconstruction. It is not unlikely that the words 'they are all brass and iron' are an insertion, possibly from Ezek. xxii. 18-22, a passage which should be compared with the present. They stand awkwardly in their present connexion.

29. This verse also is not clear; the R.V. probably gives the approximate sense (cf. Isa. i. 25). Although the utmost is done to free the people from its evil elements, it is all in vain. Before quicksilver was known lead was mixed with the alloy which had to be purified, and the mixture was melted, then the bellows forced air on it. The lead was thus oxidized and formed a flux for the impurities (see Driver's note, p. 39, or the description by Gillies, p. 84). In this case the process is a failure, the impurities are not carried away by the lead, so that the silver remains unrefined.

30. On this note of rejection the present cycle of prophecies comes to a close.

vii. 1—viii. 3. THE TEMPLE NO GUARANTEE OF SECURITY; FAILING THE PEOPLE'S REFORM, IT WILL ITSELF BE DESTROYED.

At vii. 1 a new section begins which embraces vii-x. It includes distinct subsections, and a certain amount of later insertion. The first of these subsections is vii. 1—viii. 3. The date of the main portion is fixed by xxvi. 1 as 'the beginning of the reign

2 saying, Stand in the gate of the LORD'S house, and pro-

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of Jehoiakim.' In xxvi we have a description of the scene, but a very meagre report of what was said by Jeremiah. Here we have no account of the sensation excited by the prophet's threat that the Temple would be destroyed or of the imminent risk of death which he ran, but the address itself is summarized with some fullness. The identity of the two occasions is guaranteed by the presence in both chapters of the prediction that God would make the Temple a ruin like Shiloh. Duhm considers that almost the whole chapter is late, and that the address of Jeremiah (3–15) was composed by a writer on the basis of the brief notice of the incident in Baruch's biography of Jeremiah. The fundamental objection is that the address is not written in the metre in which alone Duhm believes that Jeremiah's prophecies are clothed. It is, however, a bold theory, and antecedently not very credible, that Jeremiah's spoken addresses were invariably uttered in metre. The contrary is more probable, even if he threw them into metrical form for publication. It is possible that it is the version in Baruch's biography that we have here. The detailed objections need not be mentioned at this point, and the question of possible insertions in this subsection may be treated at the points where it arises.

The speech was apparently delivered at a gathering at which not only the people of the capital but Judaeans from the country districts were present. It is not wonderful that it infuriated the priests and prophets, the official guardians of religion, united in defence of the established order. The centralization of the worship at Jerusalem, the conviction of Isaiah that Zion could not be overthrown which had been so brilliantly justified by the disaster that saved Jerusalem from capture by Sennacherib, caused a superstitious veneration to gather about the Temple. It was a kind of fetish which guaranteed the security of the city and the people. As the only legitimate sanctuary the material interests of the priesthood were bound up with it.

vii. 1–2. The following address delivered to Judah at the Temple gate.

3–15. Radical amendment of life will secure the Jews in possession of the land. They must not trust in lies and think that the possession of Yahweh's Temple will secure them against disaster while they commit all manner of moral and religious offences. Do they think Yahweh's house is a robber's shelter? If so, let them learn from the fate of Shiloh, Yahweh's ancient abode, that so He will do to His present house. He will banish them from His land as He has already banished Ephraim.

16–20. Yahweh will hearken to no prayer for the people. They

claim there this word, and say, [**J**] Hear the word of the
Lord, all ye of Judah, [**R**] that enter in at these gates to
worship the Lord. [**J**] Thus saith the Lord of hosts, 3
the God of Israel, Amend your ways and your doings,
and I will cause you to dwell in this place. Trust ye not 4
in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple
of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, are these. For 5

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make cakes to the Queen of Heaven and offer to other gods, but He will pour out His unquenchable anger upon them.

21–28. Let them eat their burnt offerings as well as their sacrifices, they are but flesh. For at the Exodus Yahweh made no demand for either, but only for obedience. Yet though He had warned them by His prophets, they responded only with stubborn defiance. And similarly his hearers will not hearken to Jeremiah.

29–34. Lament for Yahweh's rejection of His people. Judah has defiled the Temple, and burnt human sacrifices in Topheth. Therefore the valley of Hinnom shall be the scene of slaughter, and used for burial, while the beasts and birds shall prey undisturbed on the unburied. Then all gladness shall cease from Jerusalem, and the land shall become a waste.

viii. 1–3. The bones of kings and great men shall be taken from the tombs and spread before the host of heaven which once they had worshipped, and the scattered survivors will prefer death to life.

vii. 1, 2. Of these two verses the LXX has simply the words, 'Hear the word of the Lord, all ye of Judah.' Since there was no reason for omitting the rest if the translator had it before him, we may probably infer that the Hebrew has been subsequently expanded by a scribe, who has drawn on xxvi. 1, 2.

the gate: in xxvi. 2 we read 'the court.' Probably one of the gates between the outer and inner court is intended; perhaps 'the new gate' (xxvi. 10). The people who had gathered, presumably for a festival or a fast-day, from the country as well as the capital, would throng the outer court. Speaking in Jerusalem, it was not unnatural for Jeremiah to say 'this place' (3), rather than 'this land' (but see 7).

4. For the repetition cf. xxii. 29, Isa. vi. 3. Here it gives the formula a kind of magical force. 'These' means this set of buildings which make up the Temple. The formula was true, but its implication was false (cf. Mic. iii. 11). The Temple was Yahweh's house, but it gave His worshippers no immunity from disaster. Only a radical change in conduct could secure this (5–7).

if ye throughly amend your ways and your doings; if ye
throughly execute judgement between a man and his
6 neighbour; if ye oppress not the stranger, the fatherless,
and the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place,
7 neither walk after other gods to your own hurt: then will
I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave
8 to your fathers, from of old even for evermore. Behold,
9 ye trust in lying words, that cannot profit. Will ye steal,
murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely, and burn
incense unto Baal, and walk after other gods whom ye
10 have not known, and come and stand before me in this
house, [a] which is called by my name, and say, We are
11 delivered; that ye may do all these abominations? Is

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[a] Heb. *whereupon my name is called.*

6. the stranger: the resident alien, who is frequently coupled in Deuteronomy with the Levite, the widow, and the orphan, i.e. the defenceless and the needy classes who were peculiarly exposed to ill-treatment and fraud, and whose claims to kind and equitable treatment were therefore specially emphasized in the Law. The earliest legislation similarly prohibits oppression of the stranger (Exod. xxii. 21, xxiii. 9).

9. Will ye steal, &c. Better, 'What! steal,' &c. We need not infer that we have a later writer exaggerating the misdeeds of the audience; the earlier prophets say similar things, and Jeremiah and Ezekiel give a very unflattering description of their contemporaries. The enumeration of sins is probably influenced by the Decalogue.

burn incense: this rendering is possible, but it would be better to translate 'burn sacrifices' (see note on i. 16). These were offered not 'to Baal' but 'to the Baal,' i. e. the Baal of the particular locality (see notes on ii. 8, 23).

10. which is called by my name: Heb. 'whereupon my name is called,' implying His possession.

that ye may do. The Hebrew is ambiguous; we might render 'in order that we may do,' but even if the worshippers are represented as making this cynical avowal, 'abominations' must be the prophet's substitute for their more specious description of their conduct. Probably, however, the R.V. correctly takes the whole clause as Jeremiah's indignant comment on their complacent assurance that they are delivered from peril by their piety.

11. Has God's Temple sunk so low in their estimation that they this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your eyes? Behold, I, even I, have seen it, saith the LORD. But go ye now unto my place which 12 was in Shiloh, where I caused my name to dwell at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel. And now, because ye have done all these 13 works, saith the LORD, and I spake unto you, rising up early and speaking, but ye heard not; and I called you, but ye answered not: therefore will I do unto the house, 14 which is called by my name, wherein ye trust, and unto the place which I gave to you and to your fathers, as I have done to Shiloh. And I will cast you out of my 15 sight, as I have cast out all your brethren, even the whole seed of Ephraim.

Therefore pray not thou for this people, neither lift up 16

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value it most as a refuge from danger, such as other robbers find in their caves? The country was infested with robbers who made the caves their retreat.

12. If the Temple has become no better than a robbers' haunt, God will treat it as such and destroy it as He destroyed Shiloh (cf. Ps. lxviii. 60). We have no account of the fall of Shiloh; Wellhausen has conjectured that the narrative once stood in the place now occupied by 1 Sam. vii. This is more likely than the view that it was destroyed at the overthrow of the Northern Kingdom, in spite of the better parallelism this would give with the simultaneous destruction of the Temple and the overthrow of the Southern Kingdom. For Shiloh's pre-eminence consisted simply in its possession of the ark; it had lost all religious significance centuries before 722 B.C.

14. They trust in Yahweh's house rather than in the living God Himself.

15. out of my sight: the old conception of Yahweh as localized in Palestine colours the expression in this prediction of exile. Ephraim is here used for the northern tribes generally. The threat of exile is not at all strange on the lips of Jeremiah at this time.

all: should be omitted, as by LXX.

16-20. This passage seems to interrupt the Temple address. Intercession for the doomed people might naturally follow the

cry nor prayer for them, neither make intercession to me:
17 for I will not hear thee. Seest thou not what they do in
18 the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem? The

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communication of Yahweh's purpose to the prophet, just as Abraham pleaded for Sodom. But that in the course of his address to the people, Jeremiah should utter Yahweh's words to himself, with no formula to indicate the transition, is hardly natural. Accordingly, while it may quite well have been inserted here when the address was published, it is likely that it formed no part of it originally. It is also uncertain whether at this time the public worship of the Queen of Heaven was carried on as here described. Jehoiakim was a worthless king, and probably quite out of sympathy with his father's religious policy. Yet we have no explicit evidence to convict him of reinstating, or even permitting the re-introduction of idolatry. Apart from this, the impression we gain from xliv is that this form of worship had not been resumed after the reformation of Josiah, for in reply to Jeremiah's appeal that his hearers will not practise it, they retort that all their calamities are due to neglect of it. It is true that they speak of themselves, as well as their fathers, as having participated in it, but as the interval from the Reformation (621 B.C.) was less than forty years, many would, like Jeremiah himself, have been grown up at that time. Possibly, then, we have here a fragment dating from the pre-Reformation period. Cornill believes that the passage forms an integral part of the address, but that the reference is not to idolatry practised at the time, but at an earlier period. He explains the public idolatry, described in Ezek. viii, similarly. Others feel no difficulty in the view that the worship was carried on in Jehoiakim's reign.

16. The people's wickedness is so incurable that intercession is in vain.

18. The rendering 'queen of heaven' is that almost universally accepted by modern scholars. It involves an alteration in the pointing. There is another reading, 'work of heaven,' probably meant in the sense of host of heaven, and introduced to avoid the true interpretation. We have a fuller description of the cult in xliv, from which it is clear that while the husbands and children assisted in the preparations, the women were especially active in the service of the goddess. The identification of the Queen of Heaven is disputed. Probably she was Ishtar, who bore this name in Babylonia, and who is to be regarded as the planet Venus rather than the moon. The cult was of Babylonian origin, and probably imported into Judah in the reign of Manasseh. The description points to its prevalence among the poorer classes, who have to collect firewood and do all the work themselves. From

children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead the dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offerings unto other gods, that they may provoke me to anger. Do they pro- 19
voke me to anger? saith the LORD; *do they* not *provoke* themselves, to the confusion of their own faces? There- 20
fore thus saith the Lord GOD: Behold, mine anger and my fury shall be poured out upon this place, upon man, and upon beast, and upon the trees of the field, and upon the fruit of the ground; and it shall burn, and shall not be quenched.

Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel: Add 21
your burnt offerings unto your sacrifices, and eat ye flesh.

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xliv. 19 we learn that the cakes 'pourtrayed' (R.V. marg.) the goddess. By this is meant, either that they were modelled to represent her, or that her image or symbol was impressed on them. The Hebrew word for 'cakes' may be of foreign origin, borrowed with the cult. (See further the articles 'Queen of Heaven,' in Hastings's *Dict. of the Bible* and the *Enc. Bib.*)

19, 20. How childish the thought that they can spite Yahweh by such conduct; Yahweh serenely lifted above all jealousy and petulance! Yet the wrath of Yahweh, though there is in it no vindictiveness for the slight thus placed upon Him, is a consuming fire of moral indignation, which will devour them. Thus the injury they would do to their God recoils on themselves.

21. The general meaning is that their sacrifices are worthless to God, they have no sacred element attaching to them, but are mere flesh. The specific sense may be that they may add one type of sacrifice to another, but Yahweh regards them as nothing better than flesh. But a far better interpretation is that He despises their service so utterly that they may take the burnt-offerings, which none might eat since they were entirely devoted to Yahweh, and add them to the peace-offerings which were eaten by the worshippers in a sacred feast. They have completely lost their sanctity, offered by hands so unclean, and are fit only for a common meal. This distinction between the two types of sacrifice—one of which, except the parts reserved for God, was eaten by the worshippers, and the other which was not eaten—gives a force to the words 'eat flesh' which they do not get on the alternative explanation.

22 For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them

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22. This verse is famous for its bearing on the criticism of the Pentateuch. The theory known as the Grafian theory, which regards the Priestly Code as the latest of the documents and subsequent to Ezekiel, is so-called since, although he had been anticipated by Reuss, Vatke, and George, it was revived by Graf. The work in which he developed his criticism was issued in 1865 (it bears the date 1866), but in his masterly note on this passage he had already (1862) made his position clear (see especially p. 123). The plain sense of the verse is that at the time of the Exodus God had not demanded sacrifice as part of the service due to Him. To escape this unwelcome conclusion stress has been laid on the precise specification of time, as if the meaning were that though God had given the Hebrews elaborate laws as to sacrifice in the wilderness, He had not given them on the day when they left Egypt. This crass piece of Rabbinism saves the Mosaic origin of these laws at the expense of turning our passage into nonsense, as if a Divine command could have been more sacred and binding if given on the day of the Exodus than if given somewhat later at Sinai. It is moreover refuted by the use of the phrase in the wider sense xi. 4, xxxi. 32, xxxiv. 13. Less obviously absurd is the explanation that we have here merely a grammatical idiom which simply means that God's main requirement was obedience, sacrifice was only a subordinate demand. But even if the possibility of the explanation be granted, and this is dubious, the verse thus interpreted does not fit the context, unless we suppose that if God's primary commands are obeyed, those which are secondary may be calmly neglected! And if Jeremiah recognized the Priestly Legislation as dating from the period of the wilderness, he would surely, in view of its very elaborate laws on sacrifice, have expressed himself in a less misleading way. It is urged on the other hand that the argument proves too much, since it would involve a denial of the Mosaic origin of laws in Deuteronomy and the Book of the Covenant, with which Jeremiah was confessedly acquainted. It must be granted that this reply is not without force. Yet the critical position must probably be maintained in view of the following considerations: There is a very marked difference between the attitude of the earlier Codes and the Priestly Legislation. In the latter the ritual system is of very high importance and sacrifice fills a prominent place, in the former sacrifice holds a relatively insignificant position. If it is urged that Jeremiah's language is inconsistent with the recognition even of this minimum, as Divinely ordained at the Exodus, it may be said that it is by no means clear that he would have affirmed such recognition. His later attitude to Deuteronomy is uncertain; he may have come to

in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt,
concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices: but this thing I 23
commanded them, saying, Hearken unto my voice, and
I will be your God, and ye shall be my people: and walk
ye in all the way that I command you, that it may be
well with you. But they hearkened not, nor inclined 24
their ear, but walked in *their own* counsels *and* in the
stubbornness of their evil heart, and went backward and

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the conclusion that no sacrificial laws were given in the wilderness, and have reckoned the records of such among the instances where the false pen of the scribes had wrought falsely (viii. 8). In doing so he would rest not merely on his own instinctive discrimination of the false and the true, but on the implied assertion of Amos that Israel had not offered sacrifices in the wilderness (Amos v. 25). But if not, what would be a pardonable rhetorical exaggeration with reference to the earlier codes, especially remembering that the sacrificial laws of Deuteronomy were largely designed to prevent heathen abuses, would be gross when said of the Priestly Laws. A statement of this kind could pass when addressed to a people familiar with the Book of the Covenant and Deuteronomy, but it would have seemed flagrant to those who knew the Priestly Legislation. How could he have challenged with a mere *ipse dixit* the claim to Divine origin which it made for these laws, before a people who knew the Code and acknowledged the claim? It is highly improbable that we have to do here with a post-exilic insertion. An anti-sacrificial tendency in post-exilic Judaism is perhaps to be admitted, but an unequivocal denial of what Leviticus represented as historical fact is not likely to have been inserted after the Canon of the Law had been recognized.

23. The relation between Yahweh and Israel is based on a covenant, a mutual agreement resting on Israel's obedience to Yahweh's behests. Each takes the other for its own: Yahweh Israel to be His people, Israel Yahweh to be its God. The relationship is not one that rests on a necessity of nature, but on an act of choice. The verse contains no precise quotation from the Pentateuch, but summarizes the drift of several passages.

24. they: the reference is apparently to the fathers in the wilderness, but if so the judgement expressed differs from that in ii. 2.

in their own **counsels.** The Heb. is literally 'in counsels in the stubbornness of their evil heart.' The LXX omits 'in counsels,' and thus gives a better and smoother text. 'Counsels' has come into the text apparently from Ps. lxxxi. 12.

25 not forward. Since the day that your fathers came forth
out of the land of Egypt unto this day, I have sent unto
you all my servants the prophets, daily rising up early
26 and sending them: yet they hearkened not unto me, nor
inclined their ear, but made their neck stiff: they did
worse than their fathers.

27 And thou shalt speak all these words unto them; but
they will not hearken to thee: thou shalt also call unto
28 them; but they will not answer thee. And thou shalt
say unto them, This is the nation that hath not hearkened to the voice of the LORD their God, nor received
[a] instruction: [b] truth is perished, and is cut off from their
mouth.

29 Cut off [c] thine hair, *O Jerusalem*, and cast it away, and take up a lamentation on the bare heights; for the LORD hath rejected and forsaken the generation of his wrath.

[a] †Or, *correction* [b] †Or, *faithfulness* [c] Heb. *thy crown.*

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25. The LXX connects the former part of this verse (down to 'this day') with verse 24, and reads 'their fathers.' Cornill accepts this, but escapes the difficulty which arises from the abruptness of 25^b by treating 25^b, 26 as a later addition, a less drastic measure than Giesebrecht's excision of 24-26.

daily. The text means 'by day.' We may either duplicate the word (reading *yōm yōm* 'daily') or, preferably, strike it out as having arisen through dittography of the preceding consonants.

27, 28. Instead of 27, and the opening clause of 28, the LXX simply reads 'And thou shalt say to them this word.' It is probable that this represents the original much more nearly, though perhaps not precisely. Duhm recognizes genuine Jeremianic matter in 28, 29, but considers that 28 belongs to vi. 27-30. This rests on the unwarrantable assumption that vii. 1-27 is non-Jeremianic, but it is also excluded by the fact that any addition to vi. 30 would spoil the climax. Whether 29 is to be similarly judged is less clear to him.

29. The personified nation is addressed, or possibly Jerusalem (so E.V.). The hair (Heb. 'thy crown') was cut off in sign of mourning, as in Job i. 20, Mic. i. 16. For 'the bare heights' see note on iii. 21.

For the children of Judah have done that which is evil 30
in my sight, saith the LORD: they have set their abominations in the house which is called by my name, to defile
it. And they have built the high places of Topheth, 31

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30. The reference is specially to the idolatrous abominations introduced by Manasseh; see 2 Kings xxi. 2–9, and the account of Josiah's Reformation, 2 Kings xxiii. 4–14.

31. high places of Topheth. We should probably read the singular 'high place,' with the LXX, as there would be only one sanctuary in the valley of Hinnom. The etymology and meaning of Topheth (see xix. 6, 11–14; 2 Kings xxiii. 10) are unknown; Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, revised ed., p. 377, may be consulted, also the articles in the Biblical Dictionaries. The vocalization of the word is probably to be explained on the same principles as that of Molech. This is properly *melek* ('king') and designated Yahweh, but since it was considered that sacrifices of infants could not be offered to Yahweh, it was assumed that the king intended must be a heathen deity. Accordingly the word was pointed with the vowels of *bosheth*, the Hebrew word for 'shame,' which was often substituted for Baal (see note on iii. 24) as we see from Ish-bosheth for Ish-baal and Mephibosheth for Merib-baal (in both these cases baal stands for Yahweh). Similarly, to mark their horror of this rite of human sacrifice, the pronunciation Topheth was substituted for the original. What this was is uncertain, possibly *tᵉphath*. The word seems to mean 'fireplace;' cf. Isa. xxx. 33, where it appears in a slightly different form. The origin of this hideous custom is also disputed; some suppose it was Aramaic, others Babylonian, but perhaps it is more likely to have been derived from the Phoenicians, especially as we know of them, and only of them, that it constituted a regular and not merely an exceptional element in their worship. It came into vogue in Judah apparently in the time of Manasseh, though we have references to earlier isolated instances. The sanctuary was situated in the valley of ben-Hinnom (otherwise described as the valley of Hinnom, or the valley of the sons of Hinnom, or the valley, ii. 23, xxxi. 40). The meaning of Hinnom is unknown. It is a proper name, perhaps that of a former owner. Its precise situation is disputed. Some identify it with the Tyropoeon, others with the Kidron, the majority with the Wādy er-Rababi. It was appropriate that the scene of such hellish rites, Ge-Hinnom (valley of Hinnom), should supply the name by which hell came to be designated, Gehenna (see Isa. lxvi. 24). It may be added that the victims were not simply passed through or over the fire, but were actually burned. They were first killed, however, as with

which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn
their sons and their daughters in the fire; which I
32 commanded not, neither came it into my [a] mind. There-
fore, behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that it shall
no more be called Topheth, nor The valley of the son of
Hinnom, but The valley of Slaughter: for they shall
33 bury in Topheth, [b] till there be no place *to bury*. And

[a] Heb. *heart*. [b] †Or, *because there shall be no place else*

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animal burnt-offerings, so that the opinion that they were burnt alive is incorrect. The last clause of the verse strikes the modern reader strangely, since it is surely obvious that Yahweh had commanded no gruesome offerings like these. But the Law contained a demand that the firstborn should be given to Yahweh (Exod. xiii. 2, xxii. 29^b, xxxiv. 19), though in the latter case direction is added that they shall be redeemed. These passages may have been misinterpreted, and Mic. vi. 7 shows that the question was seriously asked if by such sacrifice a man might come before God and atone for his sin. Most remarkable is Ezekiel's assertion that in consequence of Israel's disobedience Yahweh gave them statutes that were not good, so that they dedicated their firstborn (Ezek. xx. 25, 26).

32. Where they have butchered their children, they shall themselves be butchered, hence the name Valley of Slaughter will replace the older name. The concluding words of the verse are, however, difficult. If we could translate as in E.V., 'till there be no place,' we should get a good sense; so abundant will be the slaughter that the whole valley will be filled with the buried dead, and still multitudes will remain unburied and serve as carrion for beasts and birds. But the Hebrew means 'because there shall be no place else,' as in R.V. marg., i.e. they will bury in Topheth because all other burying-places are full. Such an exaggeration is intrinsically most improbable, besides it does not connect well with the earlier part of the verse, which describes the valley as the scene of the slaughter; the concluding clause suggests rather that the corpses were brought to the valley for burial from elsewhere. Duhm thinks the clause is an addition occasioned by the later use of the valley for burial. But we might retain it, if by emendation we could secure the sense given in the E.V.

33. When there is no longer room to bury, the corpses lie untended on the ground, with no Rizpah to scare away the birds and beasts. The threat was much more terrible to the ancients than to us, since they dreaded to be left unburied after death. It occurs often in this book, cf. also Deut. xxviii. 26, Isa. xviii. 6.

the carcases of this people shall be meat for the fowls of
the heaven, and for the beasts of the earth ; and none
shall fray them away. Then will I cause to cease from 34
the cities of Judah, and from the streets of Jerusalem, the
voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the
bridegroom and the voice of the bride: for the land shall
become a waste.

At that time, saith the LORD, they shall bring out the 8
bones of the kings of Judah, and the bones of his princes,
and the bones of the priests, and the bones of the
prophets, and the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem,
out of their graves: and they shall spread them before 2
the sun, and the moon, and all the host of heaven, whom
they have loved, and whom they have served, and after
whom they have walked, and whom they have sought,
and whom they have worshipped: they shall not be
gathered, nor be buried ; they shall be for dung upon the
face of the earth. And death shall be chosen rather than 3

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fray: an old word meaning to frighten, abbreviated from 'affray,' of which 'afraid' is the participle.

34. This mournful prediction meets us elsewhere in his prophecies (xvi. 9, xxv. 10, and its reversal in xxxiii. 11).

viii. 1. While many dead are left unburied, the enemy will even drag from the grave the bones of the kings and princes and other leading men, and expose them to the heavenly bodies they had worshipped in their lifetime. The motive of the act was not merely to rifle the tombs of the treasure and ornaments often buried with the rich and great, but to undo their burial and thus break their rest. For death did not snap the tie which bound the body to the shade, so that the pain and indignity inflicted on the bones were felt by the shade in Sheol; see note on Job xiv. 22, and cf. Amos ii. 1.

2. The human act is the instrument of the Divine derision. The heaping up of verbs descriptive of their devotion is sarcastic, the heavens look in cold indifference on the bleaching bones of their zealous devotees.

3. But those who are not slain will be harried by God's judge-life by all the residue that remain of this evil family, which remain in all the places whither I have driven them, saith the LORD of hosts.

4 Moreover thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the LORD: Shall men fall, and not rise up again? shall one

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ments, and, wherever they may be driven, will in their misery prefer death to life; cf. Rev. ix. 6.

which remain should be omitted, with the LXX and Syriac; the Hebrew cannot be so construed: a word has been repeated from the preceding clause by mistake.

viii. 4—ix. 1. JUDAH'S UNNATURAL DISOBEDIENCE WILL BE PUNISHED BY RUIN.

This section seems to belong to the same period as the preceding. Cornill, in fact, thinks that it is really the metrical counterpart to the version of the Temple speech contained in that section.

viii. 4-9. Yahweh complains of the unnatural conduct of His people in that they will not retrace their steps, but go headlong in their evil way. The birds know the time of their migration and return, but Israel is ignorant of Yahweh's ordinance. They claim to know Him, and possess His teaching, but it is a teaching falsified by the scribes. The wise are discomfited, they have rejected Yahweh's word, and what is their wisdom?

10-12. Others shall possess their wives and lands, for all are self-seeking and false; the healers have healed the wound too lightly, unashamed at their sin they shall be put to confusion by disaster.

13-17. Utter destruction awaits them at Yahweh's hands. In their despair they propose to enter the strong cities, there to perish, a bitter doom for their sin. Their hopes are disappointed; the foe comes from the north, laying waste the land. No charmer can save them from the serpents' bite.

18—ix. 1. Would that I could be comforted! The exiled people inquire if Yahweh has forsaken Zion, but why have they vexed Him with their idols? The summer is ended, and they are still undelivered. I array myself as a mourner for my people's calamity. Is there no ointment, no physician, to renew my people? Would that my tears were inexhaustible, that I might weep without ceasing for the slain.

viii. 4. How contrary to Nature is Judah's conduct! If men fall, they rise again; if they go astray, they retrace their steps. But Judah obstinately keeps on in the wrong path.

turn away, and not return? Why then is this people of 5
Jerusalem slidden back by a perpetual backsliding? they
hold fast deceit, they refuse to return. I hearkened and 6
heard, but they spake not aright: no man repenteth him
of his wickedness, saying, What have I done? every
one [a] turneth to his course, as a horse that rusheth
headlong in the battle. Yea, the stork in the heaven 7
knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle and the
swallow and the crane observe the time of their coming;

[a] †Or, *turneth away in his course*

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5. Omit 'of Jerusalem,' with LXX; 'of' is not represented in the Hebrew.

slidden back: the connexion would be clearer if we rendered **turned away,** in harmony with 4.

6. It is not clear whether Yahweh or the prophet is the speaker.

turneth to his course: the margin is better, but perhaps we should follow Duhm and others in reading 'goeth about in his course.' Possibly a form of the same verb should be substituted in the next clause (*shoṭeṭ* for *shoṭeph*); the word translated 'rusheth headlong' means properly 'overfloweth,' and its appropriateness to a single horse is questionable: it would suit the impetuous rush of a troop.

7. This striking verse reminds the reader at once of Isa. i. 3, but it expresses a greater thought. It is no cause for wonder that the ox should know his owner, or the ass his master's crib. The daily familiarity would impress the knowledge on the bluntest perception. But how marvellous is the migration and the return of the birds, their accurate discernment of the season for flight, their unerring sense of direction! That is a divinely implanted instinct, obeyed without hesitation or demur. And if this instinct controls the life of the unreasoning birds, how much more should man guide his life in loyalty to the Divine command. For in him also is the sense of direction, the knowledge of right, the conscience which points him to God's will as the needle to the magnetic pole. 'What instinct is for the beast, that religion is for man' (Cornill). And if this is so with man, how much more with Israel, which has been left to the mercy of no natural instinct, nor yet to man's universal discernment of right and wrong, but has been the object of God's own prolonged training.

the swallow: better 'the swift.' 'The crane' may be the correct translation, but on the whole this is improbable. Perhaps

but my people know not the [a] ordinance of the LORD.
8 How do ye say, We are wise, and the law of the LORD is
with us? But, behold, the false pen of the scribes hath
9 [b] wrought falsely. The wise men are ashamed, they are
dismayed and taken: lo, they have rejected the word of

[a] Or, *judgement* [b] †Or, *made* of it *falsehood*

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we should render 'the swallow,' though this is not free from objection.

8. This 'ordinance' of Yahweh they do indeed profess to know, not, however, as an inward impulse, but a written code. But this code is not what they take it to be; it has been falsified by the scribes. The opinion has been expressed by Marti and other scholars, including Wellhausen, Duhm, and Cornill, that Jeremiah is here referring to Deuteronomy. In that case his charge would probably not mean that he condemned the book as a forgery, but that he felt that in addition to much of a religious and moral character which received his hearty sympathy, there was much of a ceremonial character, in particular the centralization of the worship, which he regarded as the mischievous work of the scribes, possibly also insertions in Deuteronomy which were subsequently withdrawn. It is in favour of this reference that the possession of a written torah in which they boast as given by God, and ensuring their wisdom, admirably suits the Deuteronomic Code which had been accepted as binding law. But the passage is susceptible of a much less definite application. Jeremiah's attitude to Deuteronomy is very much a matter of speculation. No importance need be attached to Josiah's neglect of him in favour of Huldah at the discovery of the roll; he was still young, and probably not influential. He had a warm respect for Josiah and his administration. His prophecies exhibit much affinity with Deuteronomy; he may even have preached (xi. 1–6) in favour of its reforms in the cities of Judah (see the Introduction, pp. 11–14). It is more probable that he is referring to regulations, now no longer extant, which had been concocted by the scribes as Divine ordinances; possibly falsified copies of the Torah had been put in circulation. Findlay says, 'Israel now possessed a *Scripture*, recognized by all parties; already the heretics had learned to entrench themselves behind corrupted readings or crooked interpretations' (p. 188).

wrought falsely: perhaps the margin would be better, 'made *of it* falsehood;' the lying pen has turned the Torah into a lie.

9. The tenses in 9ª are 'prophetic;' this is the doom that awaits them; their complacent optimism will be put to confusion.

the Lord; and what manner of wisdom is in them?
[S] Therefore will I give their wives unto others, and 10
their fields to them that shall possess them: for every
one from the least even unto the greatest is given to
covetousness, from the prophet even unto the priest
every one dealeth falsely. [a] And they have healed the 11
hurt of the daughter of my people lightly, saying, Peace,
peace; when there is no peace. Were they ashamed 12
when they had committed abomination? nay, they were
not at all ashamed, neither could they blush: therefore
shall they fall among them that fall: in the time of their
visitation they shall be cast down, saith the Lord. [J] I 13
will utterly consume them, saith the Lord: there shall
be no grapes on the vine, nor figs on the fig tree, and the
leaf shall fade; and [b] *the things that* I have given them
shall pass away from them. Why do we sit still? as- 14

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[a] See ch. vi. 14, 15.

[b] †Or, *I have appointed them those that shall pass over them*

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10 b-12. Substantially identical with vi. 13-15; 10[a] is parallel to vi. 12. The LXX omits the verses, and has been followed by Hitzig and most recent critics.

13 connects well with 9. The Hebrew of the first clause is uncertain; probably the pointing should be altered, but various alternatives are possible. The meaning is probably either that when Yahweh comes to gather fruit from them, He finds none (cf. Isa. v. 1-7), or that He will depopulate the land of its inhabitants, like a tree which is rifled of its fruit. But the latter does not suit so well the reference to the fading of the leaf, which suggests that the absence of fruit is due to the barrenness of the tree.

and the things . . . them. The three words of which this clause consists in the original are very suspicious; the LXX omits them, perhaps rightly. If they are retained, the text needs emendation, but the suggestions cannot be here discussed.

14. The prophet carries us forward to the time of terror, when the people escape to the fortified cities from the invader. So we have met a similar mutual exhortation in the earlier poems (iv. 5), but we need not on that account regard these verses as belonging

semble yourselves, and let us enter into the defenced
cities, and let us [a] be silent there: for the LORD our God
hath [b] put us to silence, and given us water of [c] gall to
15 drink, because we have sinned against the LORD. We
looked for peace, but no good came; *and* for a time of
16 healing, and behold dismay! The snorting of his horses
is heard from Dan: at the sound of the neighing of his
strong ones the whole land trembleth; for they are
come, and have devoured the land and all that is in it;
17 the city and those that dwell therein. For, behold, I will
send serpents, [d] basilisks, among you, which will not be
charmed; and they shall bite you, saith the LORD.
18 Oh that I could comfort myself against sorrow! my

[a] †Or, *perish* [b] †Or, *caused us to perish* [c] See Deut. xxix. 18.
[d] †Or, *adders*

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to the Scythian period; their tone is more hopeless; escape is but the postponement of inevitable death.

water of gall: cf. Deut. xxix. 18; the Hebrew word for 'gall' is the name of a plant with a very bitter flavour. It cannot be identified with certainty.

15: repeated xiv. 19^b; perhaps in its original place there.

16. The noise of the enemy's approach is heard from the extreme north of the land; cf. iv. 15.

17. The foe are described as serpents, but no art of the serpent-charmer will avail against them. The basilisk is a fabulous creature; the marg. 'adders' is nearer the mark, but is not strictly accurate. The cat-snake is suggested by Furrer (see Driver's note, pp. 351 f.).

18-ix. 1 is regarded by Schmidt (*Enc. Bib.* 2388) as a later insertion, on the ground that it 'apparently presupposes not only the exile of the people, but also the successive disenchanted hopes for the restoration of the monarchy.' The present writer feels that few passages in the book bear more certain signs of Jeremianic origin.

18. Again we have a moving utterance of the prophet's emotions at the calamity of his people. The beginning is probably corrupt. The literal rendering is 'My brightness in sorrow.' Various suggestions have been made; the best is, perhaps, 'Incurable is my sorrow,' since this has the support of the LXX.

heart is faint within me. Behold, the voice of the cry of 19
the daughter of my people [a] from a land that is very far
off: Is not the LORD in Zion? is not her King in her?
Why have they provoked me to anger with their graven
images, and with strange vanities? The harvest is past, 20
the [b] summer is ended, and we are not saved. For the 21
hurt of the daughter of my people am I hurt: I am
[c] black; astonishment hath taken hold on me. Is there 22
no balm in Gilead? is there no physician there? why

[a] Or, *because of* [b] Or, *ingathering of summer fruits*
[c] †Or, *mourning*

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19. The prophet apparently is carried forward in imagination to the time when the people is in exile and hears its bitter lament. Since, however, this seems to be out of harmony with the context, several recent scholars think that the meaning is 'from the wide-stretching land,' so that the exile is not in view, but the cry of the people all over their own land. The phrase is used in the same sense in Isa. xxxiii. 17. Giesebrecht agrees as to the sense required, but thinks it requires the elimination of 'that is very far off,' rendering 'from the land.'

her King: i. e. Yahweh.

20. To understand this famous verse we must remember that 'the harvest' and 'the summer' were quite distinct seasons in Palestine. The harvest lasted from April to June; 'summer' was, as the margin says, the 'ingathering of summer fruits.' If the harvest failed the people might still look forward to the fruit, but if the fruit also failed famine stared them in the face. Possibly the words may be a popular proverb employed by the people in a hopeless situation, possibly it originated with Jeremiah. In any case he puts it into the mouth of the people to express the despair to which they will be driven. 'Saved' gives occasion for the common misuse of the verse with an eschatological application; it would therefore be better to render 'delivered.'

21. More literally, 'for the breach of . . . am I broken,' i. e. broken-hearted.

black: marg. **mourning**; the prophet is clad in mourning attire. We need not interpret this literally.

22. balm. The balsam is not found in Gilead; mastic is probably intended, i. e. the resin of the mastic tree, which was one of the precious articles of commerce exported from Palestine, and was used in medicine. The question means, Is there no sovereign remedy to heal the wounds of Judah?

then is not the [a] health of the daughter of my people [b] recovered?

9 [c] Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of
2 the daughter of my people! [d] [e] Oh that I had in the

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[a] Or, *healing* [b] Or, *perfected* Heb. *gone up.* [c] [Ch. viii. 23 in Heb.] [d] [Ch. ix. 1 in Heb.] [e] Or, *Oh that I were in the wilderness, in &c.*

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health: is rather, according to the sense established by Fleischer, the fresh flesh with which the wound is healed over (see Driver's note, p. 352).

recovered. Render with Driver, 'why then is not the fresh flesh of the daughter of my people come up (upon her)?'

ix. 1. The division is here very unfortunate: the Hebrew division, according to which this verse closes the eighth chapter, is correct. With this passionate outburst of sorrow the noble lament of the prophet reaches its worthy climax.

ix. 2-26. THE TREACHERY AND IDOLATRY OF THE PEOPLE LEAD TO A PITIFUL DESTRUCTION.

This section is not a unity, since 23-26 were not originally connected with 2-22. They belonged apparently to another context, and along with the non-Jeremianic section x. 1-16 they interrupt the connexion between ix. 22 and x. 17. There is no evidence enabling us to fix with any certainty the date of ix. 2-22; it seems not to belong to Jeremiah's earliest period, for a good deal of unhappy experience lies behind it. It belongs perhaps, as is suggested by its position, to the reign of Jehoiakim, which it suits very well.

ix. 2-9. Would that I might escape to a desert khan from my people, treacherous and unfaithful all of them! Slander and deceit have poisoned the closest relationships. Therefore Yahweh will try them for their evil doing, their friendly words which mask the evil purpose of their heart.

10-16. All the land is an utter desolation, Jerusalem and the cities of Judah are in ruins. Who is wise enough to read the riddle of its destruction? It has come because of the people's idolatry; bitter is the draught Yahweh will make them drink. They shall be scattered among the nations, and consumed by the sword.

17-22. Call for the mourning women to raise the wail, that we may weep, 'How are we put to shame by spoliation and exile!' Death the Reaper has entered our dwellings; he has cut off the

wilderness a lodging place of wayfaring men; that I might
leave my people, and go from them! for they be all
adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men. And they 3
bend their tongue *as it were* their bow for falsehood; and
they are grown strong in the land, but not for [a] truth:
for they proceed from evil to evil, and they know not
me, saith the LORD. Take ye heed every one of his 4
neighbour, and trust ye not in any brother: for every
brother will utterly supplant, and every neighbour will
go about with slanders. And they will [b] deceive every 5
one his neighbour, and will not speak the truth: they
have taught their tongue to speak lies; they weary
themselves to commit iniquity. Thine habitation is in 6

[a] †Or, *faithfulness* [b] †Or, *mock*

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children and the young, and their carcases lie neglected on the field.

23–26. Let none boast in wisdom, might, or wealth, but in the knowledge of Yahweh the kind and righteous ruler. The days are coming when Yahweh will punish the nations uncircumcised in their circumcision.

ix. 2. It is only a bare khan, destitute of all comfort, such as one might tolerate for a night's lodging on a journey, but would reject as a dwelling-place, for which Jeremiah sighs as a home. Better even such a lonely and wretched caravanserai than the city with its treachery, which has so eaten away the foundations of social trust that it is perilous to confide even in a brother.

3. Their tongue is like a bow with which they shoot their slanders at their neighbours. They misuse their power and do not use it for truth, i. e. 'faithfulness' (as marg.).

4. supplant. The Hebrew is identical with the name Jacob; there seems to be a clear reference to Jacob's treacherous treatment of his brother Esau. The descendants are like their ancestor, each 'Jacobs' his brother.

5. taught their tongue: trained it against its true nature and function.

6. The verse is difficult in the Hebrew. The LXX presupposes a different division of the consonants, which is probably to be preferred, and on the basis of it several scholars restore the text from the close of 5, 'they commit iniquity, they weary themselves

the midst of deceit; through deceit they refuse to know
me, saith the LORD.

7 Therefore thus saith the LORD of hosts, Behold, I will
melt them, and try them; for how *else* should I do,
8 because of the daughter of my people? Their tongue is
a deadly arrow; it speaketh deceit: one speaketh peace-
ably to his neighbour with his mouth, but in his heart he
9 layeth wait for him. Shall I not visit them for these
things? saith the LORD: shall not my soul be avenged
on such a nation as this?

10 For the mountains will I take up a weeping and wailing,
and for the pastures of the wilderness a lamentation,
because they are burned up, so that none passeth through;
neither can men hear the voice of the cattle; both the
fowl of the heavens and the beast are fled, they are gone.

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to return. Oppression upon oppression, deceit upon deceit; they refuse to know me, saith the Lord.' This is not entirely satisfactory, especially the phrase 'they weary themselves to return' suggests the wrong meaning. But the rest of the emendation is probably correct. Giesebrecht considers this and the following verse a later addition.

7. melt: i. e. smelt with a view to purification.

Usually scholars have rendered as R.V., but '*else*' is perhaps an illegitimate addition, and the meaning may be how severely will I act! Duhm, by simple transposition of two letters, gets the sense 'for how must I look away from my people.' The LXX reads 'the wickedness of my people.'

8. Read, with LXX, 'Their tongue is a deadly arrow; the words of their mouth are deceit: one speaketh peaceably to his neighbour, but in his heart,' &c. The parallelism gains greatly by this change.

9. See v. 9, 29.

10. In this verse, with which we should compare iv. 23-26, the first person indicates the prophet, in verse 11 Yahweh. The transition is very abrupt. It is better to read, with the LXX, 'For the mountains take ye up,' unless we unwarrantably deny the next verse to Jeremiah, or at least detach it from 10. In itself the first person is more effective.

burned up: we should probably read 'laid waste.'

And I will make Jerusalem heaps, a dwelling place of 11
jackals; and I will make the cities of Judah a desolation,
without inhabitant. [JS] Who is the wise man, that 12
may understand this? and *who is* he to whom the mouth
of the LORD hath spoken, that he may declare it?
wherefore is the land perished and burned up like a
wilderness, so that none passeth through?

And the LORD saith, Because they have forsaken my 13
law which I set before them, and have not obeyed my
voice, neither walked therein; but have walked after the 14
stubbornness of their own heart, and after the Baalim,
which their fathers taught them: therefore thus saith the 15
LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold, I will feed
them, even this people, with wormwood, and give them
water of [a]gall to drink. I will scatter them also among 16
the nations, whom neither they nor their fathers have
known: and I will send the sword after them, till I have
consumed them.

[J] Thus saith the LORD of hosts, Consider ye, and 17

[a] See ch. viii. 14.

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11. Not the country districts alone but the cities also will be devastated.

12-16. Duhm regards these verses as entirely non-Jeremianic, Giesebrecht agrees with him. Cornill and Rothstein think we have rather to do with an expanded Jeremianic text. Certainly one cannot miss the contrast between the fine poetical passage which precedes and this rather prosaic passage, all the more that with 17 prose gives place to poetry.

12. Cf. Hos. xiv. 9.

15. **wormwood** and **gall** (viii. 14), metaphors for the bitter troubles in store for them.

17. The mourning women were those who were professionally employed in ancient as in modern times to sing the dirges after a death. They are mentioned as sharing in the lamentations over Josiah (2 Chron. xxxv. 25, cf. Matt. ix. 23). They had the power, as the next verse indicates, to stimulate grief and its expression in those who heard their wailing. They are also called 'wise

call for the mourning women, that they may come; and
18 send for the cunning women, that they may come: and let
them make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our
eyes may run down with tears, and our eyelids gush out
19 with waters. For a voice of wailing is heard out of Zion,
How are we spoiled! we are greatly confounded, because
we have forsaken the land, because [a] they have cast down
20 our dwellings. Yet hear the word of the LORD, O ye
women, and let your ear receive the word of his mouth,
and teach your daughters wailing, and every one her
21 neighbour lamentation. For death is come up into our
windows, it is entered into our palaces; to cut off the
children from without, *and* the young men from the
22 streets. Speak, Thus saith the LORD, The carcases of

[a] Or, *our dwellings have cast* us *out*

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women,' which suggests that they dabbled in the healing and perhaps also magical and occult arts.

19. This verse creates difficulties. If the speakers have left the land and gone into exile, their lamentation can hardly be uttered out of Zion. We may perhaps translate 'we are forsaking.' The margin follows the rendering of the Jewish exegetes, it is that of the A.V., and among modern scholars is supported by Hitzig. It is usually rejected in favour of the text. Cornill regards the verse as a later addition, on the ground that it ruins the effect of the dirge in 21, 22. Giesebrecht contents himself with transposing 19 and 20.

20. The dirges were sometimes traditional, sometimes they were improvised for the occasion. For this calamity no conventional elegy will be fitting, nor yet such as may at the moment spring to the lips of the mourners. Yahweh will Himself teach them the lamentation, and these women are to hand it down to their daughters (cf. 2 Sam. i. 18).

21, 22. death is sometimes used in the sense of pestilence, and has been so interpreted here, but probably it bears its usual sense.

Speak, Thus saith the LORD. These words are rightly omitted by the LXX. We should probably omit, with Duhm, the unaesthetic metaphor in the following clause, reading simply 'shall fall upon the open field.' The intrusive words disturb the figure. Budde, it is true, thinks that they add to the effect.

men shall fall as dung upon the open field, and as the handful after the harvestman, and none shall gather *them*.

Thus saith the LORD, Let not the wise man glory in 23
his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might,
let not the rich man glory in his riches: but let him that 24
glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth, and knoweth me, that I am the LORD which exercise lovingkindness, judgement, and righteousness, in the earth: for in
these things I delight, saith the LORD. Behold, the days 25
come, saith the LORD, that I will punish all them which
are circumcised in *their* uncircumcision; Egypt, and Ju- 26
dah, and Edom, and the children of Ammon, and Moab,
and all that have the corners *of their hair* polled, that

23, 24. This oracle is out of place in its present context, but there is no reason to deny its Jeremianic authorship, with Duhm and Schmidt. The thought is quite in accord with what Jeremiah says elsewhere, cf. viii. 9, xvii. 5, 6, xxii. 13–16 (Giesebrecht).

25, 26. Another detached oracle. The fact that the Philistines are singled out in the Old Testament as 'uncircumcised,' shows that the other peoples with whom the Israelites were brought in contact practised circumcision. We know this with reference to the Egyptians from Herodotus (II. 104) and from Jos. v. 9, where Joshua, after he had circumcised the Israelites, says 'This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you.' By 'the reproach of Egypt' he means their uncircumcised condition, which made them an object of contempt to the Egyptians. Edom, Ammon, and Moab, as tracing a common descent with Israel, might have been presumed to practise it, even if this passage did not give us definite information to that effect. The Arabs traced descent from Ishmael, whose circumcision is recorded (Gen. xvii. 23–26). Josephus attests the practice of it by the Arabians (*Antiq.* I. xii. 2). The phrase 'circumcised in *their* uncircumcision' has been variously explained, but it almost certainly means those who are circumcised in flesh but uncircumcised in heart. Judah cannot rely on a rite which she shares with the heathen, indeed the corresponding inward circumcision is as lacking in her as in them.

the corners of their hair **polled.** Cf. xxv. 23, xlix. 32. We learn from Herodotus (III. 8) that some desert tribes in Arabia shaved the hair off their temples as a religious rite. This explains the prohibition in Lev. xix. 27.

dwell in the wilderness: for all the nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in heart.

10 [1] Hear ye the word which the LORD speaketh unto

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all the nations are uncircumcised. The clause is difficult, since a series of circumcised peoples has just been enumerated. If the text is correct, the phrase must be ethically and not literally interpreted: all the nations, whether they practise circumcision or not, are alike uncircumcised in the spiritual sense. The same is true of Israel, but there is this difference between the cases, circumcision was for Israel a covenant rite which dedicated the individual to Yahweh, hence it profited if it was accompanied by a corresponding spiritual experience. With the heathen it had no such significance, a circumcised heathen was none the less a heathen. But it is questionable if Jeremiah could have meant this.

x. 1–16. THE IDOLS OF THE HEATHEN ARE HARMLESS UNREALITIES.

It is on all hands agreed that this passage did not belong originally to this context. It interrupts, like ix. 23–26, the connexion between ix. 1–22 and x. 17–25. Moreover, it presupposes an entirely different situation. In the rest of the section Jeremiah is attacking the fanatical trust of his countrymen in Yahweh's protection, based on the presence of His Temple in their midst. He also denounces their idolatry and predicts its punishment. In x. 1–16 the prophet addresses Jews who are apparently dwelling among the heathen and in danger of yielding to the temptation to accept idolatry. Hence the oracle is not addressed to Jews living in Judah, combining their worship of Yahweh with the cult of the Baalim and of foreign deities like the Queen of Heaven. It is spoken to those who are in exile or in the Dispersion. It is not in its original form. The LXX omits 6–8, and these do break the connexion and are apparently an expansion of the theme handled in 12–16. The LXX also omits 10, and inserts 9 rather earlier. Our judgement on these latter points depends to some extent on our treatment of the passage as a whole, and may be deferred. It has long been recognized by most scholars that the passage cannot come from the hand of Jeremiah. It is conceivable that he addressed the greater part of it to the Jews who had been taken into exile, and that this was expanded by a disciple (so Orelli). But the style speaks very strongly against this, and especially the striking similarity with sections in II Isaiah which deal with the same subject. This is so marked that Movers took the Second Isaiah to be the author, and although this view must be rejected

you, O house of Israel: thus saith the LORD, Learn not 2
the way of the nations, and be not dismayed at the signs
of heaven; for the nations are dismayed at them. For 3
the [a] customs of the peoples are vanity: for [b] one cutteth

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[a] Heb. *statutes*. [b] †Or, it is but *a tree which one cutteth*

(see Graf, pp. 171, 172), it is more defensible than the ascription to Jeremiah. Probably it belongs to the same period as the similar sections in II Isaiah.

x. 1–5. Let Israel not learn the ways of the heathen or dread the signs in the heavens. The peoples make idols and adorn them; they fasten them that they may not totter. They are like dumb scarecrows; they have to be carried, for they cannot walk; they should inspire no terror, for they can do neither good nor harm.

6–16. Yahweh is incomparable, the King of the nations, to be feared by all; none can be matched with Him in wisdom. They are all foolish. The idols are plated with silver and gold, clothed in violet and purple. Yahweh is God; the world trembles at His anger. Let the Jews say that the gods who have not made the universe shall perish from it. Yahweh made the universe by His power and wisdom; the elements obey His behest. His storm strikes man senseless, and the idol-maker is disappointed in his image, which is doomed to perish. Not so the God of Jacob, who is the Creator, Yahweh who has chosen Israel for His inheritance.

x. 2. the signs of heaven are apparently unusual phenomena, such as eclipses, and, still more, comets, which till quite recent times have inspired terror among the most advanced peoples, and even now do so in the more ignorant and superstitious strata of the population. Among the Babylonians especially, celestial phenomena were supposed to prefigure mundane events.

3. customs: Heb. **statutes,** is rather surprising in this connexion, and the construction which follows is peculiar. Several suspect the text; Giesebrecht reads 'the dread of the peoples is vanity:' this involves a rather improbable repetition of the root rendered 'dismayed.' Rothstein adopts this in his translation, but suggests 'the hope of the peoples' in his note.

Duhm calls attention to the transition from the heavenly signs to the description of idol manufacture, and infers that 3^b–5^a is an intrusion, the original poem, which he takes to have been 1–3^a, 5^b, 10, 12–16, dealing only with the heavenly bodies and, in contrast to these, the God of Israel. The abruptness is not to be denied, but it is all one great system of idolatry in its varied phases which the writer attacks

a tree out of the forest, the work of the hands of the
4 workman with the axe. They deck it with silver and with
gold; they fasten it with nails and with hammers, that it
5 move not. They are like a [a] palm tree, of turned work,
and speak not: they must needs be borne, because they
cannot go. Be not afraid of them; for they cannot do
6 evil, neither is it in them to do good. [S] There is none
like unto thee, O LORD; thou art great, and thy name is
7 great in might. Who would not fear thee, O King of the
nations? for [b] to thee doth it appertain: forasmuch as
among all the wise men of the nations, and in all their
8 royal estate, there is none like unto thee. But they are
[c] together brutish and foolish: [d] the instruction of idols,

[a] †Or, *pillar in a garden of cucumbers* See Baruch vi. 70. [b] †Or, *it beseemeth thee* [c] Or, *through one thing* [d] Or, it is *a doctrine of vanities*

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4. move: better 'totter.' Cf. Isa. xl. 19, 20, xli. 7.

5. a palm tree, of turned work: the margin is much better, i.e., they are like a scarecrow. Cf. Baruch vi. 70, 'For as a scarecrow in a garden of cucumbers keepeth nothing: so are their gods of wood, and laid over with silver and gold.' This chapter of Baruch is really distinct from Baruch, and is an Epistle of Jeremiah to the captives in Babylon (of course, not genuine). It is mainly occupied with an attack on idolatry.

be borne: i.e. in the idol-processions; cf. Isa. xlvi. 7.

6-8. On this insertion see the Introduction to the chapter.

There is none like unto thee. The Hebrew here and in 7 is indefensible, but the R.V. rendering may be obtained by the omission of a letter. A slight change of the vowels would give the sense 'Whence is any like unto thee?' which is not so good.

they: i.e. the heathen.

together: render 'one and all' (so Driver).

the instruction of idols, it is but a stock. The strangeness of the expression at once raises doubts as to the text. If it is correct, the meaning is apparently that the moral instruction derived from the idol is as worthless and impotent as the idol itself. Hitzig ingeniously took the verse to mean, Through one thing (see R.V. marg.) they become brutish and foolish, the refutation of the idols is 'It is wood;' i.e. the single phrase 'It is wood' suffices to refute the idolaters, and cover them with confusion

it is but a stock. There is silver beaten into plates 9
which is brought from Tarshish, and gold from [a] Uphaz,
the work of the artificer and of the hands of the gold-
smith; blue and purple for their clothing; they are all
the work of cunning men. [I] But the LORD is [b] the 10
true God; he is the living God, and an everlasting king:
at his wrath the earth trembleth, and the nations are not
able to abide his indignation.

[S] [c] Thus shall ye say unto them, The gods that have 11
not made the heavens and the earth, [d] these shall perish
from the earth, and from under the heavens.

[I] He hath made the earth by his power, he hath 12

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[a] †According to some ancient versions, *Ophir.* [b] †Or, *God in truth* [c] This verse is in Aramaic. [d] Or, *they shall . . . under these heavens*

(similarly Orelli). But this imposes a dubious meaning on the Hebrew. No satisfactory emendation has been proposed.

9. The construction of the verse in the Hebrew favours the view that it is a gloss, and it is inserted in a different position in the LXX. It contains a further description of the manufacture of the idols. The wooden block is overlaid with silver and gold, and then clothed in costly raiment. Tarshish is probably the old Phoenician colony Tartessus in Spain, on the Guadalquivir. Spain was specially rich in silver. For Uphaz, which is mentioned elsewhere only in Dan. x. 5, and was there perhaps borrowed from our passage, we should probably read, with most modern scholars, Ophir, following the Targum and Syriac and some texts of the LXX.

blue: better 'violet.'

10. This verse is omitted in the LXX, but the translator may have felt that it disturbed the context. When 11, however, is eliminated, this verse fits on very well to 12, which cannot, in fact, well dispense with it. While the idols can do neither good nor harm, Yahweh is God in truth, the living God, the Creator.

11. This verse, which is written in Aramaic, is a gloss which is out of place between 10 and 12, and was, as the Targum indicates, designed to furnish the Jews with a reply they might make to those who urged them to participate in idolatry. On the type of Aramaic, see Driver's *Introduction*, 8th ed., p. 255.

12. First the poet asserts Yahweh's power and wisdom, as

established the world by his wisdom, and by his under-
13 standing hath he stretched out the heavens: [a] when he
uttereth his voice, there is a tumult of waters in the
heavens, and he causeth the vapours to ascend from the
ends of the earth; he maketh lightnings for the rain, and
14 bringeth forth the wind out of his treasuries. Every man
[b] is become brutish *and is* without knowledge; every
goldsmith is put to shame by his graven image: for his
molten image is falsehood, and there is no breath in
15 them. They are vanity, a work of [c] delusion: in the time
16 of their visitation they shall perish. The portion of Jacob

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[a] Or, *at the sound of his giving an abundance of waters . . . when he causeth &c.* or, *he causeth &c.* [b] Or *is too brutish to know* [c] †Or, *mockery*

---

manifested in the work of creation, and then as displayed in the storm.

13. The Hebrew is literally 'at the sound of his uttering,' but the unusual Hebrew should be corrected, to give the same sense as the R.V. Giesebrecht makes a further improvement by reading, instead of the next clause, 'the heavens are in tumult.' The voice of God is the thunder.

he maketh lightnings for the rain: the expression is rather curious, and the precise sense uncertain. The most obvious interpretation is that God makes the lightning to accompany the rain. But this is rather flat, and the meaning may be to produce the rain, the lightning like a flashing spear piercing the clouds, the bottles of heaven, and discharging their waters on the earth.

the wind: Duhm prefers to read, with the LXX, 'the light,' i.e. the lightning, but the Hebrew seems finer. For the 'treasuries' cf. Job xxxviii. 22.

14. Then when Yahweh displays His might in the storm, man is speechless in the presence of forces so vast. The idol-manufacturer is overwhelmed with confusion, for his image is but a lifeless thing, convicted of false pretence by its utter helplessness.

15. vanity: i.e. sheer unreality. They are 'a work of mockery,' befooling those who are simple enough to trust in them. The author looks forward to 'a visitation,' i.e. a judgement on the images, presumably when the Day of Yahweh breaks upon the world: cf. Isa. ii. 12–21 (especially 18, 20), xix. 1, xxiv. 21, 22.

16. We should probably read, with the LXX, 'For the former

is not like these; for he is the former of all things; and
Israel is the tribe of his inheritance: the LORD of hosts
is his name.

[JS] Gather up [a] thy wares out of the land, [b] O thou 17
that abidest in the siege. For thus saith the LORD, Be- 18

[a] † Or, *thy bundle from the ground*

[b] Or, *O inhabitant* (Heb. *inhabitress*) *of the fortress*

---

of all things is his inheritance;' in that way we get a parallel to the description of Yahweh as 'the portion of Jacob.'

x. 17–25. EXILE IS AT HAND: O YAHWEH, BLEND MERCY WITH JUDGEMENT!

Here the prophecy is continued which was interrupted at ix. 22. It is corrupt in text, and has suffered expansion at various points.

x. 17–22. Let the besieged prepare to depart, for Yahweh is hurling them out of the land. Woe is me for my pain, my tent is ruined, there is none to repair it. The rulers have neglected God, hence their flock is scattered. Hark! there is a rumour of the foe advancing from the North to devastate Judah.

23–25. It is not in man to order his way aright, yet let Yahweh correct the people only with measured chastisement, and pour out His fury on the nations for the havoc they have wrought on Jacob.

x. 17. The community is bidden take up her bundle from the ground, i.e. prepare to leave Jerusalem and go into captivity. The word rendered 'thy wares' (see on this Driver, pp. 354 f.) occurs here only, and is of uncertain meaning. Usually it is translated as in the margin, 'thy bundle,' and though this rendering is dubious it is better to abide by it than to take refuge in still more dubious emendation. This verse with 18 is regarded as a later insertion by Duhm, Cornill, and Rothstein, though Schmidt says they may be reminiscences from Jeremianic oracles introduced by an editor. He passes the same judgement on 22.

the siege: i.e. of Jerusalem.

18. Giesebrecht agrees that this verse is not original. It is certainly difficult to believe that Jeremiah wrote it in its present form. The former part is not so questionable, but the text of the latter can hardly be correct; 'that they may feel *it*' is literally 'that they may find,' but no object is expressed. The meaning may be, Yahweh distresses them that they may seek and find Him. It would be better, however, to alter the pointing and read

hold, **I** will sling out the inhabitants of the land at this time, and will distress them, that they may [a] feel *it.*
19 [J] Woe is me for my hurt! my wound is grievous: but
20 **I** said, Truly this is *my* [b] grief, and I must bear it. My tent is spoiled, and all my cords are broken: my children are gone forth of me, and they are not: there is none to stretch forth my tent any more, and to set up my curtains.
21 For the shepherds are become brutish, and have not inquired of the LORD: therefore they have not [c] prospered,
22 and all their flocks are scattered. The voice of a rumour, behold it cometh, and a great commotion out of the north country, to make the cities of Judah a desolation,
23 a dwelling place of jackals. O LORD, I know that the

---

[a] Heb. *find.*
[b] †Or, *sickness*
[c] Or, *dealt wisely*

'that they may be found,' **i.e.** overtaken by calamity, but the thought would be very unnaturally expressed. No satisfactory emendation has been proposed.

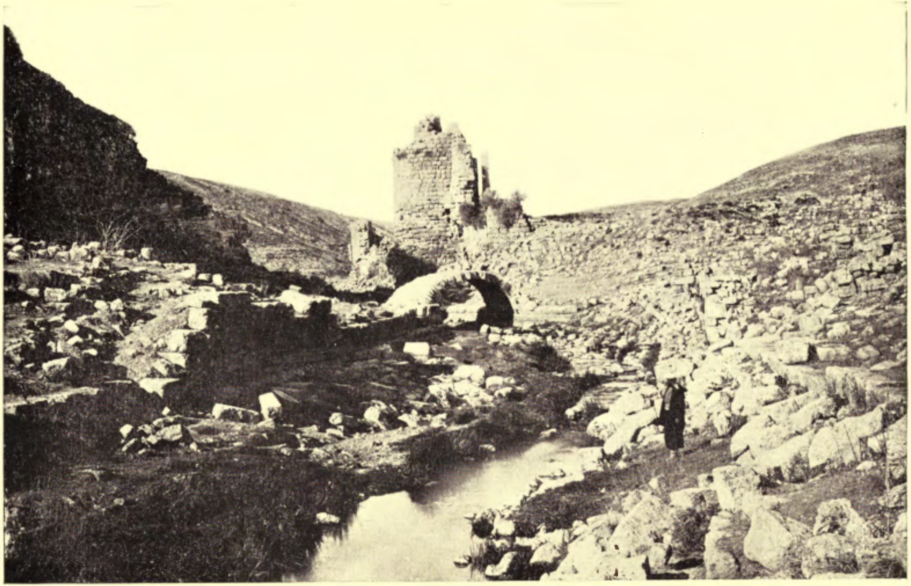
19-21. Schmidt regards these verses as 'the work of a poet who looks back upon the exile of the people, the cessation of the monarchy, and the partial occupation of the land by neighbouring nations as past facts, and desires the utter annihilation of the heathen, while pleading for gentler treatment for Judah. He speaks in the name of the community' (*Enc. Bib.* 2388). He takes the same view of 23-25.

19. The question is raised here, as in the similar passage iv. 19-21, whether Jeremiah himself or the people is the speaker. Here the following verse appears to be decisive in favour of the latter view.

20. The **tent** is the land in which the community lives; now it lies in ruins, the children have gone into exile, there is none to repair the disaster. Jeremiah speaks from the standpoint of the future. Possibly we should, with several scholars, insert 'my sheep,' with the LXX, and then strike out 'my children' as an explanatory gloss. This metaphor suits the next verse.

21. shepherds. See on ii. 8. There is no need to regard the verse (with Duhm) as an insertion.

23-25. Stade, followed by Duhm, Erbt, Schmidt, and Giesebrecht, regarded this as a later insertion. This must be granted without hesitation or regret so far as 25 is concerned. Jeremiah himself could not have uttered this prayer for Yahweh to pour out



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RABBATH AMMON

way of man is not in himself: it is not in man that walketh
to direct his steps. O LORD, correct me, but with judge- 24
ment; not in thine anger, lest thou [a] bring me to nothing.
[S] [b] Pour out thy fury upon the heathen that know 25
thee not, and upon the families that call not on thy
name: for they have devoured Jacob, yea, they have devoured him and consumed him, and have laid waste his
[c] habitation.

[J] The word that came to Jeremiah from the LORD, **11**

[a] Heb. *diminish me.* [b] See Ps. lxxix. 6, 7. [c] Or, *pasture*

His fury on the heathen, especially for their conduct towards Israel, since in this they acted as God's instruments. If it be urged that they exceeded their commission, this would not be Jeremiah's view, and it would imply that the exilic or post-exilic standpoint was not assumed but real. Even in the lips of the people he would not have placed a prayer which would have seemed to him so unwarranted. But there is no valid reason for striking out 23, 24, which Duhm admits might be authentic.

23. It is not clear whether the cause of man's inability is to be sought in the determination of his way by God or in his own moral weakness. In the former case he might plead not for mitigation of punishment for what he could not help, but for exemption, and would Jeremiah have attributed Israel's sin to the decree of God, who yet had been unwearied in sending His prophets to warn her that she should turn from her evil way? Rather it is the weakness of man which makes him a fit object for chastisement in compassion rather than in fury; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 38, 39.

The latter half of the verse should be slightly corrected, for the E.V. gives an illegitimate rendering. We should read 'it is not for man to walk and direct his steps.'

24. judgement here means 'in just measure;' the plea is against excessive, unmeasured punishment.

25. Repeated in **Ps.** lxxix. 6, 7; the words 'yea, they have devoured him,' which are omitted there, should be struck out here as due to incorrect repetition.

xi. 1—xii. 6. JEREMIAH'S ADVOCACY OF THE COVENANT: THE PEOPLE'S RELAPSE, AND PLOTS AGAINST THE PROPHET.

On the question of Jeremiah's relation to the Deuteronomic Reformation raised by this section see the Introduction, pp. 11-14.

2 saying, Hear ye the words of this covenant, and speak
unto the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jeru-
3 salem; and say thou unto them, Thus saith the LORD,
the God of Israel: Cursed be the man that heareth not
4 the words of this covenant, which I commanded your
fathers in the day that I brought them forth out of the
land of Egypt, out of the iron furnace, saying, Obey my

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xi. 1-5. Yahweh bade me speak to Judah and Jerusalem, and pronounce His curse on those who disobeyed the covenant He made with them at the Exodus, claiming obedience on their part and promising blessing on His own. I answered 'Amen, Yahweh.'

6-9. He bade me speak in the cities of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem, exhorting the people to obey the covenant, taking warning by the penalty which followed the stubborn disobedience of their fathers.

10-14. Judah and Jerusalem have imitated the evil example of the fathers, so disaster will come upon them from which their gods cannot save them. For Judah has a god for every city, and Jerusalem an altar to the Baal in every street. Offer no intercession, for I will not hear their cry in distress.

15-17. Why does Yahweh's beloved visit the temple, wicked as she is? Will vows and sacrifices deliver her? Yahweh had called her a fair olive tree, but His lightning has blasted it, on account of idolatry.

18-23. Yahweh revealed to me their plots, of which I was as ignorant as the lamb led to the slaughter, not knowing that they plotted to destroy my life. O Yahweh, who searchest men's secret thoughts, do thou avenge me. Yahweh replies, The men of Anathoth who forbid thee to prophesy on pain of death, shall die without remnant.

xii. 1-6. Thou art righteous, Yahweh, yet why do the wicked prosper? Thou knowest my heart towards thee; doom them to the slaughter. How long is the land to suffer for the people's wickedness? Yahweh replies that the prophet must gird himself for a severer conflict; his own kinsfolk have been treacherous, let him not trust their fair speeches.

xi. 2. Hear ye. The plural is strange; we should probably read the singular, unless we invert the order of clauses and read 'Speak to the men of Judah . . . Hear ye,' &c. (Giesebrecht).

4. the day that I brought them forth: i.e. the Exodus period; cf. vii. 22.

the iron furnace: not a furnace made of iron, but one in voice, and do them, according to all which I command you: so shall ye be my people, and I will be your God: that I may establish the oath which I sware unto your 5 fathers, to give them a land flowing with milk and honey, as at this day. Then answered I, and said, Amen, O LORD.

And the LORD said unto me, Proclaim all these words 6 in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, saying, Hear ye the words of this covenant, and do them. For I earnestly protested unto your fathers in the day 7 that I brought them up out of the land of Egypt, even unto this day, rising early and protesting, saying, Obey my voice. Yet they obeyed not, nor inclined their ear, 8 but walked every one in the stubbornness of their evil heart: therefore I brought upon them all the words of this covenant, which I commanded them to do, but they did them not.

And the LORD said unto me, A conspiracy is found 9

---

which iron is smelted. It is a metaphor for bitter affliction; cf. Deut. iv. 20, 1 Kings viii. 51, Isa. xlviii. 10.

do them: the pronoun has no antecedent; we should omit it as a mistaken insertion from 6 and read 'do according,' &c. (so LXX).

6. Largely a repetition of 2, but it definitely indicates that Jeremiah's mission was to be of a peripatetic character. He, like Isaiah (cf. Isa. v. 1–7), could address the men of Judah as well as the inhabitants of Jerusalem in the capital itself, when they came to it from the country districts. But this verse makes it clear that he was to visit the cities of Judah. Giesebrecht omits it along with 7, 8. The latter, with the exception of the final clause of 8, are omitted in the LXX, and so far Giesebrecht is supported by its evidence, and the verses are written in a very conventional style. But 6 is probably authentic, since it alone gives us the clue to the hostility he provoked at Anathoth. Schmidt omits 7, 8.

9. With this verse we seem to be transported to another situation. We hear nothing in detail of the mission on which the prophet is dispatched, but Yahweh's complaint of Judah's relapse into apostasy. Accordingly we have to do in this section with

among the men of Judah, and among the inhabitants of
10 Jerusalem. They are turned back to the iniquities of
their forefathers, which refused to hear my words; and
they are gone after other gods to serve them: the house
of Israel and the house of Judah have broken my cove-
11 nant which I made with their fathers. [S] Therefore thus
saith the LORD, Behold, I will bring evil upon them, which
they shall not be able to escape; and they shall cry unto
12 me, but I will not hearken unto them. Then shall the
cities of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem go and
cry unto the gods unto whom they offer incense: but they
shall not save them at all in the time of their [a] trouble.
13 For according to the number of thy cities are thy gods,
O Judah; and according to the number of the streets of
Jerusalem have ye set up altars to the [b] shameful thing,
14 even altars to burn incense unto Baal. [J] Therefore
pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry nor prayer
for them: for I will not hear them in the time that they
cry unto me [c] for their [a] trouble.

15 [d] What hath my beloved to do in mine house, seeing

[a] Heb. *evil*. [b] Heb. *shame*. See ch. iii. 24. [c] Many ancient authorities have, *in the time of*. [d] The text is obscure.

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a state of things which apparently emerged after the death of Josiah, when the work of the Reformation was partially, at any rate, undone.

conspiracy: as if they were leagued in treacherous alliance against the Divine King whom they had sworn to obey. They had been faithless to the covenant which they had solemnly pledged themselves to observe.

10. turned: implies that for a time they had abandoned the evil practices of their fathers, presumably after the Reformation. But the reference to Israel is to the Northern Kingdom, and of course to a much earlier period.

11–13. Regarded as a later addition by Giesebrecht. 13^{a} is repeated from ii. 28^{b}, and 11, 12 are very generalizing in tone.

14. The first part repeated from vii. 16.

15–17. Taken by Schmidt to be a later insertion, exhorting she hath wrought lewdness *with* many, and the holy flesh is passed from thee? [a] when thou doest evil, then thou rejoicest. The LORD called thy name, A green olive 16 tree, fair with goodly fruit: with the noise of a great tumult he hath kindled fire upon it, and the branches of

The Sept. renders thus: *Why hath the beloved wrought abomination in my house? Shall vows and holy flesh take away from thee thy wickednesses, or shalt thou escape by these?* [a] Or, *when thine evil* cometh

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Zion to remove by prayers and sacrifices the long-continued adversity after the fall of the kingdom.

15. As Driver says, 'The Hebrew text cannot be intelligibly translated,' and 'R.V. (=A.V.) is no real translation of the existing text.' The LXX (see R.V. marg.) enables us, as recent scholars recognize, to restore the text, though there is some uncertainty as to details. We may render the emended text, 'What hath my beloved to do in my house? She hath practised evil devices. Shall vows and holy flesh cause thine evil to pass from thee? Then mightest thou rejoice.' Giesebrecht, followed by Duhm and Erbt, instead of 'vows' reads 'fat pieces,' which is closer to the Hebrew, and corresponds to 'holy flesh.' The fat pieces were given to God on the altar, the flesh in the most common type of sacrifice was eaten by the worshippers. The general sense is clear. God asks why His people ('my beloved') come to His house, seeing their conduct is so wicked. Do they think that material offering will avert their doom (or take away their wickedness)? If it could, they might well, in view of their costly sacrifices, congratulate themselves on their immunity from disaster. It is a constant warning addressed to the people by the prophets from Amos onwards. See further on xii. 7.

16. The text of this verse also is commonly regarded as corrupt, especially in its latter half. The general sense of the Hebrew seems to be that Yahweh had called Judah a flourishing olive tree, but He has sent a thunder-storm and blasted its beauty with lightning. But the Hebrew is very suspicious. The text cannot be discussed here, and this is the less regrettable that while the details of the metaphor are probably blurred in the Hebrew, it represents the general thought of the prophet.

green: better **luxuriant** or **spreading**. The word 'gives a picture in itself. We seem to see a flourishing, sappy tree, with abundance of pliant, gracefully moving, perennially green branches.' (Cheyne, *Pulpit Commentary*, ad loc.)

17 it are broken. [**S**] For the LORD of hosts, that planted thee, hath pronounced evil against thee, because of the evil of the house of Israel and of the house of Judah, which they have wrought for themselves in provoking me to anger by offering incense unto Baal.

18 [**J**] And the LORD gave me knowledge of it, and I knew
19 it: then thou shewedst me their doings. But I was like a gentle lamb that is led to the slaughter; and I knew not that they had devised devices against me, *saying*, Let us destroy the tree with the [a] fruit thereof, and let us

[a] Heb. *bread.*

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17. Regarded as an addition by most recent commentators, on account of its prosaic and conventional style.

18. The mention of the plots against the prophet formed by the men of Anathoth is introduced with surprising abruptness. Nor are we informed of the reasons which inspired their hostility. Nevertheless it probably stands in immediate connexion with the story of Jeremiah's advocacy of the Reformation in the cities of Judah. It was precisely in Anathoth, where the priesthood of Abiathar resided, that the monopoly of the Zadokite priesthood would be most bitterly resented. That the Reformation which gave such a monopoly to the family that had supplanted the house of Abiathar should be championed by a priest of Anathoth would naturally arouse the fiercest resentment. The story bears its own evidence on the face of it, though Stade and Schmidt reject it, the latter admitting that 21-23 may have been taken from the biography.

19. The prophet had often, no doubt, watched the lamb led to the slaughter, and been touched by the pathos of its fate. For its pathos consists just in this, that its trust betrays it to its ruin. It follows its owner, all unsuspicious of harm, 'and licks the hand just raised to shed its blood.' And all the more pathetic that the lamb might be the pet of the family. Cornill points out that the word is almost always used in the O.T. of the sacrificial lamb, and this may well have been in the prophet's mind as he compared himself to the lamb dedicated to be an offering to God. In the fourth Servant of Yahweh poem (Isa. lii. 13—liii. 12) the figure is imitated, but with a different emphasis and application (Isa. liii. 7). Jeremiah's unconsciousness of evil, and the secrecy of the plots against him, suggest that this incident belongs to the reign of Josiah, when it would not have been safe to attack openly an advocate of the king's Reformation.

the tree with the fruit thereof. The word rendered 'fruit'

cut him off from the land of the living, that his name
may be no more remembered. But, O LORD of hosts, 20
that judgest righteously, that triest the reins and the heart,
let me see thy vengeance on them: for unto thee have I
revealed my cause. Therefore thus saith the LORD con- 21
cerning the men of Anathoth, that seek thy life, saying,
Thou shalt not prophesy in the name of the LORD, that
thou die not by our hand: therefore thus saith the LORD 22
of hosts, Behold, I will [a] punish them: the young men

[a] Heb. *visit upon.*

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is the common Hebrew word for 'bread,' and the rendering 'fruit' is hardly permissible. Hitzig's brilliant emendation 'the tree with its sap' (*leḥo* for *laḥmo*) is generally accepted. The meaning is the tree in its full, fresh vigour. They plot to cut off Jeremiah in the full strength of his manhood.

20. Conscious of his own integrity, he refers his case to Yahweh, who is a righteous Judge and may be trusted to give a true verdict. For He has not only the will but also the power to pronounce a judgement in accordance with the merits of the case. The human judge can base his decisions only on the outward facts. God, who tries the reins, can read the inmost motive and search out the most secret thought. He knows the singleness of aim which animates His servant, He knows also the hidden malice of his foes. It is characteristic of Jeremiah, who, as none before him, lays bare the inner life of men, that he should be the first, so far as we know, to formulate this description of Yahweh as Him that tries the reins and the heart.

the reins: i. e. the kidneys, regarded by the Hebrews as, like the heart, a seat of man's inward life. The kidneys were the organ of feeling, the heart the organ of intellect.

The prayer for vengeance makes a somewhat painful impression on the lips of Jeremiah, who approaches so near to the Christian standpoint. It is not necessary to translate as a wish; most recent scholars render 'I shall see,' &c. The prophet feels that his cause is that of God, it is not a personal vengeance that he desires.

21. Duhm regards 21–23 as a later addition, but the preceding verses, which are introduced very abruptly, would become doubly abrupt by the omission. We need the verses to make clear to us the circumstances to which 18–20 refer. It is true that a somewhat different situation seems to be presupposed. But we may believe that when Jeremiah escaped the secret snares laid for him, his fellow-townsmen proceeded to threats.

shall die by the sword; their sons and their daughters
23 shall die by famine; and there shall be no remnant unto
them: for I will bring evil upon the men of Anathoth,
[a] even the year of their visitation.

12 Righteous art thou, O LORD, when I plead with thee:

[a] Or, *in the year*

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22. die by famine. The repetition of the verb is avoided if, with the LXX, we transpose two letters and read 'be consumed.'

xii. 1–6. This passage is very important in religious history, since it is probably the first expression we have in Hebrew literature of the problem, Why do the wicked prosper? It is often thought that Habakkuk was the first to propound it, but it is more probable that he prophesied in the Exile, later than Ezekiel (see the writer's *Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*); and even if we place his date before the exile, this utterance of Jeremiah's seems to be earlier. The problem was forced upon Jeremiah by his own experience. His oppressors were opponents of God's cause, and they were in power; he, God's spokesman, was the victim of their malice.

Duhm regards xii. 1–6 as late, since it contradicts Jeremiah's expectation of the future, and since the godless were no better off in his day than the adherents of the Law. The problem which it states is that which was the main problem of the post-exilic period. Schmidt also finds nothing in it suggestive of Jeremiah, and takes the speaker to be the nation (*Enc. Bib.* 2388). But these reasons are quite inadequate to justify the conclusion drawn from them. The problem is here stated in a very rudimentary form, and, as we may infer from 5, 6, it was directly suggested by the prophet's individual experience. That his persecutors were more prosperous than himself is more than probable, and this would sufficiently explain the formulation of his question. The first objection is urged on the ground that Jeremiah naturally expected the ruin of the godless when in the near future the land was laid waste, hence he could hardly discuss a problem which had no real existence for him. But it would have been a marvel if, in the tragic experiences through which the prophet passed, the question had not perplexed him, and it was his wont, as many of his utterances show, to place before God the difficulties which vexed his soul. And the whole stamp of the passage speaks loudly for the genuineness at least of 1, 2, 5, 6. On 3, 4 see the notes.

Cornill has put forward the attractive view that this passage should be placed before xi. 18–23 (22ª). If this is accepted the abruptness with which xi. 18 is introduced disappears, and the yet would I [a] reason the cause with thee: wherefore doth

[a] Heb. *speak judgements.*

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pronouns which have now no antecedent, are seen to refer to the prophet's brethren and the house of his father. In that case Jeremiah complains to Yahweh of the prosperity of the wicked, and Yahweh warns him to expect a still bitterer conflict than any in which he had yet been engaged. For his foes are they of his own household, treachery lurks behind their fair speeches (xii. 1-6). The prophet now continues (xi. 18) to say that thus Yahweh had put him on his guard against them. Hitherto he had been unaware of their plots to kill him (xi. 19). This inversion of the original order Cornill supposes to have been occasioned by the thought that xii. 6 referred to a trial similar to but less severe than that promised him in xii. 5. Cornill's view may very well be correct, especially if xii. 3 is really an insertion. But it is also possible, though perhaps less probable, that something originally stood before xi. 18, containing the antecedent to the pronouns which is now so sensibly missing. In that case xii. 6 is not a new revelation, but a reference to what Jeremiah has already experienced, designed to prepare him for hostility and rejection on a still wider scale.

The question remains, To what date is this to be assigned? Cornill argues that the plot to kill him shows that he was no longer a young man taking his first timid steps in public, but an authoritative personality on whom men's eyes rest; moreover he must have made himself objectionable to those in high places, since his enemies thought they could kill him with impunity. Accordingly he places the date between the great temple speech early in the reign of Jehoiakim and the catastrophe of Carchemish. In favour of this date it may also be urged that the death of Josiah and the elevation of the worthless Jehoiakim to the throne raised the problem of xii. 1, 2 in an acute form, and that the connexion with vii-x may be due to chronological considerations. On the other hand it must be said that secret plots masked by fair speeches suggest rather a date when his enemies could not count on Jeremiah's unpopularity with the authorities: they wish to kill him, but to escape detection. This suits better the reign of Josiah. And no occasion is so likely to have roused his fellow-citizens to fury as when he defended the monopoly of the sanctuary in which the upstart house of Zadok held the priesthood. We should accordingly place this section shortly after the discovery of the Law in 621 B. C.

xii. 1. If the prophet contends with Yahweh, his Divine antagonist will establish His righteousness, yet he may be permitted humbly to lay his perplexity before Him.

plead: rather **expostulate or complain unto.** (Driver.)

the way of the wicked prosper? wherefore are all they at
2 ease that deal very treacherously? Thou hast planted
them, yea, they have taken root; they grow, yea, they
bring forth fruit: thou art near in their mouth, and far
3 from their reins. But thou, O LORD, knowest me; thou
seest me, and triest mine heart toward thee: pull them
out like sheep for the slaughter, and [a] prepare them for
4 the day of slaughter. How long shall the land mourn,
and the herbs of the whole country wither? for the
wickedness of them that dwell therein, the beasts are
consumed, and the birds; because they said, He shall
5 not see our latter end. If thou hast run with the footmen,
and they have wearied thee, then how canst thou contend

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[a] Heb. *sanctify*.

2. The wicked of whom he complains are outwardly religious people, but though Yahweh's name is on their lips, they are inwardly estranged from Him; cf. Isa. xxix. 13.

3. Cornill strikes out this verse. The latter part, he agrees with Duhm, is out of harmony with Jeremiah's doctrine of the future; the former part is in itself unobjectionable, but out of connexion with the context. This rests on the assumption that 'the wicked' (1) are not Jeremiah's personal antagonists, for, if they were, a reference to God's knowledge of his heart would be quite in place. The thought of 3ª is thoroughly Jeremianic, and there is no conclusive reason for deleting it.

4. Hitzig pointed out that this verse is in no connexion with the passage, and this view has been accepted by several recent scholars. The theme is the prosperity of the wicked; this verse speaks of the calamity of the land on account of the drought, but such a calamity affects the wicked as well as the righteous. The verse might quite well be Jeremiah's, though we do not know anything of its original connexion, but see further on 13.

He shall not see our latter end. If the text is correct, the meaning is apparently that Jeremiah will not survive to see their end which he has prophesied. The LXX, however, renders 'God will not see our ways,' which is probably correct. Cornill omits the whole clause on metrical grounds.

5. Now comes the Divine answer to the prophet's question. As happens in other instances, especially Job, there is no solution of the speculative problem.

with horses? and though in a land of peace thou art secure, yet how wilt thou do in the [a] pride of Jordan? For even thy brethren, and the house of thy father, even 6 they have dealt treacherously with thee; even they have cried aloud after thee: believe them not, though they speak [b] fair words unto thee.

I have forsaken mine house, I have cast off mine her- 7

[a] Or, *swelling* [b] Heb. *good things.*

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thou art secure. We should almost certainly accept Hitzig's emendation (*boreaḥ* for *boteaḥ*), 'and if in a land of peace thou fleest, then how,' &c.

the pride of Jordan: this is the name given to the jungle on the bank of the Jordan, cf. xlix. 19, l. 44, Zech. xi. 3: it was a haunt of lions, as these passages show. The A.V. (R.V. marg.) rendering, 'the swelling of Jordan,' is a possible translation, but Zech. xi. 3, 'the pride of Jordan is spoiled,' does not favour this interpretation, for while the overflow of Jordan might force the lions from the banks into the open country, it could hardly be said to be spoiled.

6. This hostility on the part of his family may be the more dangerous situation he has still to face, or it may be the danger he already knows and before which he falters, but which is to be followed by a peril still more severe. Our decision depends on our general view of the passage, see the note on xii. 1-6. Cornill omits the clause 'even they have cried aloud after thee,' and this is not in harmony with the rest of the verse, which indicates that his kinsfolk concealed their hostility under a treacherous show of friendliness. Giesebrecht and Rothstein suppose that the verse is an addition, but is historical in character.

xii. 7-17. RAIDS ON JUDAH BY ITS NEIGHBOURS PUNISHED BY EXILE, BUT RESTORATION WILL FOLLOW ON ALLEGIANCE TO YAHWEH.

This prophecy stands in no connexion with its context. It describes the ravaging of Judah by its neighbours (7-13), and predicts their exile and restoration, and that Yahweh will build them up among His people if they accept its religion, but otherwise He will root them out (14-17). The Jeremianic origin of 7-13 is generally recognized (it is rejected by Schmidt as 'clearly non-Jeremianic'); the only questions are whether we have here a description of what has actually happened, or an anticipation, and to what date it ought to be assigned. The view of Hitzig itage; I have given the dearly beloved of my soul into

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that we must explain the passage by 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 2 has been accepted by several scholars. From this we learn that after Jehoiakim rebelled against Babylon, his territory was attacked by Chaldeans, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites. This corresponds to the reference to the 'birds of prey' and the 'many shepherds.' For this implies a combined attack by several peoples, rather than by one people, such as the Scythians (so Duhm), the Egyptians, or the Babylonians; moreover, the former does not suit a world-power, but petty kingdoms on a level with Judah, which is also compared to a bird of prey. If 14–17 is to be attributed to Jeremiah, the phrase, 'mine evil neighbours,' strongly corroborates Hitzig's view, and the opening words (7) cannot be urged in proof that the reference is to the exile, whether as anticipated or experienced. We should accordingly date 7–13 in the fourth year of his servitude to Babylon, though we cannot be sure what year this was.

Stade, Schmidt, and Duhm have rejected the Jeremianic origin of 14–17, the latter in fact places it in the second century B.C., as Zech. xiv, Isa. xix. 16 ff., Ps. lxxxiii. But, as Cornill says, we have no parallel for the anticipations here recorded. We read of the destruction of these peoples, or of their conversion, but not of their exile followed by their restoration. Moreover, the anticipation of exile for these people was very natural for Jeremiah, who expected the foe out of the North to attack the 'nations round about' (xxv). Giesebrecht urges, further, that a later writer would not have put so strong an anthropomorphism as 'my neighbours' into Yahweh's mouth, or have represented these peoples as taken into exile by Nebuchadnezzar, since this did not really happen. He also points to the sympathetic tone and promise of mercy which is combined with the expression of wrath. It is, of course, not unlikely that it was added to 7–13 somewhat later by Jeremiah himself.

xii. 7–13. I have forsaken my house, abandoned my beloved to the foe, for her enmity has provoked my hate. She is like a speckled bird, attacked by her fellows. The land is a desolation from end to end. Their labours will be frustrated by Yahweh's anger.

14–17. My evil neighbours who touch my inheritance shall be rooted out along with Judah. Then I will pity and restore them, and if they learn my people's ways, they shall be built up; if not, I will utterly destroy them.

xii. 7. mine house: may be either the Temple or the land (Hos. viii. 1, ix. 15). The latter is the more probable in view of

the hand of her enemies. Mine heritage is become unto 8
me as a lion in the forest: she hath uttered her voice
against me; therefore I have hated her. Is mine heri- 9
tage unto me as a speckled bird of prey? are the birds
of prey against her round about? go ye, assemble all the
beasts of the field, bring them to devour. Many shepherds 10
have destroyed my vineyard, they have trodden my portion
under foot, they have made my pleasant portion a deso-
late wilderness. They have made it a desolation; it 11
mourneth unto me, being desolate; the whole land is
made desolate, because no man layeth it to heart. Spoilers 12

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the context. Cornill thinks that our passage stood originally in connexion with xi. 15, 16; in that case Yahweh's house is probably the Temple.

8. Israel has turned upon Yahweh like a savage lion in the jungle. The metaphor, as Duhm points out, does not suit Judah after the destruction of Jerusalem, nor even after its strength had been broken by the deportation of Jehoiachin and the best of the people.

9. Graf, by a slight correction (*ki* for *li*), greatly improves the sentence: 'Is mine heritage a speckled bird of prey, that the birds of prey are against her round about?' Just as other birds set upon a bird of unusually coloured plumage, so Judah is attacked by the surrounding nations. It is Yahweh who has incited them, but He asks the question, rather than makes the statement, that He may make clear the pained astonishment which such a necessity inspires within Him; cf. ii. 14.

The last part of the verse occurs also in Isa. lvi. 9, and is regarded by Giesebrecht as a marginal note borrowed from that passage.

10. shepherds. Cf. vi. 3. The metaphor is suggested by the way in which pastoral nomads destroy the labour of the agriculturist. The destruction of vineyards and olive-yards was a much more serious blow to agriculture than the destruction of cornfields, since it takes several years of assiduous cultivation before the former make any return. Here the vineyard is the land of Judah.

desolate: observe how he rings the changes on this and the cognate noun.

11. unto me: literally **upon me:** i.e. to my sorrow (Driver, who compares Gen. xlviii. 7).

because . . . heart. The meaning seems to be that Judah's

are come upon all the bare heights in the wilderness: for the sword of the LORD devoureth from the one end of the land even to the other end of the land: no flesh hath
13 peace. They have sown wheat, and have reaped thorns; they have put themselves to pain, and profit nothing: and [a] ye shall be ashamed of your fruits, because of the fierce anger of the LORD.

14 Thus saith the LORD against all mine evil neighbours, that touch the inheritance which I have caused my people Israel to inherit: Behold, I will pluck them up from off

[a] Or, *be ye ashamed* Or, *they shall be ashamed*

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ruin was due to the careless indifference of the people to the results of their reckless conduct. But Duhm's emendation 'and' for 'because' should perhaps be accepted; the land is made desolate, no one is troubled by its fate.

13. If the subject of the verb is the 'spoilers,' the meaning is that the enemy reap no permanent advantage from their devastation of Judah, and this verse would thus prepare for 14. But as the conclusion of 7-13 this is an unnatural interpretation, and we should more probably suppose the meaning to be that the Jews' labour has profited them nothing. And just as the reference to the sowers does not suit the spoilers, so the reference to the devastation of Judah does not suit the expressions employed. That Yahweh is spoken of in the third person is also strange. Duhm's view that it is the reflection of a reader or a marginal note on 14 is not probable; it is too good for that, and may well be the work of Jeremiah, though hardly designed for its present position. Cornill has made the very tempting suggestion that it originally formed the sequel to xii. 4, which is also in no connexion with its present context.

and ye . . . your fruits: read **and they . . . their fruits.** They anticipate abundance of fruit, but Yahweh will disappoint (cf. ii. 6) their expectations.

14. Giesebrecht regards the last clause with its reference to Judah as a thoughtless gloss, which interrupts the connexion, inserted by a reader who was surprised that the prophet omitted what he elsewhere so often predicted. Cornill agrees, partly on formal, partly on material grounds. He thinks that Jeremiah could have so expressed himself in 597, but it is not necessary to suppose that 14-17 belongs to the same date as 7-12. The reasons for the deletion are not convincing.

their land, and will pluck up the house of Judah from among them. And it shall come to pass, after that I 15 have plucked them up, I will return and have compassion on them; and I will bring them again, every man to his heritage, and every man to his land. And it shall come to 16 pass, if they will diligently learn the ways of my people, to swear by my name, As the LORD liveth; even as they taught my people to swear by Baal; then shall they be built up in the midst of my people. But if they will not 17 hear, then will I pluck up that nation, plucking up and destroying it, saith the LORD.

Thus said the LORD unto me, Go, and buy thee a linen 13

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16. swear: cf. v. 6.

17. Regarded by Cornill as a later addition, on the ground that we do not expect such a threat after 15. But that verse promises simply restoration to their own land, and therewith an opportunity to learn the true religion. They may or they may not avail themselves of this opportunity.

xiii. 1–11. THE PARABLE OF THE LOIN-CLOTH.

The thirteenth chapter contains five independent sections. The first is the very perplexing story of the loin-cloth. Duhm regards it as an indignity to the prophet even to raise the question whether so ridiculous a story can be true; it is the invention of some later unimaginative scribe. Jeremiah cannot have been so childish as to take a double journey to the Euphrates to demonstrate that linen was spoiled by damp, and to draw from the incident the trivial moral. This emphatic and sweeping verdict has, however, been rejected by all subsequent writers, though they still dispute whether it is a real incident, and, if so, when it was enacted, and what interpretation should be placed upon it. Erbt believes that Jeremiah actually made the double journey to the Euphrates, and ingeniously reconstructs the situation. His preaching tour after the publication of the Law-book had proved a failure, so he adopted this extraordinary expedient to drive his lesson home. This view is quite speculative, and the double journey to the Euphrates is quite improbable. It would be preferable to accept Schick's suggestion that Parah, the modern Wady Fara (Joshua xviii. 23), three miles north-east of Anathoth, is intended. But, if so, we must believe that this place was girdle, and put it upon thy loins, and put it not in water.

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chosen rather than another on account of the similarity of its name to the Euphrates. If, however, we suppose that the Euphrates is intended, we must regard the double journey as—like several of the symbolic acts attributed to Ezekiel—a transaction in the mind of the prophet rather than as literally taken.

The text explains that as the loin-cloth was marred, so God would mar the pride of Judah and Jerusalem. As it was unprofitable, so let the people be. Yahweh had caused them to cleave close to Him, but they had not hearkened. It is often supposed that the point of the metaphor is that just as the loin-cloth was spoiled by Euphrates water, so Judah would be destroyed by the exile. Graf pointed out that the corruption of the people was not a consequence but a cause of the exile. Accordingly he took the girdle to represent the people corrupted by Babylonian influence (cf. ii. 18), and therefore cast away by God. Cornill has elaborately developed and defended this view. He places the passage in the earliest period of Jeremiah's work, when the Babylonian influence was dominant, corrupting the religious and moral life of Judah. He, however, draws the inference that the explanation in 9 ff. must be later, since it does not agree with the natural sense of the incident. He leaves simply 'as the girdle . . . house of Israel' in 11. In spite of Giesebrecht's denial, it is probable that moral and religious corruption is intended by the spoiling of the girdle. The house of Israel in its early purity enjoyed the closest and most intimate relations with its God, but it became unfit for this when it deteriorated under the influence of heathenism. Hence God would cast it off.

xiii. 1–7. In obedience to Yahweh's command, I bought and wore a linen loin-cloth, which had not been placed in water. Later, at His command, I hid it by the Euphrates. Then, after many days, Yahweh sent me to fetch it. I found it spoiled and good for nothing.

8–11. So Yahweh will humble the pride of Judah and Jerusalem. The people, idolatrous and disobedient, shall similarly become good for nothing. For Yahweh caused Israel and Judah to cleave closely to Him as a loin-cloth to a man's loins, that they might be His, but they would not hear.

xiii. 1. a linen girdle: better, **a linen loin-cloth** or **waist-cloth** (see W. R. Smith's article in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for 1892). Linen was worn by priests, and, as finer than leather, was better suited to represent the honour Yahweh designed for Israel (11). But the choice was probably dictated by the symbolic significance; leather would not have been ruined by damp so easily as linen.

So I bought a girdle according to the word of the LORD, 2
and put it upon my loins. And the word of the LORD 3
came unto me the second time, saying, Take the girdle 4
that thou hast bought, which is upon thy loins, and arise,
go to Euphrates, and hide it there in a hole of the rock.
So I went, and hid it by Euphrates, as the LORD com- 5
manded me. And it came to pass after many days, that the 6
LORD said unto me, Arise, go to Euphrates, and take the
girdle from thence, which I commanded thee to hide there.
Then I went to Euphrates, and digged, and took the girdle 7
from the place where I had hid it: and, behold, the girdle
was marred, it was profitable for nothing. Then the word of 8
the LORD came unto me, saying, [JS] Thus saith the LORD, 9

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put it not in water. It is usual in the present day to steep linen in water or scald it before it is made up, in order to take the stiffness out of it and make it more comfortable to wear. Presumably this was also the practice in Jeremiah's time, otherwise there would have been no occasion for the prohibition. The symbolic significance is apparently that the linen is to be guarded against contact with the element that will ultimately ruin it. The girdle in this state represents Israel in its unspoiled purity, in the closest union with its God.

4. Euphrates. The Heb. word P^{e}rath is the name of the Euphrates, though usually the formula is 'the river P^{e}rath.' The suggestion that here it is an abbreviation for Ephrath is unlikely. Parah is mentioned Joshua xviii. 23, but with the article. The reference to the crags does not suit the Euphrates near Babylon, but rather 'the upper part of its course, above Carchemish, or even above Samosata, where it still flows between rocky sides' (Driver). But if the Euphrates is intended it is probably a visionary experience.

5. The linen is buried below the surface (cf. 7), so that the damp percolates to it and spoils it.

9. According to this application the marring of the linen represents the humbling of Judah by national ruin. But since this is not the natural interpretation of the incident taken in itself, nor of 11, we must infer that the text has here been glossed. It is not perhaps necessary to strike out so much as Cornill does (see above). The mention of a penalty is not out of place, but it is inappropriate to take the spoiling of the linen to indicate the exile. It is rather

After this manner will I mar the pride of Judah, and the
10 great pride of Jerusalem. This evil people, which refuse to
hear my words, which walk in the stubbornness of their
heart, and are gone after other gods to serve them, and to
worship them, shall even be as this girdle, which is
11 profitable for nothing. For as the girdle cleaveth to the
loins of a man, so have I caused to cleave unto me the
whole house of Israel and the whole house of Judah, saith
the LORD; that they might be unto me for a people, and
for a name, and for a praise, and for a glory: but they
12 would not hear. [J] Therefore thou shalt speak unto them

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corruption through Assyrian and Babylonian influence. It would be possible to think of this as exercised in Babylonia itself during the exile. But this is very improbable, admirably though it would suit the taking of the loin-cloth to the Euphrates. For Jeremiah regarded the people as already morally corrupt through the influence that had percolated to it from the Euphrates lands, and, like other prophets, he looked to exile as a means of regeneration and restoration. Accordingly we must suppose that the marring of the loin-cloth represents a process already complete, in consequence of which Yahweh has been compelled to divest Himself of His people and send them into banishment. A less drastic manipulation of the text than Cornill's would bring consistency into it.

10. shall even be: rather **let it be,** though this cannot have been the original wording of the verse if what has been said above is correct.

xiii. 12-14. THE PARABLE OF THE JARS.

As the text now stands this passage is the continuation of the preceding. But the figures of the loin-cloth and the jars are so incongruous that the prophecies should probably be regarded as originally independent. The meaning of the latter is that just as jars are destined to be filled with wine, so inevitably will the men of Judah be filled with drunkenness by Yahweh and dashed against each other till they are destroyed. There is some inexactness in the description. If the jars are filled with drunkenness, we should expect them to stagger against each other. If, however, Yahweh dashes them against each other, the reference to the filling of them with drunkenness seems superfluous. Probably the prophet means that they will be destroyed by colliding with each other, but since it is Yahweh who has made them drunken,

this word: Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel,
Every [a] bottle shall be filled with wine: and they shall
say unto thee, Do we not know that every [a] bottle shall
be filled with wine? Then shalt thou say unto them, 13
Thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will fill all the inhabitants of this land, even the kings that sit [b] upon David's
throne, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the
inhabitants of Jerusalem, with drunkenness. And I will 14
dash them one against another, even the fathers and the
sons together, saith the LORD: I will not pity, nor spare,
nor have compassion, that I should not destroy them.

[a] Or, *jar* [b] Heb. *for David upon his throne.*

He may be said to be the indirect cause of this. There is no need to deny the Jeremianic authorship. The figure strikes us as somewhat grotesque, but it would be unsafe to determine the authorship by our modern standards. The date is uncertain. Cornill considers it to be in any case later than chap. xxv, on account of the use of the metaphor of drunkenness.

xiii. 12–14. Speak to them Yahweh's word 'Every jar is filled with wine,' they will answer that they know that. Then tell them that Yahweh is filling all the inhabitants of the land with drunkenness, and they shall be dashed to destruction against each other.

xiii. 12. We may imagine that the prophet addresses those who were assembled at some festival, and that the sight of the empty jars suggested the words he spoke, which were perhaps a toper's witticism. Just as the drunken revellers scoffed at the simplicity of Isaiah's instruction, fit only for babes and sucklings, so their successors tell his successor that they know quite well what he has to tell them.

bottle: an earthen jar is intended; cf. xlviii. 12, Lam. iv. 2, Isa. xxx. 14.

13. The inhabitants are forced to drink out of the goblet of Yahweh's wrath, and then reel helplessly against each other. The drunkenness seems to be a figure for helplessness and stupefaction, so they have neither the wits nor the energy to cope with the difficulties of their situation; cf. xxv. 15–28, Ezek. xxiii. 31–34, Isa. li. 17, Ps. lx. 3.

14. Since the drunkenness is caused by Yahweh, He is said to dash them one against another, though strictly we may suppose that they stumble against each other.

15 Hear ye, and give ear; be not proud: for the Lord
16 hath spoken. Give glory to the Lord your God, before
[a]he cause darkness, and before your feet stumble upon
the [b]dark mountains; and, while ye look for light, he
turn it into [c]the shadow of death, and make it gross
17 darkness. But if ye will not hear it, my soul shall weep
in secret for *your* pride; and mine eye shall weep sore,
and run down with tears, because the Lord's flock is
18 taken captive. Say thou unto the king and to the queen-mother, [d]Humble yourselves, sit down: for your headtires
19 are come down, even [e]the crown of your glory. The

[a] Or, *it grow dark* [b] †Heb. *mountains of twilight.* [c] Or, *deep darkness* [d] †Or, *Sit ye down low* [e] Or, *your beautiful crown*

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xiii. 15–17. Give Heed to the Warning ere Darkness overtake you.

It is probable that this prophecy belongs to the reign of Jehoiakim; perhaps it was part of the roll destroyed by that king, though Duhm is inclined to think that 17 refers to the prophet's seclusion after that act. There is no need to adopt Schmidt's view that it is 'reminiscent in part of late psalms.'

xiii. 15–17. Listen with humility to Yahweh's voice. Give glory to Him, before darkness overtake you on the mountains of twilight, and, as you wait for light, He make the darkness denser and denser. I weep for your pride, and the captivity of Yahweh's flock.

xiii. 15. be not proud. The scornful contempt for Yahweh's message through His prophets was a main cause of the downfall which overtook those wise in their own conceit (Prov. xvi. 18).

16. See Introduction, p. 52.

dark mountains. It would have been better to place in the text the much more poetical 'mountains of twilight.' For 'shadow of death,' see note on ii. 6.

xiii. 18, 19. Dirge on the Approaching Downfall of the King and Queen-Mother.

Since the queen-mother is here coupled with the king, several scholars agree that the king addressed is Jehoiachin. His mother receives an unusual prominence, cf. xxii. 26, xxix. 2 (no importance can be attached to the mention of her in 2 Kings xxiv. 12, cities of the South are shut up, and there is none to open them: Judah is carried away captive all of it; it is wholly carried away captive.

Lift up your eyes, and behold them that come from 20

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15), as was natural in view of Jehoiachin's youth and the distinguished position always held by the queen-mother. This view, though disputed by Duhm and Rothstein, who date the prophecy in Jehoiakim's reign, is probably correct. Scholz rejected its authenticity, but Schmidt thinks it may be genuine.

xiii. 18, 19. Announce to the king and queen-mother their approaching humiliation. The cities of the Negeb are closed, all Judah carried into exile.

xiii. 18. Next to the king, the queen-mother was the most highly-placed person in the realm, and exercised great influence.

Say thou: read, with the LXX, **Say ye.**

your headtires. The Hebrew word does not bear this meaning. The LXX, Syriac, and Vulgate omit a consonant and read, 'For come down from your head is your crown of beauty.'

19. the South: i.e. the Negeb, the name of the parched land in the south of Judah. The cities in the Negeb are mentioned because they were the furthest removed from the point at which the invader entered the country.

it is wholly carried away captive: read, with the LXX, 'an entire captivity,' as Amos i. 6, 9, the Hebrew being without parallel.

xiii. 20–27. THE SIN OF JERUSALEM AND ITS PUNISHMENT.

This description of the approaching judgement on Jerusalem belongs to an earlier time than the reign of Jehoiachin. The prophet speaks of a foe that comes out of the North. This might be either the Scythians or the Babylonians, but the former are excluded by the statement that the conqueror had been formerly a friend. This was true of the Babylonians, who since the days of Hezekiah had a bond of sympathy in a common hatred of Assyria. We may therefore date this section in the reign of Jehoiakim, probably after 605, in which year Nebuchadnezzar defeated Pharaoh Necho. Scholz, followed by Schmidt, regards the section as late on account of its 'depraved style.'

xiii. 20–27. See, Jerusalem, those that come from the North: where is the flock entrusted to thee? Will not anguish seize thee, when thy former lover becomes thy tyrant? Thy trouble is due to thy sin. As well expect the Ethiopian to change his skin as you to do good, trained as you are to evil. They shall be scattered like

the north: where is the flock that was given thee, thy
21 beautiful flock? [a] What wilt thou say, when he shall set
thy friends over thee as head, seeing thou thyself hast
instructed them against thee? shall not sorrows take hold
22 of thee, as of a woman in travail? And if thou say in
thine heart, Wherefore are these things come upon me?
for the [b] greatness of thine iniquity are thy skirts dis-
23 covered, and thy heels suffer violence. Can the Ethio-
pian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may
ye also do good, that are [c] accustomed to do evil.

[a] Or, *What wilt thou say, when he shall visit thee, seeing thou thyself hast instructed them against thee, even* thy *friends to be head* over thee? [b] Or, *multitude* [c] Heb. *taught.*

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stubble, for their forgetfulness of Yahweh. Thy shame shall be disclosed. I have seen thy abominations; how long ere thou wilt be clean?

xiii. 20. We should read, with the LXX, 'Lift up thine eyes,' and also insert 'O Jerusalem.' The flock entrusted to Jerusalem may be the cities of Judah, but more probably the inhabitants.

21. The general sense of the verse is that Jerusalem will be deeply hurt to find set as head over her a former lover, i.e. the Babylonians. This sense, however, is given neither by the R.V. text nor R.V. marg. The arrangement of the Hebrew creates the difficulty. We may translate 'What wilt thou say when he sets over thee as head those whom thou hast trained to be thy lovers?' Cf. Ezek. xxiii. 22.

23. It might seem as if Jeremiah meant that evil-doing was as much man's nature, from which he could not escape, as the colour of an Ethiopian's skin. But he is not expressing so pessimistic a view of human nature as such, but simply saying with reference to the Jews that they have grown so habituated to evil, that it has become a second nature which it is hopeless for them to try to shake off.

the Ethiopian: literally **the Cushite,** but the Ethiopian is intended. Ebed-melech, who saved Jeremiah's life (xxxviii. 7–13), belonged to this race.

spots: Gesenius thought the word might mean stripes, and the tiger be the animal intended, but it is very questionable if the tiger was known in Palestine.

ye: the change of number here, and still more the change to

Therefore will I scatter them, as the stubble that passeth 24
away, [a] by the wind of the wilderness. This is thy lot, 25
the portion measured unto thee from me, saith the LORD;
because thou hast forgotten me, and trusted in falsehood.
Therefore will I also discover thy skirts [b] upon thy face, 26
and thy shame shall appear. I have seen thine abomin- 27
ations, even thine adulteries, and thy neighings, the lewd-
ness of thy whoredom, on the hills in the field. Woe
unto thee, O Jerusalem! thou wilt not be made clean;
how long shall it yet be?

The word of the LORD that came to Jeremiah concern- **14**
ing the drought.

[a] Or, *unto* [b] Or, *before*

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the third person in 24, are surprising in this context; we should perhaps restore the second person singular throughout.

26. Cf. Nah. iii. 5.

27. neighings. Cf. v. 8.

thou wilt . . . yet be. Rather, **How long shall it be before thou art made clean?** Jeremiah anticipates an ultimate cleansing of Jerusalem, but with sin so deeply ingrained as the colour of an Ethiopian's skin, with a nature so trained to evil, a will so inclined to wrong, it will be no swift process.

xiv. 1–xv. 9. A TERRIBLE DROUGHT, TO BE FOLLOWED BY WAR, FAMINE, AND PLAGUE, WHICH NO INTERCESSION CAN AVERT.

Since xv. 1–9 seems to form the immediate continuation of chap. xiv, it is best to include it here. Though xiv. 1—xv. 9 constitutes in its present form a fairly connected composition, it is not unlikely that pieces of different origin have been combined. Hitzig considered that two originally independent pieces have here been woven together; the former was occasioned by the drought, and consisted of xiv. 2–10, xiv. 19—xv. 1, while the latter, which spoke of a catastrophe through sword, hunger, and pestilence, consisted of xiv. 12–18, xv. 2–9. This view is accepted by Cornill, and may very well be substantially correct. The date is quite uncertain. Schmidt finds 'nothing to remind us of Jeremiah's language, style, or thought in the exquisite elegiac strain of xiv. 2–6,' while he considers that the absence of any religious suggestion precludes a prophetic source. He also rejects xiv. 7–9 as a

2 Judah mourneth, and the gates thereof languish, they
sit in black upon the ground; and the cry of Jerusalem
3 is gone up. And their nobles send their [a] little ones [b] to
the waters: they come to the pits, and find no water;

[a] †Or, *inferiors* [b] †Or, *for water*

Psalm breathing the spirit of II Isaiah, and out of harmony with Jeremiah's language and thought, xiv. 19–22, xv. 5–9. He accepts as genuine xiv. 10–16, xv. 1–4^{a}.

xiv. 1–6. Judah and Jerusalem mourn, and fail because of the drought; the nobles vainly send for water; the field labourers are dismayed. The hind forsakes her newborn offspring, the wild ass gasps for air and languishes for food.

7–10. 'O Yahweh, we have sinned greatly, yet work for Thy name's sake. Why dost Thou make Thyself as a mere traveller through our land? Why dost Thou seem to be powerless; we belong to Thee, do not forsake us.' Yahweh refuses to hear their prayer, He will punish their sin.

11–18. Yahweh bade me not pray for this people; He will not accept fasting or offering, but will consume by sword, famine, and pestilence. I replied, It is the prophets, Yahweh, who promise the people immunity from sword and famine. Then Yahweh said, The prophets were not sent by Me, they utter their lying imaginations, and shall be consumed by sword and famine, so too shall be those to whom they prophesy. Thou shalt say, Let me weep unceasingly for the breach of my people. In the country the sword, in the town famine!

19—xv. 1. Hast Thou rejected Judah? why do we wait in vain for our stripes to be healed? We and our fathers have sinned; despise us not, nor break Thy covenant with us. Can the heathen gods give rain? Nay, Thou alone, Yahweh, for whom we wait. Nay, though Moses and Samuel interceded, replied Yahweh, I would not be gracious: let them go into exile.

2–9. Yahweh destines them to pestilence, sword, famine, and exile. The sword, the dogs, the birds, the beasts shall destroy them. The sin of Manasseh will bring upon them a great punishment; who will pity or care? Yahweh is weary of relenting, He has destroyed His people. The widows are innumerable, the spoiler has struck dismay into the mother of the young warriors.

xiv. 2. **the gates** were the meeting-place of the people, where also judgement was given. Here they represent the people of the city assembled in them.

3. The nobles send their inferiors out to search for water, but the search is vain. Duhm thinks that the reference to the pits is

they return with their vessels empty: they are ashamed
and confounded, and cover their heads. Because of the 4
ground which is [a] chapt, for that no rain hath been in the
land, the plowmen are ashamed, they cover their heads.
Yea, the hind also in the field calveth, and forsaketh *her* 5
young, because there is no grass. And the wild asses 6
stand on the bare heights, they pant for air like [b] jackals;
their eyes fail, because there is no herbage.

Though our iniquities testify against us, work thou for 7

[a] †Or, *dismayed* [b] †Or, *the crocodile*

---

a mistaken insertion; they would know that the cisterns were empty and send farther afield (so also Cornill).

cover their heads: in sign of grief; cf. 2 Sam. xv. 30, xix. 4. That the words recur at the close of the next verse, is no proof that they ought to be struck out.

4. chapt: the meaning of the verb is 'dismayed,' as in the margin. The LXX rendering when retranslated suggests the true text, 'The tillers of the ground are dismayed' (Duhm). The verb is elsewhere used only of persons.

5. Even the hind, famed for affectionate care of her young, abandons it when newly-born and most needing the mother's attention.

6. As in Job xxxix. 1-8, the wild ass is mentioned after the hind. Even on the mountain ranges where it loves to be, there is no breeze, and it gasps for air. If, however, the panting for air is due to exhaustion, there is some force in Duhm's objection that they would not go to the bare heights to allay their thirst.

jackals: this yields a less satisfactory sense than the margin 'the crocodile,' lifting its head out of the water to snuff up the air. Cornill and Duhm omit, with the LXX.

their eyes fail: through lack of nourishment. When Jonathan tasted the honey his eyes were enlightened (1 Sam. xiv. 27), i.e. the faintness, from which he was suffering through want of food, was relieved. Possibly the reference may be to the strain on their eyes of the long search for food (cf. Lam. iv. 17).

Giesebrecht inserts verse 22 after this verse.

7. With this verse a prayer begins, in which the people confess their sins and appeal for deliverance to Yahweh. The question is raised whether the prophet speaks in the name of the people, or whether he puts this prayer into the people's mouth. Duhm, who takes the latter view, considers that Jeremiah is attacking with bitter irony the popular belief in Yahweh's good-nature, and

thy name's sake, O LORD: for our backslidings are many;
8 we have sinned against thee. O thou hope of Israel, the saviour thereof in the time of trouble, why shouldest thou be as a sojourner in the land, and as a wayfaring man

---

compares the similar light-hearted optimism of the people in Hos. vi. 1 ff. Erbt goes even further, and supposes that when the people were assembled at the Temple for a day of humiliation and prayer on account of the drought, Jeremiah appeared and uttered this parody of their prayer, to drive home his threat that Yahweh would not save. In favour of this view, it may be said that the anthropomorphism of the appeal to God is such as we might expect in a prayer of the people. It is, however, very difficult to believe that Jeremiah, whose heart bled for the anguish of his people, would have mocked their agonized prayers, as Elijah mocked the priests of Melkart. And would not his sense of reverence have restrained him? Cornill well reminds us that men of original religious genius such as Luther have at all times spoken with God in very human language. He agrees, however, on account of 10, that the prayer is put into the lips of the people, not uttered by Jeremiah as an intercession for them. 11 favours the other view, but if Hitzig's theory of the composition of the passage is correct, 11 would not originally belong to this context; still xv. 1 does, and unless we strike that verse out, we do not eliminate the idea of intercession from the passage.

for thy name's sake may mean for the sake of Thy reputation among the heathen, which will perish with the destruction of Thy people. This motive is constantly attributed to Yahweh. Thus Joshua asks, if the Canaanites cut off the Hebrews, 'what wilt thou do for thy great name?' (Joshua vii. 9). Ezekiel constantly represents Yahweh's action as controlled, not by regard for Israel, but by pity for His own holy name, or to magnify His name among the nations. Cf. also Num. xiv. 13–16, Isa. xlviii. 9–11, Ps. lxxix. 9, 10. The LXX here reads 'for thine own sake,' which expresses much the same thought. At the same time the references in 9, 11 suggest that the name is not here used simply in the sense of reputation. The name is the covenant name; cf. especially Exod. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 5–7. Regard for His name involves regard for the covenant with Israel.

8. The wayfaring man who simply turns aside from the way to rest for a night on his journey, enters into no intimate relations with the people, and is indifferent to their sorrows and joys. But Yahweh is the Lord of the land, and the people over whom His name has been called (9) are His people. Yet He seems as aloof from them as a mere passing stranger.

that [a] turneth aside to tarry for a night? Why shouldest 9
thou be as a man astonied, as a mighty man that cannot
save? yet thou, O LORD, art in the midst of us, and we
are called by thy name; leave us not.

Thus saith the LORD unto this people, Even so have 10
they loved to wander; they have not refrained their feet:
therefore the LORD doth not accept them; now will he
remember their iniquity, and visit their sins. And the 11
LORD said unto me, Pray not for this people for *their*
good. When they fast, I will not hear their cry; and 12
when they offer burnt offering and [b] oblation, I will not
accept them: but I will consume them by the sword,
and by the famine, and by the pestilence. Then said I, 13
Ah, Lord GOD! behold, the prophets say unto them, Ye

[a] Or, *spreadeth* his tent [b] Or, *meal offering*

---

9. astonied: the verb occurs here only, and probably we should follow the LXX and read 'fast asleep' (*nirdām* for *nidhām*). The idea that Yahweh is in a deep sleep, from which He needs to be aroused to save His people, meets us elsewhere: Ps. xliv. 23, 24, lxxviii. 65; cf. xxxv. 23, Mark iv. 38.

we are called by thy name: literally, **thy name hath been called over us.** See vii. 10.

10. Yahweh's answer. The latter part of the verse is quoted from Hos. viii. 13.

so: refers back to 8, i.e. their wandering from Me has matched My withdrawal from intimate relations with them. But the LXX omits.

11. Hitzig, followed by Cornill, takes 11, 12ᵃ as the work of the redactor, designed to link 2-10 with the passage which follows.

12. oblation: i.e. the vegetable offering.

13. The conflict between the false prophets and the true constantly meets us from the time of Micaiah onwards. It was quite natural that Jeremiah's pessimistic judgement on the people and verdict on its fate, especially after the Reformation, should draw forth bitter protests from the prophets, of whom Hananiah (chap. xxviii) is an example. Cf. iv. 10, v. 31, vi. 13, 14, xxiii. 11 ff. Here Jeremiah pleads in defence of the people that the prophets have misled them. There is not the slightest need to suppose that the passage, in its main drift at any rate, is due to a later editor.

shall not see the sword, neither shall ye have famine
14 but I will give you [a] assured peace in this place. Then
the Lord said unto me, The prophets prophesy lies in
my name: I sent them not, neither have I commanded
them, neither spake I unto them: they prophesy unto
you a lying vision, and divination, and a thing of nought,
15 and the deceit of their own heart. Therefore thus saith
the Lord concerning the prophets that prophesy in my
name, and I sent them not, yet they say, Sword and
famine shall not be in this land: By sword and famine
16 shall those prophets be consumed. And the people to
whom they prophesy shall be cast out in the streets of
Jerusalem because of the famine and the sword; and
they shall have none to bury them, them, their wives, nor
their sons, nor their daughters: for I will pour their wicked-
17 ness upon them. And thou shalt say this word unto
them, Let mine eyes run down with tears night and day,
and let them not cease; for the virgin daughter of my
people is broken with a great breach, with a very
18 grievous wound. If I go forth into the field, then
behold the slain with the sword! and if I enter into

[a] Heb. *peace of truth.*

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14. In spite of the severe judgement passed upon the prophets, it would be an injustice to regard them all as conscious deceivers. No doubt there were such; there were others whose temptation was to utter smooth things, and flatter the prejudices of their hearers. But others were animated by higher motives, such as patriotism, which in Israel had a strongly religious element in it, or loyalty to the utterances of the great prophets in earlier days. These may well have considered themselves to be genuinely inspired.

15, 16. Regarded by Giesebrecht as a later insertion.

17, 18. A characteristic dirge over the pitiful downfall of his people; the enemy have slain those whom they found in the open country, while the famine tortured those who were in the blockaded cities. Schmidt regards it as a gloss.

the city, then behold [a]them that are sick with famine! for both the prophet and the priest [b]go about [c]in the land and have no knowledge.

Hast thou utterly rejected Judah? hath thy soul 19
loathed Zion? why hast thou smitten us, and there is no healing for us? We looked for peace, but no good came; and for a time of healing, and behold dismay! We [d]ac- 20
knowledge, O LORD, our wickedness, and the iniquity of our fathers: for we have sinned against thee. Do not 21
[e]abhor *us*, for thy name's sake; do not disgrace the

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[a] Heb. *the sicknesses of famine.* [b] Or, *traffick* [c] Or, *into a land that they know not* [d] Or, *know* [e] Or, *contemn*

---

them that are sick with famine: rather, **the pangs of famine.**

go about . . . knowledge. This clause is very difficult. The verb rendered 'go about' means to travel about as a trafficker. It is possible that according to a rare use in Syriac we should render 'go as beggars.' The present text must also be translated 'into a land;' we may, however, with a slight change, read 'go about the land' (*'eth* for *'el*). That priests and prophets go about as traffickers, either in their own or in another land, is an anti-climax after their dupes have been slain with sword and famine; and a similar, though a slighter, objection lies against the alternative rendering. Moreover, in 15, the prophets are themselves condemned to sword and famine. Accordingly, the verb should be emended. Giesebrecht suggests 'they are in mourning on the ground,' or 'they crouch on the ground;' the latter is accepted by Cornill: either would suit the context fairly well.

and have no knowledge: this is probably the correct rendering, assuming that the text is correct, and Giesebrecht's emendation of the preceding words be accepted. But possibly the words are the beginning of a fresh sentence, the rest of which has been lost, 'And they do not know.'

19. With this verse the people renew their prayer. Cornill agrees with Duhm in regarding xiv. 19–xv. 4 as non-Jeremianic. He points to the phrase 'the throne of thy glory,' i. e. Jerusalem, as enough to show that 19–22 could not be written by Jeremiah. But even if this phrase were impossible in Jeremiah's mouth, it would be extravagant to pass a similar judgement on the whole passage. As already mentioned, Schmidt considers xv. 1–4^{a} as genuine, 4^{b} he regards as a gloss.

The latter half of 19 is quoted from viii. 15.

throne of thy glory: remember, break not thy covenant
22 with us. Are there any among the vanities of the heathen that can cause rain? or can the heavens give showers? art not thou he, O LORD our God? therefore we will wait upon thee; for thou hast [a] made all these things.

15 Then said the LORD unto me, Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be toward this people: cast them out of my sight, and let
2 them go forth. And it shall come to pass, when they say unto thee, Whither shall we go forth? then thou shalt tell them, Thus saith the LORD: Such as are for death, to death; and such as are for the sword, to the sword; and such as are for the famine, to the famine;
3 and such as are for captivity, to captivity. And I will appoint over them four [b] kinds, saith the LORD: the sword to slay, and the dogs to [c] tear, and the fowls of the

[a] Or, *done* [b] Heb. *families.* [c] Heb. *drag.*

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21. throne of thy glory: cf. xvii. 12, Ezek. xliii. 7. Jerusalem is so called because the Temple was there, and Yahweh was thought to dwell enthroned on the cherubim over the ark. The expression is quite fitting in a prayer addressed to Yahweh by the people.

22. This verse clearly belongs to the oracle on the drought. 'The vanities of the heathen' are, of course, heathen deities.

xv. 1. Yahweh's reply to the prayer. Moses and Samuel were famous for the mighty intercession they made for their people: cf. Exod. xxxii. 11–14, 30-32; Num. xiv. 13-24; Deut. ix. 18-20, 25-29; 1 Sam. vii. 8, 9, xii. 19-23; Ps. xcix. 6-8.

them: i.e. the people; the meaning is not 'send Moses and Samuel out of my presence, for I will not listen to their intercession.'

2. death: i.e. pestilence, as we speak of the Black Death: cf. xviii. 21; Job xxvii. 15; Rev. ii. 23, vi. 8. For the four kinds of fate here mentioned cf. xliii. 11; Ezek. xiv. 21, xxxiii. 27.

3. The sword to slay, dogs, birds, and wild beasts to devour the corpses. We should perhaps place 'to devour' after 'the fowls of heaven.'

heaven, and the beasts of the earth, to devour and to
destroy. And I will cause them to be tossed to and fro 4
among all the kingdoms of the earth, [S] because of
Manasseh the son of Hezekiah king of Judah, for that
which he did in Jerusalem. [J] For who shall have pity 5
upon thee, O Jerusalem? or who shall bemoan thee? or
who shall turn aside to ask of thy welfare? Thou hast 6
rejected me, saith the LORD, thou art gone backward:
therefore have I stretched out my hand against thee, and
destroyed thee; I am weary with repenting. And I have 7
fanned them with a fan in the gates of the land; I have
bereaved *them* of children, I have destroyed my people;

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4. The downfall of Judah is attributed to the sin of Manasseh in 2 Kings xxi. 11–15, xxiii. 26, 27, xxiv. 3, 4. It is very questionable if Jeremiah would have expressed himself in this way; it is accordingly not unlikely that the latter half of the verse is a gloss, added by a reader who remembered the passages in 2 Kings.

cause them to be tossed to and fro among: rather, **make them a consternation to**; see Driver, pp. 359, 360, and Graf's note.

5. In this lament on the pitiful case of Jerusalem the prophet is not describing what has happened, but what is to happen. The tenses in 6^b–9 descriptive of the calamity should be changed from perfects to futures, 'I will stretch out,' &c. It is not any of the earlier disasters which Jeremiah has experienced, but the ultimate penalty to which he looks forward, with no hope that it can be averted. The possibility may be granted that 6^b–9 was written 'in the year after the fall of Jerusalem' (Cheyne, *Enc. Bib.* 1179; he adds, 'by whom we cannot venture to say'), but it is more probably earlier.

7. The metaphor is taken from agriculture. After the grain was threshed, it was thrown up against the wind which blew away the straw and chaff, while the heavier grain fell to the ground, unless the wind was rough enough to carry it also away. In this process a winnowing shovel and a winnowing fork were employed, both are mentioned Isa. xxx. 24. The latter is intended by the misleading translation 'fan;' cf. Matt. iii. 12. Here the people are taken to the gates, i. e. the borders of the land, and blown away, like chaff, into exile.

8 they have not returned from their ways. Their widows
are increased to me above the sand of the seas: I have
brought upon them [a] against the mother of the young men
a spoiler at noonday: I have caused anguish and terrors
9 to fall upon her suddenly. She that hath borne seven
languisheth; she hath given up the ghost; her sun is gone
down while it was yet day; she hath been ashamed and
confounded: and the residue of them will I deliver to
the sword before their enemies, saith the LORD.

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[a] Or, *against the mother* and *the young men*

they have not returned from their ways: the LXX reads 'on account of their evils,' and this is accepted by Duhm and Erbt. It is not quite easy to see how the Hebrew text in that case arose. Cornill suggests 'on account of the evil of their ways,' from which he thinks both texts may be derived.

8, 9. Cornill has improved the structure of the passage by placing 8^a, 'Their widows . . . seas,' between 9^b and 9^c (after 'confounded'). In that way 8^a and 9^c, which now stand isolated, form a pair of long lines in Qina rhythm, while 8^{bc} and 9^{ab} form two other pairs, as they should according to subject-matter.

8. to me: not to be omitted, with LXX; it expresses Yahweh's participation in the disaster.

against the mother of the young men. Several explanations of the Hebrew have been proposed, the R.V. is the best. It seems to mean that suddenly, when all is fair, the destroyer comes upon the mother of the young warriors who have fallen on the battle-field and left her defenceless. We should, however, perhaps accept Duhm's emendation 'mother and suckling' (*wā'ūl* for *bāḥūr*). For 'at noonday' cf. vi. 4.

anguish: the word so translated occurs besides only in Hos. xi. 9, and is there probably corrupt. The meaning is very uncertain, see Driver, pp. 360, 361. He takes it to mean here the excitement or agitation of alarm, translating 'agitation.'

9. The mother of seven was a supreme example of felicity; now her pride is humbled, she swoons with grief. 'She hath given up the ghost' does not mean she is dead, but that she faints.

her sun is gone down: this is probably not suggested by the eclipse of Thales in 585 B.C. (Cheyne), since the prophecy is in all likelihood earlier. All brightness has vanished from her life, darkness has prematurely settled down upon her.

Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me a man 10
of strife and a man of contention to the whole earth! I
have not lent on usury, neither have men lent to me on

XV. 10–21. THE PROPHET BEWAILS HIS LOT, AND GOD STERNLY REBUKES HIS DOUBT.

This very striking and precious section bears its genuineness on the face of it, though apart from the question of the text, 13, 14 form, as even Orelli admits, no original part of it, while serious difficulties attach to 11, 12. The date cannot be fixed with certainty, but it may well belong to the closing part of Jehoiakim's reign, to which Cornill assigns it. It may be added that Schmidt treats 10 and 11–14 as glosses, and 15–18 as a poetic effusion with Zion for speaker, while similarly in 19–21 the people is addressed. If this only too characteristic criticism (cf. his treatment of xx. 7–18) were correct, we should be much impoverished in our knowledge of Jeremiah.

XV. 10–14. Alas, that I was ever born to such universal hatred, drawn on me by no conduct of mine. Yahweh said, I will strengthen thee, the enemy will make supplication to thee. Can one break iron and bronze? Thy treasures will be plundered by the enemy, thou shalt serve in another land, because of Mine anger.

15–18. Thou knowest my sufferings for Thy sake; preserve me. Thy word is my joy; I am Thine. I have not companied with the mirthful, but lived in loneliness, filled with Thine indignation. Why is my sorrow incurable: wilt Thou be a deceitful stream to me?

19–21. Yahweh replies, If thou return to Me, thou shalt again be My servant; if thou cleanse thyself, thou shalt be My spokesman. They may return to thee, not thou to them. I make thee impregnable against thy assailants, and rescue thee from the power of the wicked.

XV. 10. The verse springs out of long and bitter experience of the universal hostility he aroused. His stinging attacks on the vices of his countrymen, his scornful handling of their cherished convictions and prejudices, his steady warnings that they must prepare for the worst, amply explained the bitterness with which he was assailed. Yet, conscious that all his utterances were prompted by the purest, the most clear-sighted love for his people, he marvels at the hate with which he is pursued. Had he been a usurer, or a defaulting debtor, it would have been reasonable, for financial relations of this kind were a constant occasion of embittered feelings.

11 usury; *yet* every one of them doth curse me. The LORD
said, Verily [a] I will [b] strengthen thee for good; verily [c] I
will cause the enemy to make supplication unto thee in
the time of evil and in the time of affliction.

12 [d] Can one break iron, even iron from the north, and

[a] The Vulgate has, *thy remnant shall be for good.*

[b] Another reading is, *release.*

[c] Or, *I will intercede for thee with the enemy*

[d] Or, *Can iron break iron from &c.*

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11. This verse is so difficult to explain and to fit into the passage that even Graf thought it was a marginal gloss. The Hebrew text, though even it is uncertain, seems to mean that Yahweh will strengthen the prophet and cause his foes to appeal to him in their time of trouble. But the formula 'Yahweh said' elsewhere closes and does not introduce a Divine utterance, the verb rendered 'strengthen' is an Aramaism, and the stylistic indications are not favourable to Jeremiah's authorship of the verse in its Hebrew form. The LXX also diverges considerably from the Hebrew. Moreover, if already in 11 we have so clear and unconditional an assurance of strength and triumph, it is strange, though psychologically not inconceivable, that Jeremiah should express himself with such despondency in 15–18, and that the *final* promise should be conditional in character. If then we conclude that the verse cannot in its present form be attributed to Jeremiah, we can either regard it as a later insertion, or restore the text to a form against which the objections mentioned do not lie. The latter alternative is adopted by Duhm, Erbt, Cornill, Gillies, and Rothstein. All of these retain the verse in its present connexion. They differ in detail, but largely agree in the general sense. It is not possible here to discuss the restoration of the text at any length. The sense most appropriate after 10 is that the prophet, so far from doing evil to the people (10), has done them good. The LXX gives the clue to the reconstruction. The Hebrew probably ran somewhat as follows: 'An "Amen, Yahweh," to their curses, if I did not make supplication to thee for the enemy's welfare in the time of evil and in the time of affliction' (so Cornill). This connects excellently with 10. Jeremiah endorses the curses hurled against him, if he had not interceded for his enemies in the time of distress.

12. This verse is still more obscure and difficult than the preceding, and many explanations of it have been given. If the words are those of Yahweh addressed to Jeremiah, the most probable view is that they contain an assurance of the triumph of the foe from the North, i. e. the Chaldeans, here referred to as iron

brass? [S] Thy substance and thy treasures will I give 13
for a spoil without price, and that for all thy sins, even in
all thy borders. And [a] I will make *them* to pass with 14
thine enemies into a land which thou knowest not: for

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[a] Or, *I will make thine enemies to pass into &c.* † According to some ancient authorities, *I will make thee to serve thine enemies in a land &c.* See ch. xvii. 4.

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and brass, and therewith the vindication of the prophet and his release from his enemies. This gives the significance to 'iron from the north' which we naturally expect in Jeremiah. But since we have seen reason to believe that 11 contains a continuation of Jeremiah's remonstrance with Yahweh, we must take the same view of 12. The best rendering of the text is then that given in R.V. marg., and the meaning is, Can iron, i. e. my strength (i. 18) break iron from the North and bronze, i. e. the power of my enemies? The point of the reference to iron from the North is that the best and hardest iron came from the Black Sea. But the thought would be very unnaturally expressed, and the North bears so specific a sense generally in Jeremiah that its use here in the general sense is improbable. Hence, as in 11, the question is whether the sentence should be deleted or whether it can be satisfactorily emended. The most ingenious suggestion is Duhm's, 'Is an arm of iron on my shoulder, is my brow brass?' In that case the prophet is pleading with God his human frailty as a reason why he should not be exposed to such severe trial, and we have an excellent parallel in Job vi. 12, 'Is my strength the strength of stones? Or is my flesh of brass?' But the rendering 'shoulder' is doubtful, and a brow of brass suggests impudence rather than strength. Cornill accordingly feels unable to accept this emendation, but confesses that he has nothing better to propose, and leaves a blank in his translation. Rothstein regards the verse as a gloss; Erbt proposes a clever but very improbable emendation. Giesebrecht is inclined to think that 11–14 have been introduced here from another context. Gillies reads, 'Wilt thou have more regard to my earnest prayers than to the brazen altar-shields?' but this also is not a natural expression of the thought.

13, 14. Fortunately it is generally recognized that these verses are out of place here. This sudden transition from the dialogue between Yahweh and the prophet, to an address of Yahweh to the sinful people, followed by a continuation of the dialogue is very unnatural, especially as there is no external indication of the transition. The verses recur in xvii. 3, 4, and will be annotated there.

a fire is kindled in mine anger, which shall burn upon you.

15 [J] O Lord, thou knowest: remember me, and visit me, and avenge me of my persecutors; take me not away in thy longsuffering: know that for thy sake I have
16 suffered reproach. Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and thy words were unto me a joy and the rejoicing of mine heart: for I am called by thy name, O
17 Lord God of hosts. I sat not in the assembly of them that make merry, nor rejoiced: I sat alone because of
18 thy hand; for thou hast filled me with indignation. Why

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15. in thy longsuffering: i. e. towards my enemies. The LXX omits 'take me not away.' We might then accept a slight emendation of Duhm's and read 'delay not with thine anger.'

16. The opening words remind us of Ezek. ii. 8–iii. 3, and the similar episode of the little book in Rev. x. That Yahweh's word brought pain with it for the prophet is of course true, but it is a mistake to infer that Jeremiah could not have found joy in it. The communion with God, the revelation of His nature and His will brought gladness to him, though the message itself filled him with sorrow (cf. Rev. x. 8–10). At the same time the expression 'to eat words' is strange. In Ezekiel's case the idea is worked out at length, and it is certainly easier to understand the expression here if it is dependent on Ezekiel. When to this we add that the LXX has another text it becomes very questionable if the Hebrew can be defended. The LXX connects the opening words of 16 with 15, reading, 'I have suffered reproach from them that despise thy word. Consume them, and let thy word be unto me a joy,' &c. **called by thy name:** cf. vii. 10.

17. thy hand. The hand of God is said to be upon a man when he is seized by the Divine power and cast into the prophetic ecstasy: cf. Isa. viii. 11, 'Yahweh spake thus to me with a strong hand;' 2 Kings iii. 15; Ezekiel is fond of the expression, cf. especially Ezek. iii. 14, 'And I went in bitterness, in the heat of my spirit, and the hand of Yahweh was strong upon me.'

18. His lot is one of unceasing sorrow, long-continued and to end only with life. He is like the traveller who counts on finding the stream in the desert, but who is doomed to find only a dry watercourse. As Job counted vainly on his friends but found them like a vanished brook, so Jeremiah had counted on Yahweh: was his confidence to be put to confusion?

is my pain perpetual, and my wound incurable, which refuseth to be healed? wilt thou indeed be unto me as a deceitful *brook*, as waters that [a] fail?

Therefore thus saith the LORD, If thou return, then 19
will I bring thee again, that thou mayest stand before me; and if thou take forth the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as my mouth: they shall return unto thee,
but thou shalt not return unto them. And I will make 20
thee unto this people a fenced brasen wall; and they shall fight against thee, but they shall not prevail against thee: for I am with thee to save thee and to deliver thee,
saith the LORD. And I will deliver thee out of the hand 21
of the wicked, and I will redeem thee out of the hand of the terrible.

[a] Heb. *are not sure.*

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19. To this passionate outburst, in which the prophet utters the feelings that through these weary months have been gathering energy and volume within him, Yahweh now replies. And apparently with as little sympathy for His servant's pain as He shows to Job in the speech out of the storm. Instead of praise for the past or tender comfort for the present, we have an implied rebuke. He may return to God and resume His service (stand before Him), that is to say, he has by his murmuring renounced it. Unshrinking obedience, rendered without hesitation or complaint, that is the condition imposed by God on those who aspire to the high dignity of His service. And the reward of service faithfully rendered is, as in the Parable of the Pounds, more service.

take forth the precious from the vile: the meaning of this seems to be, if thou separate the precious from the common within thee, and dedicate the former alone to My service. It is also possible to translate 'precious without common,' that is, if thou producest what is precious unmixed with what is common. It is unfortunate that the misleading translation 'vile' should have been retained here. It is an archaism for 'common.'

as my mouth: i.e. as My spokesman (cf. Exod. iv. 16).

20. It is fitting that with the summons to return to Yahweh's service, there should be renewed the promise of support made to him at the beginning of his mission (cf. i. 18, 19).

21. Duhm identifies 'the terrible' with Jehoiakim and his magnates, and they may probably be those primarily intended.

16 The word of the LORD came also unto me, saying,
2 Thou shalt not take thee a wife, neither shalt thou have

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xvi. 1—xvii. 18. THE RUIN THAT AWAITS JUDAH FOR ITS SIN.

This section constitutes an editorial unity, and may therefore be taken together. It contains, however, pieces of rather miscellaneous origin. It is clear that xvi. 14, 15, which is repeated in xxiii. 7, 8, is out of place. xvii. 9-18 is very disconnected in character. Recent scholars have rejected the authenticity of a good deal in the section, especially in xvi, while Schmidt regards the whole of xvii. 1-18 as late. Such discussion as may be desirable is best reserved for the detailed exposition.

xvi. 1-9. Yahweh forbade me to marry or beget children, for the children born in this place, with their parents, shall die without lamentation or burial, and be eaten by birds and beasts. He also forbade me to enter the house of mourning, for great and small shall die and no mourning rites shall be observed; or to enter the house of feasting, for all festivity is to cease.

10-13. And when they ask the reason for their calamity, say that it is due to the idolatry and disobedience of their fathers and themselves; they shall be cast into exile, and serve other gods.

14, 15. The days will come when they will cease to speak of Yahweh as bringing them from Egypt, and speak of Him as bringing them back from the Dispersion.

16-18. They shall be harried from their hiding places, for I know their wickedness and will visit it with double punishment.

19-21. All nations shall confess the uselessness of idolatry. Yahweh will demonstrate His might.

xvii. 1-4. Judah's sin is indelibly written; its treasures will be spoiled, and the people will serve their enemies in a foreign land; for in Yahweh's anger an inextinguishable fire is kindled.

5-8. Yahweh's curse rests on him who trusts in man and turns away from God; he shall be like a juniper tree, his home in the wilderness. Blessed he who trusts in Yahweh! He shall be like a tree nourished by abundance of water.

9-13. Man's heart is deceitful; Yahweh alone can know it and reward men according to their works. He who gets riches unlawfully shall lose them in mid-life, and prove a fool at the end. Our sanctuary is a glorious throne. Those that forsake Yahweh shall be put to shame.

14-18. Heal me, O Yahweh. They taunt me about the fulfilment of Thy word; I have not desired the day of calamity; dismay me not, let my persecutors be dismayed and destroyed.

xvi. 2. See Introduction, pp. 14 f. Similarly Newman was im-

sons or daughters in this place. For thus saith the 3
LORD concerning the sons and concerning the daughters
that are born in this place, [S] and concerning their
mothers that bare them, and concerning their fathers
that begat them in this land: [J] They shall die [a] of 4
grievous deaths; they shall not be lamented, neither
shall they be buried; they shall be as dung upon the
face of the ground: and they shall be consumed by the
sword, and by famine; and their carcases shall be
meat for the fowls of heaven, and for the beasts of the
earth. For thus saith the LORD, Enter not into the house 5
of mourning, neither go to lament, neither bemoan them:
for I have taken away my peace from this people, saith
the LORD, even lovingkindness and tender mercies.
Both great and small shall die in this land: they shall 6
not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor
cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them:

[a] Heb. *deaths of sicknesses.*

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pressed in early manhood with the conviction that God's will for him was that he should not marry.

3. Cornill treats this verse as editorial. It is, of course, diffuse, and the reference to the fathers and mothers is irrelevant, but the general reference to sons and daughters is indispensable, otherwise 4 is unintelligible. Possibly 3^b is editorial.

5. house of mourning: this rendering is favoured by the context and by the fact that in 8 we have the house of feasting. The word rendered 'mourning' means shrill crying, and is most naturally explained here of the shrill wail raised by the professional mourners after a death. It occurs elsewhere only in Amos vi. 7, and there it is used of the cry of revelry. Duhm and Cornill interpret it so here, all the more easily that they strike out 8.

6. cut themselves: this mourning custom is forbidden in Lev. xix. 28, Deut. xiv. 1; the latter passage also forbids baldness between the eyes for the dead. These customs seemed, to the legislators, of a heathen character. They are mentioned, however, as quite normal in xli. 5, Amos viii. 10, Isa. xxii. 12, Mic. i. 16, Ezek. vii. 18. We need not infer that Jeremiah regarded them as unobjectionable.

7 neither shall men [a] break *bread* for them in mourning, to
comfort them for the dead; neither shall men give them
the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for
8 their mother. And thou shalt not go into the house of
9 feasting to sit with them, to eat and to drink. For thus

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[a] See Is. lviii. 7.

7. It was the custom for the mourner to refuse food (cf. 2 Sam. i. 12, iii. 35), apparently till the evening of the day of burial. His friends then pressed food on him to comfort him. In consequence of the taboos which attached to death, 'the bread of mourners' (Hos. ix. 4) was unclean. Accordingly the Israelite, when bringing the tithe in the third year (which was devoted to charity), utters a formula, in the course of which he says, 'I have not eaten thereof in my mourning' (Deut. xxvi. 14). This passage shows that the custom of offering food to the dead was not unknown, for the offerer continues, 'neither have I put away thereof, being unclean, nor given thereof for the dead.' But Schwally's view that Jeremiah's language refers to offerings to the dead is very improbable.

break bread **for them in mourning.** The word for 'bread' (*leḥem*) is very like that rendered 'for them' (*lahem*), and probably stood instead of it in the original text, which would run 'break bread for the mourner.' 'Comfort them' should be 'comfort him.'

8. Struck out, as already mentioned, by Duhm and Cornill (see note on 5).

9–21. From this point Duhm recognizes nothing as Jeremiah's. Cornill thinks the deletion of 8 carries that of 9–13 with it, but if so, less flimsy grounds should be given for deleting that verse. He believes, however, that 9–13 in themselves favour the view that they are later. He considers the authenticity of 14, 15, even in their original context, xxiii. 7, 8, very dubious, and of the rest of the chapter retains only 17, 18^{a}, 19, 20, and part of 21. Giesebrecht agrees with Cornill as to 14, 15, and of 9–21 admits the Jeremianic authorship simply of 19. Schmidt rejects 14–18 as dependent on II Isaiah, and 19, 20 as a Psalm fragment, with 21 as a later gloss. Without minimizing the importance of this agreement between these scholars, the present writer feels that the type of criticism here illustrated is unduly arbitrary and subjective.

9–13. It is not to be denied that this passage is somewhat diffuse in style and conventional in expression, but we are warned by very familiar examples against the demand that a great poet should never write flat and prosaic commonplace.

9. Cf. vii. 34; here, however, the hearers are warned that the calamity is to fall on themselves, not on their successors.

saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel: Behold, I
will cause to cease out of this place, before your eyes and
in your days, the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness,
the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride.
And it shall come to pass, when thou shalt shew this 10
people all these words, and they shall say unto thee,
Wherefore hath the LORD pronounced all this great evil
against us? or what is our iniquity? or what is our sin
that we have committed against the LORD our God?
then shalt thou say unto them, Because your fathers have 11
forsaken me, saith the LORD, and have walked after other
gods, and have served them, and have worshipped them,
and have forsaken me, and have not kept my law; and 12
ye have done evil more than your fathers; for, behold,
ye walk every one after the stubbornness of his evil
heart, so that ye hearken not unto me: therefore will I 13
cast you forth out of this land into the land that ye have
not known, neither ye nor your fathers; and there shall
ye serve other gods day and night; [a] for I will shew you
no favour.

[a] Or, *where*

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10. Cf. xiii. 22.

13. To ancient Israel change of country implied change of god. Thus David treats banishment from the inheritance of Yahweh as involving the service of other gods (1 Sam. xxvi. 19). Each national or tribal deity had its own people and domain; outside of the latter his writ did not run. It would be quite unjustifiable to infer from the fact that a monotheist like Jeremiah speaks as he does in this passage, that we ought not to take the statement in 1 Sam. xxvi. 19 seriously. Jeremiah's contemporaries, for the most part, shared the view of David and his persecutors. Banishment to a foreign land meant for them, not theoretically only, but practically to a very considerable extent, the abandonment of their national religion. It is true, as Duhm says, that the Jews were not prevented by the Babylonians from practising their religion, but large numbers of the exiles probably felt that the destruction of the State had snapped the tie which bound them to Yahweh, and these would zealously fulfil Jeremiah's prediction.

14 [**S**] Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the Lord,
that it shall no more be said, As the Lord liveth, that
brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt;
15 but, As the Lord liveth, that brought up the children of
Israel from the land of the north, and from all the
countries whither he had driven them: and I will bring
them again into their land that I gave unto their fathers.
16 [**J**] Behold, I will send for many fishers, saith the Lord,
and they shall fish them; and afterward I will send for
many hunters, and they shall hunt them from every
mountain, and from every hill, and out of the holes of
17 the rocks. For mine eyes are upon all their ways: they
are not hid from my face, neither is their iniquity con-

14, 15 are found with trivial changes in xxiii. 7, 8, where they are in harmony with the context. They are obviously, as recent scholars almost universally agree (Orelli is an exception), out of place here, but whether inserted by accident, or whether to modify the painful impression of the prophecy of judgement in which they are inserted, we cannot say. See further note on xxiii. 7, 8.

16 continues the threats of 9-13, not the promise of 14, 15, for the fishing and hunting refer to the captivity, not to the return. Cornill, following Duhm, infers from the fact that the hunting takes place at a later time than the fishing that the two captivities are referred to, first that of Jehoiachin, and then that of Zedekiah. Accordingly he argues that we have here a prophecy after the event. But the two figures represent two stages of a single captivity. The fish are captured in great masses; this corresponds to the capture of the capital and towns of Judah. The hunters, on the contrary, capture each victim singly, and this metaphor is added to the preceding to indicate the thoroughness with which Yahweh will carry through His work. He will not rest content with the exile of the great bulk of the people; it is His settled purpose that no single individual shall escape, hence the hunters ferret them out of every chink and cranny in which they may have concealed themselves. We may compare for this Amos ix. 1-4, and for the fishers Amos iv. 2; Hab. i. 14-17; Ezek. xii. 13, xxix. 4, 5.

17. For 'sin' Schmidt reads 'dwelling' (*m*^{e}*ōnām*); he thinks the copyist misunderstood the tenor of the verse.

ceated from mine eyes. And first I will recompense 18
their iniquity and their sin double; [a] because they have
polluted my land with the carcases of their detestable
things, and have filled mine inheritance with their abominations. O LORD, my strength, and my strong hold, 19
and my refuge in the day of affliction, unto thee shall the
nations come from the ends of the earth, and shall say,
Our fathers have inherited nought but lies, *even* vanity
and things wherein there is no profit. Shall a man make 20
unto himself gods, which yet are no gods? [JS] Therefore, 21
behold, I will cause them to know, this once will I cause
them to know mine hand and my might; and they shall
know that my name is Jehovah.

[a] Or, *because they have polluted my land: they have filled mine inheritance with the carcases of their detestable things and their abominations*

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18. first: i.e. before the restoration promised in 14, 15. It cannot accordingly be original here, and since it is omitted in the LXX, it may very well be a gloss introduced after the insertion of 14, 15. Cornill emends the text, reading 'And on their head I will recompense.'

double. Cf. Isa. xl. 2, 'she hath received at Yahweh's hand double for all her sins,' i.e. double punishment. The two passages are probably connected; Duhm has withdrawn his former view that Isa. xl. 2 was dependent on this passage, but Cornill has defended it. Giesebrecht and Rothstein prefer to reverse the relation.

the carcases of their detestable things. The detestable things are the false gods; they are regarded as lifeless, hence their corpses are said to pollute the land, a dead body being ceremonially unclean. The expression is vigorous but rather strange; cf. 'the carcases of your idols,' Lev. xxvi. 30.

19. This great utterance is assigned to Jeremiah by Giesebrecht and Cornill, the latter pointing out that such an expectation lay right in the direction of Jeremiah's theology, and was a consequence of his conception of religion. It is not, however, it would seem, in its original position. Some critics, including Findlay, treat it as a gloss.

21. The close reminds us very forcibly of Ezekiel, and probably this verse assumed its present form under Ezekiel's influence.

17 [J] The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron, *and* with the point of a diamond: it is graven upon the table
2 of their heart, and upon the horns of [a] your altars; whilst their children remember their altars and their [b] Asherim

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[a] †Another reading is, *their.* [b] See Ex. xxxiv. 13.

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xvii. 1–4. These verses, with 'Thus saith the LORD' in 5, are omitted in the LXX, probably by a pure accident. The translator's eye seems to have passed from 'Yahweh' at the end of xvi. 21 to 'Yahweh' in 5. The verses are genuine, though Schmidt regards them as a late paraphrase of xv. 4, but the text is badly preserved and the interpretation difficult. Since 3, 4 occur in xv. 13, 14, we have the LXX translation of them; it is very regrettable that for 1, 2 we are less fortunate.

1. An iron stylus was used to cut inscriptions on rock, stone, or other hard material, when it was desired to secure their permanence (see note on Job xix. 24). The thought is accordingly of the indelible character of the writing. The diamond point is also mentioned because of its extreme hardness, it alone being capable of cutting the diamond. The iron pen and point of the diamond are named because the heart of Judah is so hard. The prophet's meaning is not that Judah's tendency to sin is indelibly ingrained, but that the brand of its guilt cannot be removed.

2. This is a difficult verse. Why should there be a reference to the children? and the indelible writing would be on Judah's heart, whether the children remembered the altars or not. The particle rendered 'when' may also be translated 'as,' and the traditional Jewish explanation was 'as they think of their children, so they think of their altars and their Asherim, &c.,' but according to Hebrew usage, 'their children' should be the subject not the object of the verb, and the words do not naturally bear the sense imposed upon them. It is generally agreed that the text is corrupt. Duhm, followed by Cornill, strikes out 'whilst their children remember their altars and Asherim,' so that the sin is represented as written on their heart, the horns of their altars, the trees, the hills, and the mountain in the field, i. e. the sin of their idolatry. Giesebrecht says the simplest remedy would be to read 'so that their children will remember' (*lizkōr* for *kizkōr*), but he goes a little further and reads 'for a remembrance before me' instead of 'whilst their children remember', and then strikes out 'their altars . . . hills,' as a later inventory of the cultus at the high places. Either of these expedients would give us a straightforward text, but no great confidence can be felt in choosing between them.

Asherim. The Asherah was a sacred post, erected beside an

by the green trees upon the high hills. O my mountain 3
in the field, I will give thy substance and all thy treasures
for a spoil, *and* thy high places, because of sin, throughout
all thy borders. And thou, even of thyself, shalt dis- 4
continue from thine heritage that I gave thee; and I will
cause thee to serve thine enemies in the land which thou
knowest not: for ye have kindled a fire in mine anger
which shall burn for ever.

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altar (Deut. xvi. 21). It is often regarded as the symbol of a goddess Asherah or Ashrat (see R.V. marg. on Exod. xxxiv. 13). The worship of such a goddess seems now to be established, nevertheless the connexion of the Asherim with her cult is very dubious.

3. O my mountain in the field. The usual explanation has connected these words, as R.V. does, with what follows, and treats it as a term for Jerusalem, defending this by a reference to xxi. 13, which is itself a very insecure basis. Giesebrecht considers this to be the best explanation of the text, but suspects corruption. It is safer, with some of the older scholars, to connect with the preceding verse, and then with Duhm and Cornill to change the pointing and read 'the mountain in the field.'

thy substance. From this point to the close of 4, we have a parallel text in xv. 13, 14. The text is better preserved in this verse than in xv. 13.

4. The former part of the sentence, 'And thou . . . gave thee,' is not contained in xv. 14, and is therefore treated as an insertion by Duhm and Cornill. The R.V. rendering 'discontinue' is not justifiable, still less 'even of thyself.' We should read, 'And thou shalt let thy hand fall from thine heritage,' accepting, with most scholars, the emendation of J. D. Michaelis, *yādᵉka* for *ūbᵉka* (cf. Deut. xv. 3).

I will cause thee to serve thine enemies. The text is preferable to that in xv. 14, where, however, the LXX reads as here.

5–8. This beautiful passage stands in no close connexion with its context. There is no need to dispute its Jeremianic origin, since its insertion here by the editor is easier to account for, if Jeremiah uttered it. Its position may be due to the feeling that the doom just predicted found its explanation in the principle here enunciated. The passage is parallel to Ps. i. 3, 4. A comparison between them leaves the question of relative priority uncertain, but on other grounds it is probable that the Psalmist imitates the prophet.

5 Thus saith the LORD: Cursed is the man that trusteth
in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart de-
6 parteth from the LORD. For he shall be like [a] the heath
in the desert, and shall not see when good cometh; but
shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, a salt
7 land and not inhabited. Blessed is the man that trusteth
8 in the LORD, and whose [b] hope the LORD is. For he

[a] Or, *a tamarisk* [b] Heb. *trust.*

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5. It is a favourite thought with the prophets that Israel should depend not on human helpers but on its God. Thus Isaiah denounced the alliance with Egypt against Assyria, reminding his hearers that the Egyptians were men and not God, and their horses flesh and not spirit (Isa. xxxi. 3), a striking parallel to the present verse, which may have been similarly occasioned by Judah's reliance on help from Egypt against Babylon. In the Old Testament 'flesh' is a synonym for creaturely weakness; occasionally there is an additional suggestion of moral weakness. The Pauline antithesis of 'flesh' and 'spirit' involves a much sharper ethical dualism.

6. the heath (cf. xlviii. 9); the Hebrew word is of very uncertain meaning. It occurs also in Ps. cii. 17, where it is rendered 'destitute,' and a similar sense is given to it here by several scholars. But the contrast in 8 shows clearly that a tree or shrub is intended. The identification is quite conjectural; probably the dwarf juniper tree is intended (see Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible*, p. 358). With this tree the prophet fitly compares the man who relies on human aid. Its roots reach down to no water, its leaves are refreshed by no rain; starved and stunted, it just hangs on to a miserable life.

8. But while the shrub in the parched salt desert drags out this shrivelled existence, how different is it with the tree planted by the watercourses! Its roots are fed from the perennial stream, which does not fail even in the year of drought; it puts forth its luxuriant foliage and then its fruit. For though the rain be withheld, its confidence is unshaken, since it draws its life from waters which never run dry. Such is the blessedness of the man whose confidence is in God, the fountain of living waters. Duhm fully appreciates the beauty of the passage, but considers that Jeremiah could not have uttered 7, 8 in view of the ruin he anticipated for the nation. Cornill replies that we might just as well deny that Jesus uttered the metaphor of the Two Builders in Matt. vii. 24–27 in view of the prospect of persecution and death which He held out to His followers. The present writer, however, considers that

shall be as a tree planted by the waters, and that
spreadeth out his roots by the river, and shall not
[a] fear when heat cometh, but his leaf shall be green;
and shall not be careful in the year of drought,
neither shall cease from yielding fruit. The heart is 9
deceitful above all things, and it is desperately sick: who
can know it? I the LORD search the heart, I try the 10
reins, even to give every man according to his ways,
according to the fruit of his doings. As the partridge 11

[a] According to another reading, *see*.

Duhm's objection might be met by the hypothesis that 5–8 belonged to the early part of the prophet's ministry.

fear (so LXX and Vulg.) is better than marg. **see**, in spite of the correspondence with 6.

9, 10: Here again we have an utterance which stands in no apparent connexion with what precedes. Nor is there any natural link with what follows. Duhm has made the attractive suggestion that it should be taken with 14 ff. If so, we have a colloquy between God and the prophet. The latter is not uttering in 9 a general observation on the deceitfulness of man's heart, but a personal confession prompted by a fresh insight into the dark possibilities he had come to discern within himself. On the surface all was fair; to himself, as well as to others, he seemed whole-hearted in his consecration. But the new light has lit up the subterranean depths of his heart, disclosing a prospect from which he recoils in amazement and dread. If he himself is unaware of the evil forces within his nature, which may at any time be released to his ruin, who is there who can know them all? To this despairing question we have the Divine response in 10. Yahweh knows all the intricate windings of the heart, and tracks the evil to its remotest lurking place. Then in 14 the prophet prays that the physician who has skill to diagnose his secret malady will heal him, for only so can the healing be complete.

10. even to give . . . doings: this recurs in xxxii. 19: it suits that passage better than this, and has perhaps been inserted here from it.

11. Here we have an isolated proverb on ill-gotten gains. The identification of the bird mentioned with the partridge accords with the ancient tradition; if it is correct the prophet employs a popular belief which is commonly thought to have no foundation in fact. Mr. Woods, however, gives evidence that the statement of the verse is correct, whether we adopt the text or the margin,

[a] that gathereth *young* which she hath not brought forth,
so is he that getteth riches, and not by right; in the
midst of his days [b] they shall leave him, and at his end
he shall be a fool.
12 [S] A glorious throne, *set* on high from the beginning, is
13 the place of our sanctuary. O LORD, the hope of Israel,
all that forsake thee shall be ashamed; they that depart
from me shall be written in the earth, because they have
14 forsaken the LORD, the fountain of living waters. [J] Heal
me, O LORD, and I shall be healed; save me, and I shall
15 be saved: for thou art my praise. Behold, they say

[a] †Or, *sitteth on eggs which she hath not laid*

[b] Or, *he shall leave them*

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except that the implication that the young birds desert their foster-mother is probably a mere popular belief (see Woods and Powell, *The Hebrew Prophets*, vol. ii. pp. 104 f.). The meaning of the metaphor is probably that as a bird, which takes possession of another bird's nest and hatches the eggs she finds in it, is afterwards deserted by the alien brood, so the rich man will lose the wealth he has unlawfully acquired. There is nothing in the passage inconsistent with Jeremiah's authorship.

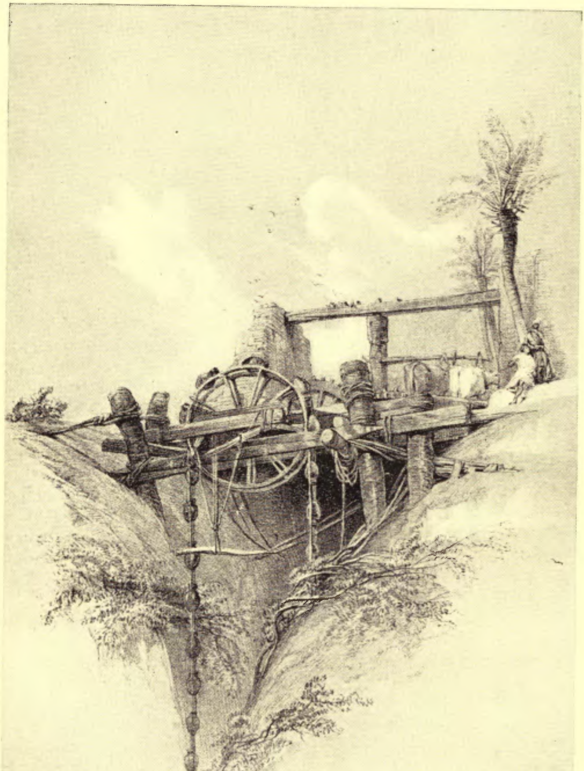
a fool in the moral sense, as is usual in the Old Testament, rather than the intellectual.

12, 13. These verses also are not connected with their context. The former sets a value on Jerusalem as Yahweh's throne, which is surprising in Jeremiah; the latter is not open to any such objection, but it quotes from ii. 13 and xiv. 8, and probably in view of this and its connexion with 12, it also should be regarded as an editorial insertion.

written in the earth: this must mean written in the dust or on the soil, so that, unlike those whose names are engraved on marble or brass, they would soon be blotted out. But 'the earth' does not mean the soil, and the whole expression is peculiar. Ewald reads 'they that depart from thee in the land shall be put to confusion,' which restores the parallelism with the preceding clause.

14–18. These verses link on to 9, 10 (see note).

15. It was the taunting speeches of his enemies, who scoffed at his predictions of ruin, which drove him to thoughts that he would never have believed himself capable of harbouring, and



Drawing by David Roberts, R.A.

Raising Water for Irrigation

unto me, Where is the word of the LORD? let it come
now. As for me, I have not hastened from being a 16
shepherd after thee; neither have I desired [a] the woeful
day; thou knowest: that which came out of my lips was
before thy face. Be not a terror unto me: thou art my 17
refuge in the day of evil. Let them be ashamed that 18
persecute me, but let not me be ashamed; let them be
dismayed, but let not me be dismayed: bring upon them
the day of evil, and [b] destroy them with double destruction.

[K] Thus said the LORD unto me: Go, and stand in the 19

[a] Some ancient versions read, *the judgement day of man.*

[b] Heb. *break them with a double breach.*

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thus revealed to him the deceitfulness of his heart and the weakness of his self-restraint. The sentence is parallel in thought to Isa. v. 19.

16. The first clause is strangely expressed, and the use of 'shepherd' for prophet without parallel. If the text is correct the meaning is, I have not renounced the task of acting as Thy prophet. But we should probably change the pointing and read, I have not hastened after Thee because of evil, which yields the same sense as the next clause, that he has not implored Yahweh to vindicate him against the scoffs of his foes by fulfilling his predictions of disaster. Yahweh is his witness that he has never uttered such prayers.

18. The imprecation with which the verse ends, even if we could credit Jeremiah with uttering it, contradicts 16 too sharply to have been uttered by him at this time, all the more when he is dismayed by the evil he has discovered in his own heart, and is praying for deliverance from it. The two previous clauses are not open to the same objection, and may perhaps be genuine.

xvii. 19–27. REMEMBER THE SABBATH DAY TO KEEP IT HOLY.

The Jeremianic authorship of this section was denied by Kuenen in the second edition of his *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1889), and his arguments have been very generally accepted, though among recent scholars the authenticity has been defended by Orelli, Findlay, and (in the main) by Rothstein (see also Driver's *Introduction*, 8th edition, 1909, p. 258). The style has much in common with that of Jeremiah, and the sabbath was an old insti-

gate of [a] the children of the people, whereby the kings of Judah come in, and by the which they go out, and in all
20 the gates of Jerusalem; and say unto them, Hear ye the

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[a] Or, *the common people* See ch. xxvi. 23.

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tution, which had not simply a ritual but a humanitarian purpose. We ought therefore to be cautious in pressing the anti-ceremonialism of Jeremiah as a proof that this prophecy cannot have been spoken by him. Yet the stylistic indications of his authorship may be due to imitation, and while he may conceivably have pleaded for sabbath observance, in spite of his otherwise total silence about it, he could hardly have made the fate of Judah depend upon it. It was something far deeper than any outward observance that he demanded, a new heart and a new spirit. The passage is closely akin to Neh. xiii. 15–22, and Kuenen's view that it belongs to the same period is very probable. The detachment of the Jews from sacred places by the exile gave a wholly new importance and prominence to sacred times, especially the sabbath.

xvii. 19–23. Yahweh bade me stand in the gate and bid the people bring in no burden through the gates on the sabbath, or carry any burden from their houses or do any work, but hallow the sabbath as He commanded their fathers, who refused to obey. 24–27. If they obey this command, then king and princes shall enter through the gates and the city shall abide for ever, and sacrifices shall be brought into it from all the districts round about. But if they refuse, a fire will be kindled in the gates and consume the palaces of Jerusalem.

19, 20. Cf. vii. 2. What is meant by 'the gate of the children of the people' is quite uncertain. The LXX reads 'the gates of the children of thy people;' we might accordingly think, with Orelli, of 'the gate of Benjamin,' xxxvii. 13, xxxviii. 7, through which the inhabitants went into the land of Benjamin, xxxvii. 12, where Jeremiah's home was situated, and where it was customary for the king to sit. The order of the verbs 'come in and go out' ought perhaps not to be unduly pressed, but it does not favour the view that the gate led from Jerusalem into the country, for then we should have expected 'go out and come in.' It might mean a gate by which the king entered the Temple, but why should this be called the people's gate? Are kings and people classed together as the laity in distinction from the priests? The description would suit better a gate by which the kings came from their palace into the city and by which the people entered into the palace, and an internal gate, leading from one part of the city to another, might

word of the Lord, ye kings of Judah, and all Judah, and
all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, that enter in by these
gates; thus saith the Lord: Take heed [a] to yourselves, 21
and bear no burden on the sabbath day, nor bring it in
by the gates of Jerusalem; neither carry forth a burden 22
out of your houses on the sabbath day, neither do ye any
work: but hallow ye the sabbath day, as I commanded
your fathers; but they hearkened not, neither inclined 23
their ear, but made their neck stiff, that they might not
hear, and might not receive instruction. And it shall 24
come to pass, if ye diligently hearken unto me, saith the
Lord, to bring in no burden through the gates of this

[a] Or, *for your life's sake*

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well stand in contrast to 'all the gates of Jerusalem.' Yet in view of the repeated mention of the gates in the sense of the gates through which goods were brought into Jerusalem from the country, it is hard to believe that an internal gate is intended. The text is open to suspicion. The name, 'the gate of the children of the people,' is itself a very strange title for a gate. If a temple gate were suitable we might read, as in vii. 2, 'in the gate of the house of Yahweh,' though this is not an easy emendation. The present writer suggests that we should read 'in the gate of Benjamin,' as in xxxvii. 13, xxxviii. 7 (*binyamin* for *b^{e}ne 'am*), and possibly strike out the last clause 'and in all the gates of Jerusalem' as a gloss occasioned by the collective reference to the gates in the rest of the passage. The statement that the kings entered and departed by this gate seems at first sight irrelevant, but is occasioned by 25. The plural 'kings' may be reconciled with a date in Jeremiah's time, but so general a designation is better accounted for in a period when the monarchy had ceased to be (see 25).

20. kings: the plural is here much more surprising than in 19. It seems to be quite illegitimate to explain the term to mean king and princes: in the similar passage xxii. 2, the singular is used; the plural here is a sign of post-exilic origin.

that enter in by these gates: derived from vii. 2.

21. The sabbath was apparently chosen by the people to bring in their produce from the country, since they would be at work in the fields during the week. That the kings are here associated with others is surprising.

city on the sabbath day, but to hallow the sabbath day,
25 to do no work therein; then shall there enter in by the
gates of this city kings and princes sitting upon the throne
of David, riding in chariots and on horses, they, and
their princes, the men of Judah, and the inhabitants of
26 Jerusalem: and this city shall [a] remain for ever. And
they shall come from the cities of Judah, and from the
places round about Jerusalem, and from the land of Benjamin, and from the lowland, and from the mountains,
and from the South, bringing burnt offerings, and
sacrifices, and [b] oblations, and frankincense, and bringing
sacrifices of thanksgiving, unto the house of the LORD.
27 But if ye will not hearken unto me to hallow the
sabbath day, and not to bear a burden and enter in
at the gates of Jerusalem on the sabbath day; then will I
kindle a fire in the gates thereof, and it shall devour the
palaces of Jerusalem, and it shall not be quenched.

18 The word which came to Jeremiah from the LORD,

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[a] †Or, *be inhabited* [b] Or, *meal offerings*

---

25. and princes: should be omitted, as by Graf and other scholars: it has been inserted under the influence of ii. 26 and other passages; the princes do not share the king's throne.

26. Cf. xxxii. 44, xxxiii. 13, and for the close of the verse xxxiii. 11. Similar enumerations are to be found in Deut. i. 7, Joshua x. 40. The cities in these districts are enumerated in Joshua xv. 21–32 (the Negeb), 33–44 (the Shephelah), 48–60 (the hill-country). 'The lowland' is the Shephelah which included the low range that sloped down towards Philistia, 'the mountains' were the hill country of Judah south of Jerusalem, the South was the Negeb or parched land in the south of Judah.

27. The closing words are based on the refrain in Amos' prophecy of judgement on the nations, Amos i. 3—ii. 5; cf. Jer. xxi. 14, xlix. 27, l. 32.

xviii. THE POTTER AND THE CLAY.

With this chapter a section of the book begins which extends to the close of chap. xx. In xix, xx we have, as in xviii, a lesson saying, Arise, and go down to the potter's house, and 2

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based on the potter's vessel, followed by bitter complaints of the persecution endured by the prophet. The three chapters form, however, only an editorial unity. The first of them falls into two main portions: (*a*) xviii. 1–17, (*b*) xviii. 18–23. The story of the potter (1–12) is regarded by Duhm as a late fiction; Jeremiah had seen the potter at work a hundred times in his childhood, and the moral is as trivial as it can be. But it is part of Jeremiah's greatness that he discerns a deep, Divine meaning in the familiar, commonplace incident; and the lesson deduced is anything but trivial. Cornill, who regards the story as historical and the moral as weighty, thinks that we must regard 5–12 as a later insertion, which misses the point of the incident. The story teaches that when through some mischance the vessel was spoiled on the wheel, the potter was not baffled, but, instead of flinging the marred vessel on the rubbish heap, moulded the clay into another vessel as it seemed good to him. The moral of this is that though Israel's history has proved a failure, God is not defeated but can make the nation over again according to His will. The explanation given in 5–11, Cornill says, does not correspond to this; it speaks of a God who models the clay, but not of a God who works at the marred vessel till it becomes good. There is force in this criticism, though there seems to be no good reason why 5, 6 should not be taken with 1–4. But 7–12 give a pessimistic application to the symbol, which taken by itself conveys an optimistic lesson. The verses may, however, be the work of Jeremiah, but not originally attached to the story of the potter. Erbt confines the original utterance to 1–6, but treats it as threatening. Giesebrecht contents himself with deleting 11, 12 as an insertion intended to connect this section with the following. If the symbol is optimistic in its lesson we may date it as far back as the reign of Josiah. But in its present form it is probably later. 13–17 are unquestionably Jeremianic, and may belong to the reign of Jehoiakim.

xviii. 18–23 reminds us of xv. 10–21, xvii. 14–18. It probably belongs, so far as it is Jeremiah's, to the reign of Jehoiakim. Duhm and Cornill strike out 21–23; it would certainly be a relief to think that Jeremiah did not utter them.

xviii. 1–12. At Yahweh's bidding I went to the potter's house, and saw how when a vessel was marred in the making, he made it into another vessel. So Israel is clay in Yahweh's hand. Doom may be averted by repentance, but promised blessing may be withheld on account of sin. Yahweh purposes to punish the people, let them reform; but they refuse.

13–17. Unheard of among the nations, unparalleled in Nature,

3 there I will cause thee to hear my words. Then I went down to the potter's house, and, behold, he wrought his
4 work on the wheels. And when the vessel that he made of the clay was marred in the hand of the potter, he made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it.

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is the sin of Israel; she has forsaken Yahweh for idols, and will suffer a bitter punishment.

18-23. They plot against the prophet, they revile and refuse to hear him. Hear Thou their voice, they repay good with evil, remember my pleading for them. Let famine and sword devour their children and themselves, for the snares they have laid for me; forgive not their sin, but visit them with Thine anger.

xviii. 2. go down: the potter's house apparently was in one of the lower parts of the city.

3. the wheels: literally **the two stones.** The apparatus consisted of an upper and lower circular stone, connected by the same rod which passed through the centre. The lower stone was turned by the feet, and the upper stone, on which the clay rested, revolved with it. There is a description of the potter's work in Ecclus. xxxviii. 29, 30.

4. made of the clay . . . potter. The Hebrew is harsh; read, with the LXX, 'made in his hand.' This failure seems to have occurred several times during the prophet's visit. The mishap might be occasioned by some flaw in the material, the imperfection of the mechanism, or the unskilfulness of the potter. But naturally it was not any fault in Yahweh's handling of His people, but a certain intractableness in the material He was shaping, which defeated His beneficent design. There is no slip of 'the Potter's Thumb.' Yet He cannot be permanently thwarted. He will

> 'Amend what flaws may lurk,
> What strain o' the stuff, what warpings past the aim.'

The clay will be kneaded afresh, and then placed back again on the spinning stone for Him to shape it to His mind. Browning's *Rabbi Ben Ezra* should be compared (from stanza xxv to the end). Paul's handling of the theme in the discussion of national election in Rom. ix-xi proceeds on different lines. He uses it to insist on God's unconditional right to dispose of His creatures as He will, to make a vessel to honour or to dishonour (Rom. ix. 21). Cf. Isa. xxix. 16, xlv. 9, lxiv. 8; Ecclus. xxxiii. 13; and especially Wisd. of Sol. xv. 7, which may have been in Paul's mind, though the reference to the potter is here literal, not metaphorical.

Then the word of the LORD came to me, saying, O 5, 6
house of Israel, cannot I do with you as this potter?
saith the LORD. Behold, as the clay in the potter's
hand, so are ye in mine hand, O house of Israel.
[JS] At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and 7
concerning a kingdom, to pluck up and to break down
and to destroy it; if that nation, concerning which I 8
have spoken, turn from their evil, I will repent of the
evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what 9
instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning
a kingdom, to build and to plant it; if it do evil in my 10
sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of
the good, wherewith I said I would benefit them. Now 11
therefore go to, speak to the men of Judah, and to the

5, 6. Suddenly the meaning flashes on him, the lesson God has sent him to the potter's to learn. Israel is the clay in God's hands, which has so disappointed Him. Yet He will fashion Israel into a vessel according to His mind.

7. If 7–10 is the proper continuation of 6, the point is that just as the original intention of the potter may be changed by some unexpected turn, so Yahweh's intention may be altered by change in the conditions. His threat and His promise are not unconditional. Repentance may annul the one, disobedience the other. But this is not a natural application of the figure. For the potter does not contemplate the rejection of the clay when he begins to mould it, a purpose changed when the clay proves unexpectedly amenable to his handling. And when the clay proves a failure on the wheel he does not throw it aside, but fashions it anew. So Yahweh's purpose with Israel will not be thwarted by its present intractableness, the original design will be fulfilled. Accordingly we may regard these verses as attached to 1–6 by an editor. They may, however, be Jeremiah's work, though Cheyne thinks that his certainty of the destruction of Jerusalem forbids this (*Enc. Bib.* 3878). The thought they express is illustrated by the story of Jonah's prediction of Nineveh's overthrow. In the exposition which Ezekiel gives of his doctrine of individual retribution we have the same principle transferred from the nation to the individual (Ezek. xviii. 21–28, xxxiii. 12–20).

11. frame: the verb of which the word rendered 'potter' is the participle.

inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith the LORD: Behold, I frame evil against you, and devise a device against you: return ye now every one from his evil way,
12 and amend your ways and your doings. But they say, There is no hope: for we will walk after our own devices, and we will do every one after the stubbornness of his evil heart.

13 [J] Therefore thus saith the LORD: Ask ye now among the nations, who hath heard such things; the
14 virgin of Israel hath done a very horrible thing. Shall

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12. There is no hope. Cf. ii. 25.

13. Cf. ii. 10, 11, v. 30.

14. The unnaturalness of Israel's conduct is here affirmed, as in viii. 7. But the text of the verse is by general consent corrupt. The expression 'rock of the field' is peculiar, and none of the interpretations proposed for it is satisfactory. The word rendered 'field' might also be pointed as the Divine name Shaddai; it would then be best to render, with Giesebrecht, 'Does the snow of Lebanon fail from the rock of Shaddai?' the term he takes to mean a lofty mountain. It would be better to accept Cornill's emendation 'Sirion' for 'field.' Sirion was the name given to Hermon by the Phoenicians (Deut. iii. 9, cf. Ps. xxix. 6). But this leads to a further change, since the snow of Lebanon would hardly be said to flow down from the rock of Hermon. We may accept either Duhm's restoration, 'Does the hoar frost leave Sirion, the snow Lebanon?' or Cornill's, 'Does the white snow flow away from the rock of Sirion?' The latter is preferable, since it avoids the objection which has been urged that the snow does not last through the summer on Lebanon. It seems as a matter of fact to remain in patches, but the summit of Hermon is crowned with snow through the year. In the second half of the verse the text is also corrupt. The rendering 'dried up' involves the transposition of two letters in the Hebrew; the text means 'plucked up,' but this is inappropriate. With this alteration the line runs '*Or* shall the strange, cold, flowing waters be dried up?' The triple epithet is surprising, and 'strange' is unsuitable. It may have arisen by dittography of the next word. Duhm, by a fresh division of consonants, gets instead of 'strange waters,' 'the waters of the scatterers' (cf. Job xxxvii. 9, where the word rendered 'north' is said to mean 'scattering *winds*'), and translates 'the waters of the northern stars.' The point is, he thinks, that the northern stars when they rise above the horizon each year bring fresh rain to

the snow of Lebanon fail from the rock of the field? *or*
shall the cold waters [a] that flow down from afar be [b] dried
up? For my people hath forgotten me, they have burned 15
incense to vanity; and they have caused them to
stumble in their ways, in the ancient paths, to walk in
bypaths, in a way not cast up; to make their land an 16
astonishment, and a perpetual hissing; every one that
passeth thereby shall be astonished, and shake his head.
I will scatter them as with an east wind before the 17
enemy; I will [c] look upon their back, and not their face,
in the day of their calamity.

Then said they, Come, and let us devise devices 18

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[a] Or, *of strange lands that flow down be &c.* [b] Or, *plucked up*
[c] Or, *shew them the back, and not the face*

---

the earth. But this is very uncertain, and the same must be said of the reconstructions of Cornill and Erbt. We should probably either strike out 'strange' or, with a slight alteration, read '*Or* are the cold flowing waters of the hills dried up?'

15. vanity: or 'nothingness;' a term for the 'non-existent deities;' cf. ii. 5, where, however, a different Hebrew word is used.

The second half of the verse is difficult and rather overloaded. They who caused the people to stumble are apparently the false gods, but more probably we should read 'they' (i. e. the people) 'have stumbled.' For 'the ancient paths' see vi. 16. They have stumbled in the way divinely ordained from of old, and chosen their own by-paths—roads that have never been properly made.

16. astonishment: this rather than 'desolation' is the true rendering here, but there is a suggestion of the other meaning.

17. The east wind, as everywhere in the O.T., is the sirocco, hot, stifling, violent, blowing over the land from the desert, blasting and parching vegetation, overwhelming caravans, suffocating its victims (see note on iv. 11). As men flee before it for shelter, so Yahweh will make Israel flee before the foe (cf. xiii. 24).

18. We are here confronted with a similar situation to that we have met in xi. 18-23, xii. 1-6, xv. 10, 11, 15-21. The prophet's enemies plot against his life. The precise sense of the verse is uncertain. The most obvious meaning is that the priest, sage, and prophet are permanent elements in the community. If so, the point may be either Jeremiah's assertion that the State with against Jeremiah; for the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet. Come, and let us smite him with the tongue, and let us not give heed to any of his words.

19 Give heed to me, O LORD, and hearken to the voice
20 of them that contend with me. Shall evil be recompensed for good? for they have digged a pit for my soul. Remember how I stood before thee to speak good for
21 them, to turn away thy fury from them. [S] Therefore

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its institutions will come to an end is false, or, Let us not hesitate to kill Jeremiah, for there are plenty to reveal God's will to us when he is gone. But neither is satisfactory: the former because the motive is hardly adequate and the idea artificially expressed; the latter because, with their view that Jeremiah's message was fundamentally false, they would hardly treat his removal as conceivably involving, even as a matter for discussion, the cessation of revelation. It is therefore better to take the words as meaning that the enemies of Jeremiah are at no loss to give advice how they may best get him out of the way. As in the case of Jesus, they take counsel together how they may put him to death. It was the function of the priests to give torah or direction, i. e. in ritual or ethical matters; here the technical word is employed with a ghastly sinister suggestion. 'The wise' were the sages, of whose reflections on life the Book of Proverbs gives us a typical, though perhaps favourable, example. From Ezek. vii. 26 it would seem that 'the law . . . the prophet' was a proverb. Duhm and Cornill omit the last clause.

smite him with the tongue: i. e. circulate ruinous slanders about him.

not give heed: the LXX omits the negative, 'let us give heed to all his words,' i. e. watch his utterances in order to use them for his destruction, as the enemies of Jesus did. This gives a much better sense. Jeremiah's utterances lent themselves readily to a charge of treason; cf. xx. 10.

21–23. This passionate outburst of vindictive fury, in which the writer heaps curses not only on his enemies, but on their wives and children, accords ill with Jeremiah's deep and tender compassion for his people, and with his claim that he had interceded for them and not desired the woeful day. We should probably regard these verses as editorial; 22^b, 23^a (to 'slay me') are unobjectionable, but it is scarcely worth while to regard them as by Jeremiah.

deliver up their children to the famine, and give them over to the power of the sword; and let their wives become childless, and widows; and let their men be slain of death, *and* their young men smitten of the sword
in battle. Let a cry be heard from their houses, when 22
thou shalt bring a troop suddenly upon them: for they have digged a pit to take me, and hid snares for my feet.
Yet, LORD, thou knowest all their counsel against me 23
to slay me; forgive not their iniquity, neither blot out their sin from thy sight: but let them be [a] overthrown before thee; deal thou with them in the time of thine anger.

[B] Thus said the LORD, Go, and buy a potter's **19**

[a] Heb. *made to stumble.*

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xix. 1—xx. 6. THE PARABLE OF THE BROKEN BOTTLE, AND THE PREDICTION OF PASHHUR'S FATE FOR PUNISHING THE PROPHET.

The link between this section and the preceding is the mention of a potter's vessel in both. The connexion is thus quite external. Duhm regards the whole section as late, but later commentators have refused to follow him in this drastic criticism. In the first edition of his commentary Giesebrecht argued that xix. 3–9 was an insertion, and this has been widely accepted. It is strange that Jeremiah should receive instructions to declare in the valley of Ben-Hinnom the word that Yahweh should tell him, and that immediately on this injunction the word should be communicated to him before he went to the valley at all. The contents are also suspicious, for they are very generalizing in character and full of reminiscences, and are drawn especially from the close of chap. vii. The style of the LXX differs from the usual style, and this also suggests that these verses were not in the Hebrew text used by the original translator, but were a subsequent insertion. Giesebrecht passes a similar judgement on 11^{b}–13 (so Schmidt), and now with Cornill rejects xx. 4–6. The date of the incident is uncertain; the most likely view is that it happened early in the reign of Jehoiakim. Since Jeremiah is spoken of from 14 onwards in the third person, the section in its original form was probably derived from the memoirs of Baruch.

xix. 1, 2. Yahweh bids the prophet buy an earthen bottle, and

earthen bottle, and *take* of the elders of the people, and
2 of the elders of the priests; and go forth unto the valley
of the son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of
[a] the gate Harsith, and proclaim there the words that I

[a] †Or, *the gate of potsherds*

---

go with it to the valley of Ben-Hinnom, accompanied by elders of the people and priests, and there utter the words He should tell him.

3–9. He is to announce evil on Jerusalem for its idolatry, the shedding of innocent blood, and child-sacrifice. The valley shall lose its former name and be called The Valley of Slaughter. The inhabitants shall be slain, their carcases devoured by birds and beasts of prey. All that pass by shall view the ruins with amazement and scorn. The privations of the besieged shall be so terrible that they will eat their own children.

10–13. Then he shall break the bottle, and say that thus Yahweh will break the people and the city. He will make it and the houses, on the roofs of which idolatrous sacrifices have been offered, like Tophet.

14—xx. 6. Then Jeremiah returned from Tophet to the Temple, and there proclaimed to the people that the city would suffer its penalty for the obstinate disobedience of the people. Pashhur, the chief officer of the Temple, smote him and put him in the stocks. When he released him on the following day, Jeremiah told him that his name would be Magor-missabib. For he would be a terror to himself and his friends; he should behold their death by the sword. Judah and all its treasure would be carried to Babylon, and there Pashhur and his friends should die.

xix. 1. He is to take a fragile earthen vessel, because the symbolism requires that it is to be broken.

the elders of the priests: mentioned also in 2 Kings xix. 2, but perhaps we should read, with the LXX, simply 'the priests.'

2. the valley of the son of Hinnom. See vii. 31. Duhm, who is followed by Cornill, thinks the references to this valley, whether by this name or that of Tophet, are secondary, i.e. 5–7 which are borrowed from vii. 31–33, and 12^{b}, 13 together with the reference in the present verse.

the gate Harsith: we should render as in the margin 'the gate of potsherds.' The name occurs nowhere else; it was perhaps so-called because broken earthenware was thrown there after the valley of Hinnom had been defiled by Josiah, or perhaps because the potters had their works in the neighbourhood. Or potsherds may have been ground to powder there, to make cement

shall tell thee: [S] and say, Hear ye the word of the 3
LORD, O kings of Judah, and inhabitants of Jerusalem;
thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold,
I will bring evil upon this place, the which whosoever
heareth, his ears shall tingle. Because they have for- 4
saken me, and have estranged this place, and have
burned incense in it unto other gods, whom they knew
not, they and their fathers and the kings of Judah; and
have filled this place with the blood of innocents; and 5
have built the high places of Baal, to burn their sons in
the fire for burnt offerings unto Baal; which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into my [a] mind:

[a] Heb. *heart*.

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for plastering cisterns (see Driver's note). It is generally identified with the Dung-Gate (Neh. ii. 13, iii. 13, 14, xii. 31), which led to the valley of Ben-Hinnom.

3. The address to the kings of Judah is surprising. The plural would hardly have been used while the Jewish monarchy was an actuality (cf. xvii. 20).

this place is Jerusalem, so also (and not merely Tophet) in 4.

his ears shall tingle. Cf. 1 Sam. iii. 11. The latter part of the verse is apparently derived from 2 Kings xxi. 12.

4. estranged this place. This seems to mean they have treated it as foreign, by making foreign deities at home in it. 'We might say now, *denationalized*' (Driver).

We should probably read, with the LXX, 'they and their fathers; and the kings of Judah have filled,' &c. The special reference in the last clause is apparently to the reign of Manasseh, from the account of whose reign it is borrowed (2 Kings xxi. 16, xxiv. 4), but the author generalizes. In spite of the context, it is probably not the sacrifices of children, but the murder by judicial process, by violence, or in religious persecution, of innocent persons that is intended.

5. Borrowed from vii. 31, with some variation (see note); cf. also xxxii. 35. The LXX omits 'for burnt offerings unto Baal.' The offerings were made to Molech, i.e. probably, in the popular intention, to Yahweh regarded as King, a view repudiated by Jeremiah with abhorrence.

6 therefore, behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that
this place shall no more be called Topheth, nor The
valley of the son of Hinnom, but The valley of Slaughter.
7 And I will [a] make void the counsel of Judah and
Jerusalem in this place; and I will cause them to fall by
the sword before their enemies, and by the hand of them
that seek their life: and their carcases will I give to be
meat for the fowls of the heaven, and for the beasts
8 of the earth. And I will make this city an astonishment,
and an hissing; every one that passeth thereby shall
be astonished and hiss because of all the plagues thereof.
9 And I will cause them to eat the flesh of their sons and
the flesh of their daughters, and they shall eat every one
the flesh of his friend, in the siege and in the straitness,
wherewith their enemies, and they that seek their life, shall
10 straiten them. [B] Then shalt thou break the bottle in
11 the sight of the men that go with thee, and shalt say
unto them, Thus saith the LORD of hosts: Even so will
I break this people and this city, as one breaketh a

[a] Heb. *empty out.*

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6. Borrowed from vii. 32, the close of which, however, is given at the end of 11.

7. make void: the word, which means 'empty out,' is chosen with reference to the cognate word used in 1 for 'bottle.' The writer may have thought of Jeremiah as emptying the bottle as he pronounced the words.

and their carcases . . . earth. Borrowed from vii. 33.

8. Derived with some variation from xviii. 16.

9. Here the writer draws on Deut. xxviii. 53; cf. Lev. xxvi. 29.

10, 11. Now Jeremiah learns what he is to do with the earthenware flask. It is noteworthy that the narrator forgets to relate the prophet's fulfilment of the command. He assumes it in 14. It is the custom to break a jar behind a person on whom one would invoke a similar destruction. The close of 11, which is borrowed from vii. 32 and should therefore have been inserted in 6, is omitted in the LXX.

potter's vessel, that cannot be made whole again: and they shall bury in Topheth, [a] till there be no place to bury. Thus will I do unto this place, saith the LORD, 12 and to the inhabitants thereof, even making this city as Topheth: and the houses of Jerusalem, and the houses 13 of the kings of Judah, which are defiled, shall be as the place of Topheth, even all the houses upon whose roofs they have burned incense unto all the host of heaven, and have poured out drink offerings unto other gods.

Then came Jeremiah from Topheth, whither the LORD 14 had sent him to prophesy; and he stood in the court of the LORD's house, and said to all the people: Thus saith 15 the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold, I will bring upon this city and upon all her towns all the evil that I have pronounced against it; because they have made their neck stiff, that they might not hear my words.

Now Pashhur the son of Immer the priest, who was **20** chief officer in the house of the LORD, heard Jeremiah

[a] † Or, *because there shall be no place else*

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12. as Topheth: i.e. unclean, as 13 explains. Josiah had defiled it (2 Kings xxiii. 10).

13. Cf. xxxiii. 4, and for the sacrifices on the roofs xxxii. 29, 2 Kings xxiii. 12, Zeph. i. 5.

14. It is here presupposed that Jeremiah went to 'the gate of potsherds,' broke the bottle, and uttered the message he was charged to deliver. He now returns to the Temple and repeats the sentence of doom.

xx. 1. Pashhur. We read in xxi. 1 of a Pashhur, the son of Malchiah, and in xxxviii. 1 of a Pashhur the father of Gedaliah. The name seems accordingly to have been fairly common at this time. At a later period it was the name of a priestly family. Since Immer was also the name of a priestly family it is possible that 'son of Immer' is not to be understood strictly, but that it simply means that Pashhur belonged to that family. (On Duhm's theory see Erbt, pp. 15-17; Cornill, pp. 229 f.)

chief officer: Heb. 'overseer, ruler;' the latter word is pro-

2 prophesying these things. Then Pashhur smote Jeremiah the prophet, and put him in the stocks that were in the upper gate of Benjamin, which was in the house
3 of the LORD. And it came to pass on the morrow, that Pashhur brought forth Jeremiah out of the stocks. Then

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bably a gloss. The functions of the office are not defined, but apparently its holder was entrusted with the preservation of order in the Temple, and the suppression of whatever might seem subversive of it; cf. xxix. 26, where Zephaniah ('the second priest' according to 2 Kings xxv. 18) is said to have the power to put in the stocks 'every man that is mad and maketh himself a prophet.' Pashhur was accordingly not exceeding his powers in the treatment he accorded to Jeremiah.

2. the stocks. The precise form of this instrument of discipline is unknown; it was not only humiliating but painful, on account of the cramped and unnatural position into which the body was forced.

the upper gate of Benjamin: a temple gate on the North side, to be distinguished from the city gate, called the gate of Benjamin. Probably a way led from one to the other.

3. After a night of acute physical discomfort and of mental torture still harder to bear, Jeremiah was released, not without protest against the injustice and humiliation to which he had been subjected (cf. Acts xvi. 37). That the protest was so lengthy as is here represented is doubted by several critics, who confine it simply to the words recorded in this verse. These words are difficult. We are probably on the wrong track if we seek for an etymological explanation, as if Pashhur stood by its meaning in antithesis to Magor. There is apparently no play on words, but a new significant name is given to the overseer. This name is Terror. The Hebrew text reads 'Terror round about.' But the LXX omits 'round about,' and is more likely to be right in spite of its tendency to abbreviate; since 'terror round about' is a common expression in the book, its occurrence here is probably due to assimilation. The LXX also omits 'Yahweh,' perhaps correctly. In Pashhur's demeanour men will mark the overwhelming dread which haunts him, the shadow of approaching doom, and name him from this dominant emotion. Thus, too, he will be a sign to others of the fulfilment of Jeremiah's gruesome predictions. Probably he went into exile with Jehoiachin in 597, for somewhat later his office was held by Zephaniah (xxix. 25). For the scene cf. the encounter between Amos and Amaziah (Amos vii. 10-17), and that between Isaiah and Shebna (Isa. xxii. 15 ff.).

said Jeremiah unto him, The LORD hath not called thy
name Pashhur, but [a] Magor-missabib. For thus saith 4
the LORD, Behold, I will make thee a terror to thyself,
and to all thy friends: and they shall fall by the sword
of their enemies, and thine eyes shall behold it: and I
will give all Judah into the hand of the king of Babylon,
and he shall carry them captive to Babylon, and shall
slay them with the sword. Moreover I will give all the 5
riches of this city, and all the gains thereof, and all the
precious things thereof, yea, all the treasures of the kings
of Judah will I give into the hand of their enemies, which
shall spoil them, and take them, and carry them to Babylon. And thou, Pashhur, and all that dwell in thine 6
house shall go into captivity: and thou shalt come to
Babylon, and there thou shalt die, and there shalt thou
be buried, thou, and all thy friends, to whom thou hast
prophesied falsely.

[J] O LORD, thou hast [b] deceived me, and I was de- 7

[a] That is, *Terror on every side.* [b] Or, *enticed*

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4. There is an inconsistency between the representation of the fate which is to overtake Pashhur's friends here and in 6, but it is too trifling to be pressed. What is meant is that some are to go as exiles to Babylon, and some are to perish by the sword.

6. There is no other indication in the narrative that Pashhur was himself a prophet.

XX. 7–18. JEREMIAH COMPLAINS OF THE COMPULSION OF YAHWEH'S WORD, AND CURSES THE DAY OF HIS BIRTH.

We now reach one of the most powerful and impressive passages in the whole of the prophetic literature, a passage which takes us, as no other, not only into the depths of the prophet's soul, but into the secrets of the prophetic consciousness. For the psychology of prophecy there is nothing which is so instructive, nothing which displays so vividly the contact between the Divine and human element. The occasion of this utterance is not to be determined by its present connexion. It falls into two portions, 7–13, 14–18. The former of these in its present form closes with ceived: thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed: I am become a laughing-stock all the day, every one mock-

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a note of triumph like Ps. xxii, but 13 is thought by many scholars to be a later insertion on account of its Psalm-like tone, and especially its reference to 'the needy.' Even if this be admitted, 14–18 do not follow appropriately on 11, 12. It is arbitrary to delete these verses, though 12 is identical with xi. 20 and may have been originally a marginal quotation. It is also arbitrary to invert the order and place 14–18 before 7–13 (so Ewald). Accordingly, we must regard the two as mutually independent. There is nothing to fix the date with any certainty. From 7 it may be inferred that at the time there was no sign of approaching calamity, all seemed fair, and the prophet of disaster was a laughing-stock to the people. Nevertheless it is not likely that 7 ff. belong to the reign of Josiah. They represent a more advanced development than seems to have been reached at that time. Probably they belong to the early part of Jehoiakim's reign. The wild outburst of 14–18 may date from the same period, but it was perhaps wrung from him by the more bitter isolation of the dark days in which Judah's tragedy was moving swiftly to its climax. Schmidt regards the two fragments as evidently from different hands, 7–13 reminding us of the Psalter and uttered by the nation, 14–18 as probably dependent on Job iii.

time

xx. 7–10. Yahweh, Thou hast beguiled and overcome me, and I have yielded. All mock me, and Yahweh's word is my perpetual reproach. If I resolve to renounce my mission, the word burns in my bones that I cannot hold it in. False rumours are circulated about me, my friends try to entrap me in my talk.

11–13. Yahweh is my strong deliverer; my enemies shall be put to shame. Let me see Thy vengeance on them. Praise Him, for He has rescued me from evildoers.

14–18. Cursed be the day of my birth, cursed the man who announced the birth of a son to my father. Let him be as Sodom and Gomorrah, and hear the shout of war, since he slew me not before my birth. Why was I born to see sorrow and shame?

xx. 7. It is of the utmost importance to observe how overwhelming is the prophet's consciousness that the word is not his own. It is a word he would gladly leave unsaid, that he might have the peace he so dearly prized. But there is a compulsion in it from which he cannot escape, to refrain from uttering it brings him an even severer torment. Here there rings out clearly the prophet's unfaltering certainty of the real inspiration which is the source of all his message. On the light cast by this passage on Jeremiah's relations to God, see the Introduction, pp. 17 f.

eth me. For as often as I speak, I cry out; I cry, 8
Violence and spoil: because the word of the LORD is
made a reproach unto me, and a derision, all the day.
And if I say, I will not make mention of him, nor speak 9
any more in his name, then there is in mine heart as it
were a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I am weary
with forbearing, and I cannot *contain*. For I have heard 10
the defaming of many, terror on every side. Denounce,
and we will denounce him, *say* all my familiar friends,
they that watch for my halting; peradventure he will be
enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall
take our revenge on him. But the LORD is with me as 11
a mighty one *and* a terrible: therefore my persecutors
shall stumble, and they shall not prevail: they shall be
greatly ashamed, because they have not [a] dealt wisely,
even with an everlasting dishonour which shall never be
forgotten. But, O LORD of hosts, that triest the right- 12

[a] Or, *prospered*

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8. It is not clear whether Jeremiah means that 'Violence and spoil' is the substance of his message, or whether he means that every time he speaks Yahweh's word he has to endure violence. The latter, however, is favoured by the first clause. We should perhaps strike out 'and spoil;' it is not suitable, and the word is often added to 'violence,' and may easily have been introduced here by a copyist.

9. make mention of him: this rendering may be correct, but more probably we should translate 'think thereon,' i.e. on the word.

10. defaming: or whispering. It is of his familiar friends that he complains, and they naturally plot stealthily against him. It is their purpose to entangle him in his talk and then denounce him to the authorities; perhaps he will fall into the trap, and then they can get their revenge. The arrangement of the verse is not clear and the text is uncertain, but we may content ourselves with the general meaning, which, fortunately, is plain.

11. If at the beginning Jeremiah bitterly alludes to the promises with which God had enticed him at his call, he now triumphs over his despair in the confidence that God's promise

eous, that seest the reins and the heart, let me see thy
vengeance on them; for unto thee have I revealed my
13 cause. [S] Sing unto the LORD, praise ye the LORD: for
he hath delivered the soul of the needy from the hand of
evil-doers.

14 [J] Cursed be the day wherein I was born: let not the
15 day wherein my mother bare me be blessed. Cursed be

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that He would be with him, and that his foes should not prevail (i. 19), is attested by his own experience. The verse is treated as an insertion by Duhm in his translation (not in the commentary, which was somewhat earlier), and by Cornill. But the reasons are quite inadequate. On 12, 13, see the Introduction to this section. The reader may consult with advantage Findlay's note on the psychological truth of 'these violent surges and alternations of feeling' in 'high-strung impressionable natures' (p. 201), though perhaps the scholars whom he criticizes for their blindness to this, would be more willing to recognize the correctness of the position he defends than he is quite willing to allow.

14–18. This passage is parallel to Job iii. 3–12. Here, as elsewhere, the question of relative priority has been debated. But without attempting to answer it by the generally inconclusive method of comparison, we can form a tolerably certain opinion. Our passage is incontestably genuine (by this it is not meant that its genuineness has not been denied), and therefore at the latest could not be much later than the destruction of Jerusalem. Job, on the other hand, can hardly be earlier than the exile, and is more probably post-exilic (see the present writer's commentary). Accordingly, the author of Job imitates Jeremiah, as indeed we might have anticipated. For Jeremiah's is a natural outburst, springing from a soul stirred to its depths; Job's curse is much more artificial and literary.

14. To antiquity the curse and the blessing were conceived to have not merely the subjective influence which is all most moderns assign to them, but a real objective effect. Once uttered, it enters on an independent existence and begins to carry itself into effect. (See further, the notes on Job iii.)

15. For us a day which is past has ceased to be, to curse the day of one's birth is therefore a piece of empty rhetoric, except in so far as it relieves the feelings. But the days of the year are not for the Hebrew mind mere marks of time, they are objective entities, each of which in its turn visits the world (cf. the twelve months in the fairy tale). Nevertheless, when the feelings are most deeply stirred a curse is most congenially aimed at a person.

the man who brought tidings to my father, saying, A
man child is born unto thee; making him very glad.
And let that man be as the cities which the LORD over- 16
threw, and repented not: and let him hear a cry in the
morning, and [a] shouting at noontide; because he slew 17
me not from the womb; and so my mother should have
been my grave, and her womb always great. Wherefore 18

[a] Or, *an alarm*

So while Job curses simply the day and the night, Jeremiah invokes a curse on his fellow-man. Not on the authors of his being, who might have been held responsible for his birth, since even in his bitterest moments a man's father and mother are sacred to him, so long as he has not lost all sense of natural piety. So Jeremiah's curse lights on the messenger who carried to the father the glad tidings that the birth of a living child had been successfully accomplished, and that it was a son not a daughter.

16. Duhm considers it improbable that an individual should be compared with cities, that so much space should be devoted to the messenger, and that he should be cursed for not killing the babe. Accordingly, he thinks that here the thought of 14 is continued, and that the imprecation is directed against the day of his birth. He strikes out 'that man;' Cornill, who accepts his view, reads 'that day' (similarly Findlay, p. 203). The passage is thus more closely assimilated to Job iii. Erbt goes a step further and eliminates the messenger altogether, thinking that none would be needed, but, if there were, a woman rather than a man would be sent. He reads in 15, 'Cursed be the light of the sun which brought,' &c. It is questionable, however, if we can naturally compare a day to a city overthrown. The point would be that the day, whenever it revisited the earth, should be compelled to hear the noise of battle. But the expression is very forced. And while the idea of the death at the hand of the messenger is extravagant, what but extravagance could be expected in such an outburst as this? Accordingly, we must take the text as we have it. It is usual in the East to reward the messenger who brings tidings of a son's birth. In the light of this custom Jeremiah's curse is the more significant.

the cities: i.e. Sodom and Gomorrah (cf. Isa. xiii. 19).

a cry: i.e. the cry of distress from those who are attacked (xviii. 22); **shouting** is the battle-shout raised by the foe (iv. 19).

17. from: i.e. immediately after my birth (cf. Job iii. 11), but the rest of the verse shows that the unborn child is intended, so with the LXX and Syriac we should read 'in.'

came I forth out of the womb to see labour and sorrow, that my days should be consumed with shame?

21 [B] The word which came unto Jeremiah from the

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xxi. The Prophet Warns Zedekiah and the People that the Babylonians will Capture Jerusalem

This chapter takes us into the closing years of Zedekiah's reign, and thus to a point much later in the prophet's career than we have touched in the earlier part of the book. The critical problems which it presents are complicated and have occasioned much discussion. Since we find in xxxvii. 3-10 the record of a similar incident, Ewald considered that both accounts referred to the same event. In both cases Zedekiah sends to Jeremiah with reference to the Babylonian attack on Jerusalem, in each case Zephaniah forms one of the deputation of two, in each case the prophet gives an unfavourable reply. But these are extremely slender grounds for such a conclusion, or for Stade's similar view that originally xxi. 1, 2, xxxvii. 4-10, xxi. 3-10, xxxvii. 11 ff. stood where xxxvii. stands now, that then xxi. 1-10 was removed to its present position and xxxvii. 1-3 inserted to fill up the gap (on this view see Giesebrecht, p. 117). The two narratives refer to different stages in the conflict: xxi. 1-10 to the early part of the siege, when only a Divine intervention (2), like that in the time of Sennacherib, could raise the siege; xxxvii. 3-10 to the interruption of the siege by the coming of the relief army from Egypt. That Zedekiah should have consulted Jeremiah on both occasions is the most natural thing in the world, as is the inclusion of Zephaniah on each. And while the answer is in both cases unfavourable (with Jeremiah's prophetic certainty of the issue what else could it be?), there is a marked difference in the actual reply he gives, corresponding to the difference in the situation. There is not the slightest ground for doubting the historicity of the incident as Duhm does, who treats xxxvii. 1-10 as fiction and xxi. 1-7 as an imitation of it.

The chapter falls into four sections: (a) 1-7, (b) 8-10, (c) 11, 12, (d) 13, 14. It is questionable whether (b), which contains an address to the people, was originally connected with (a), though it belongs to the same period. (c) comes from an earlier date, when reform in the administration was still possible, and judgement had not begun. It is made up of xxii. 3, iv. 4, and forms a link with the prophecies on the kings in the following chapter. (d) is a detached fragment; why it has been inserted here is not clear. The present position of xxi. 1-10, out of its chronological order, is perhaps due partly to the mention of Pashhur at the beginning,

LORD, when king Zedekiah sent unto him Pashhur the son of Malchiah, and Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah the priest, saying, Inquire, I pray thee, of the LORD for us; 2
for Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon maketh war against

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for though it is another person than the Pashhur of xx. 1, a purely verbal coincidence seems sometimes to have guided compilers in their arrangement. Partly it may be due to the consideration that the prophecy of Zedekiah's fate may have seemed to complete the series of oracles on the last kings of Judah.

xxi. 1, 2. Zedekiah requested Jeremiah to inquire of Yahweh concerning Nebuchadrezzar's attack, in the hope that He would deliver them.

3-7. Yahweh replies through the prophet that the weapons of the Jews will be useless, and He will fight against them in anger and smite them with pestilence. Then the king and those that survive from the pestilence, the sword, and the famine, will be delivered to Nebuchadrezzar, and he shall slay them without pity.

8-10. And this is Yahweh's message to the people: They may choose life or death, death if they abide in the city, life if they go out of it and surrender to the Chaldeans; for Jerusalem will be captured by the king of Babylon, and he shall burn it with fire.

11, 12. Let the house of David execute just judgement, and rescue the oppressed, lest Yahweh's fury burn like unquenchable fire.

13, 14. Yahweh is against the inhabitress of the vale and of the rock of the plain, against those who refuse to believe that disaster can come upon them. He will punish them according to their sin, kindling a devastating conflagration.

xxi. 1. The date of the incident is apparently 588 B.C. Pashhur is to be distinguished from the Pashhur of xx. 1; the latter had probably gone into captivity with Jehoiachin, and been succeeded by the Zephaniah here mentioned (xxix. 25). The latter was a priest, his colleague in the deputation seems not to have been so. Presumably they would both occupy a high position in the State.

2. The statement that Nebuchadrezzar was attacking Judah is probably an expansion of Zedekiah's message designed to acquaint the reader with the situation. It would be to underrate the incurable optimism of human nature were we to suppose that Jeremiah's stedfast prediction of the destruction of the State would have prevented Zedekiah from seeking a confirmation of his hope that deliverance might still be possible (cf. Isa. xxxvii. 1 ff.).

Nebuchadrezzar: this, which is the more correct form of the name more familiar to us as Nebuchadnezzar, is that usually found in this Book. The Babylonian name is Nabûkudurri-uṣur.

us: peradventure the LORD will deal with us according to all his wondrous works, that he may go up from us.

3 Then said Jeremiah unto them, Thus shall ye say to
4 Zedekiah: Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, Behold, I will turn back the weapons of war that are in your hands, wherewith ye fight against the king of Babylon, and against the Chaldeans which besiege you, without the walls, and I will gather them into the midst of
5 this city. And I myself will fight against you with an outstretched hand and with a strong arm, even in anger,
6 and in fury, and in great wrath. And I will smite the inhabitants of this city, both man and beast: they shall
7 die of a great pestilence. And afterward, saith the LORD, I will deliver Zedekiah king of Judah, and his servants, and the people, even such as are left in this city from the pestilence, from the sword, and from the famine, into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, and into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of those that

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4. The siege has begun, but the investment is not so complete that the Jews are unable to make sallies and engage the enemy outside the walls. The threat uttered by Jeremiah is rather strangely expressed, and regarded by Cornill as an insertion on that ground. The meaning seems to be that the Jews will be driven into the city, and no longer able to fight outside. The words 'and I will gather them' were apparently not in the original LXX, and may be an addition.

6–10 is regarded by Giesebrecht as a later insertion; Cornill, however, considers it with more justice to contain a genuine Jeremianic element.

6. Pestilence was specially likely to break out on account of the great mass of people and animals crowded into the city during the siege.

7. Omit, with the LXX, 'Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, and into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of,' and continue 'those that seek their life: and they shall smite them . . . I will not spare.'

seek their life: and he shall smite them with the edge of
the sword; he shall not spare them, neither have pity,
nor have mercy. And unto this people thou shalt say, 8
Thus saith the LORD: Behold, I set before you the way
of life and the way of death. He that abideth in this 9
city shall die by the sword, and by the famine, and by the
pestilence: but he that goeth out, and falleth away to the
Chaldeans that besiege you, he shall live, and his life
shall be unto him for a prey. For **I** have set my face 10
upon this city for evil, and not for good, saith the LORD:
it shall be given into the hand of the king of Babylon,
and he shall burn it with fire.

[J] And touching the house of the king of Judah, hear 11
ye the word of the LORD: O house of David, thus saith 12

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with the edge of the sword: better, **without quarter.** See Driver's note.

8–10. This counsel to the people belongs to the same period as 1–7, but was probably not spoken on the same occasion. The same advice is given in xxxviii. 2. On Duhm's view that the prophet gave no such advice see the Introduction, p. 24.

8. In Deut. xxx. 15, 'life and death, good and evil' are set before the people, but they receive an ethical and religious interpretation. The passage is modelled on xi. 26, which probably belongs to the original form of Deuteronomy. The utterance of Jeremiah seems also to have been influenced by Deut. xi. 26, either directly, or indirectly through Deut. xxx. 15. The latter is less likely, the actual phrase is probably Jeremiah's coinage. Had the thought of the Two Ways been used in its religious sense, in which it has become so widely current, Jeremiah would hardly have given it this non-spiritual application.

9. for a prey: cf. xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 18, xlv. 5. The soldier expects, when the conflict is over, to emerge from it with the spoil he has taken. But those who surrender to the Chaldeans must make up their minds to lose everything they possess, congratulating themselves on the good fortune which has enabled them to escape with bare life, for which, as the Satan says, a man will give all that he has (Job ii. 4).

10. Cf. xxxviii. 3.

11, 12. See Introduction to the chapter. The text of 11 cannot

the LORD, Execute judgement in the morning, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my fury go forth like fire, and burn that none can quench
13 it, because of the evil of [a] your doings. Behold, I am against thee, O [b] inhabitant of the valley, [c] *and* of the rock of the plain, saith the LORD; ye which say, Who shall come down against us? or who shall enter into our
14 habitations? and I will punish you according to the fruit of your doings, saith the LORD: and I will kindle a fire in her forest, and it shall devour all that is round about her.

[a] †Another reading is, *their*. [b] Heb. *inhabitress*.
[c] Or, and *rock*

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be correct. The opening words mean 'And to the house of the king of Judah,' and to complete the sense we need 'shalt thou say.' Some prefer to strike out 'And,' taking the opening words as a title, 'Concerning the house of the king of Judah;' cf. the similar title in xxiii. 9. If so, the rest of 11 connects with 12, and we render 'Hear ye the word of the LORD, O house of David.' The house of David includes the king and the court, especially the princes, on whom the responsibility rested for the administration of justice. Their failure in this duty drew constant complaint from the prophets.

13, 14. A very obscure and difficult fragment. In its present connexion Jerusalem must be intended, but the description is unsuitable. It cannot with any propriety be called 'inhabitant of the valley' nor 'rock of the plain.' Further, the reference to the foe as 'coming down' upon it is inappropriate. This objection holds even if, with some of the older interpreters, we explain the former expressions of the lower and upper city respectively. It is accordingly probable that the verses are a quotation from another context, in which another city was referred to. The authorship is uncertain, but it is somewhat easier to account for the insertion here if the poem from which it is taken was by Jeremiah (see the note on xxii. 1–9).

plain: or **table-land.** The term 'is commonly used of the "table-land" upon which the principal cities of Moab lay, Jer. xlviii. 8, 21' (Driver).

habitations: the word is used of the haunts of wild beasts, and is rendered 'dens' in Nah. ii. 12, Ps. civ. 22.

14. Cf. xvii. 27.

[**JS**] Thus said the Lord: Go down to the house of the **22**

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xxii. 1—xxiii. 8. Oracles on the Kings of Judah.

This section contains a series of oracles on the kings of Judah, brought together probably by an editor. Recent commentators are of opinion that the section includes not a little editorial matter. It will be convenient to treat the critical questions as they arise.

xxii. 1-5. The prophet is sent to the palace to bid the king, the court, and the people execute judgement and refrain from oppressing the defenceless. For if they do so the monarchy will be preserved, otherwise the palace shall become a waste.

6-9. Though the house of David is like Gilead and the crest of Lebanon, it shall become a wilderness. The cedars shall be cut down and burnt. To the question of the nations, Why has Yahweh done thus to this great city? the answer will be, It was because of its idolatry.

10-12. Weep not for the dead, but for the exile who shall never again see his native land. For Yahweh has said that Shallum shall die in the land of captivity.

13-19. Woe to him who builds a splendid palace by forced labour exacted without remuneration! Is this to be a true king? Did not thy father redress the wrongs of the poor? Was not this to know Yahweh? Thou carest only for dishonest gain to shed innocent blood, to practise oppression. They shall not wail for Jehoiakim, but he shall be buried like an ass, flung out of the city gates.

20-30. Cry aloud for the death of thy lovers! Thou wouldest not hearken in thy prosperity, now thy shepherds shall be scattered, thy lovers go into exile, thou shalt groan when thy pangs come upon thee. Though Coniah were my signet ring I would pluck him from my hand, and I will give him into the hand of the Chaldeans. I will hurl thee and thy mother into another land, and there, though they long for their own country, they shall die. Is it because he is a despised broken vessel that he is cast away? None of his children shall sit on the throne of David.

xxiii. 1-4. The shepherds destroy the sheep: I will punish their misrule. And I will bring back the remnant from all the lands of its dispersion, and they shall multiply in their own land. And I will give them true shepherds, and they shall live without fear.

5-8. See, the days are coming when I will raise up to David a righteous shoot, who shall reign as a wise and righteous king over Judah and Israel, and his name shall be 'Yahweh is our righteousness.' See, the days are coming when they shall cease to speak of Yahweh's rescue of Israel from Egypt, and speak instead of His deliverance of it from the North country and the Dispersion.

2 king of Judah, and speak there this word, and say, Hear
the word of the LORD, O king of Judah, that sittest upon
the throne of David, thou, and thy servants, and thy
3 people that enter in by these gates. Thus saith the
LORD: Execute ye judgement and righteousness, and
deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor: and
do no wrong, do no violence, to the stranger, the fatherless,
nor the widow, neither shed innocent blood in this
4 place. For if ye do this thing indeed, then shall there
enter in by the gates of this house kings sitting [a] upon
the throne of David, riding in chariots and on horses, he,
5 and his servants, and his people. But if ye will not hear
these words, I swear by myself, saith the LORD, that this

[a] Heb. *for David upon his throne.*

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xxii. 1–9 forms the introduction to the oracles on individual kings. It does not reflect throughout the same situation. 1–5 is parallel to xxi. 11, 12, and has points of contact with xvii. 19–27; it belongs to a time when reform in the administration might avert Judah's doom. In 6–9 the doom is already determined. The former is partially or entirely rejected by some scholars on account of the generalizing and commonplace character of its contents. The latter can hardly be original as it stands. The reference to 'the house of the king of Judah' does not correspond to the subject-matter, which suggests rather that a city or land is spoken of. The passage in 6, 7, 'Thou art Gilead . . . the fire' is written in Qina rhythm, and there is no reason for denying its Jeremianic authorship. Its precise date cannot be determined. 8, 9, on the contrary, is generally regarded as a later insertion. It is quoted almost verbatim from Deut. xxix. 24, 25. Cf. 1 Kings ix. 8, 9. Duhm takes it to be the conclusion of xxi. 13, 14, whereas Gillies attaches these verses to 6, 7.

1. Go down. The prophet, if the text is correct, is thought of as in the Temple, which was on more elevated ground than the palace.

2. Cf. xvii. 20; and similarly on 4, cf. xvii. 25.

5. I swear by myself. Yahweh pledges Himself by the most solemn and most binding guarantee conceivable, as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews brings out in his comment on the formula, Heb. vi. 13–18. This oath is found also in xlix. 13, li. 14; Gen. xxii. 16; Amos vi. 8; Isa. xlv. 23.

house shall become a desolation. [J] For thus saith the 6
LORD [a] concerning the house of the king of Judah: Thou
art Gilead unto me, *and* the head of Lebanon: *yet* surely
I will make thee a wilderness, *and* cities which are not
inhabited. And I will [b] prepare destroyers against thee, 7
every one with his weapons: and they shall cut down
thy choice cedars, and cast them into the fire. [S] And 8
many nations shall pass by this city, and they shall say
every man to his neighbour, Wherefore hath the LORD
done thus unto this great city? Then they shall answer, 9
Because they forsook the covenant of the LORD their
God, and worshipped other gods, and served them.

[J] Weep ye not for the dead, neither bemoan him: 10

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[a] Or, *unto* [b] †Heb. *sanctify*.

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6. On the reference of the poem to 'the house of the king of Judah' see above. It would be better to render 'Thou art a Gilead unto me.' Gilead must include Bashan; the point of the comparison lies in the fact that Gilead and the top of Lebanon are so richly wooded. As ruinous a destruction would come upon the object of God's wrath, prosperous though it seemed, as if men cut down and burnt all the choice trees of Gilead and Lebanon.

7. prepare. See vi. 4.

8. 9. See above.

10–12. A lament on Shallum and prediction of his death in exile. Shallum is better known as Jehoahaz, and he may have received the latter name on his accession, in which case Shallum would be his original name. This is more probable than the view that he was designated Shallum by Jeremiah because he resembled Shallum the king of Israel (2 Kings xv. 13) in the brevity of his reign. When Josiah was killed at Megiddo, 'the people of the land' took Jehoahaz instead of the elder son Eliakim, and made him king. The fact is significant of the estimate they had formed of the two half-brothers. His reign lasted only three months, for Pharaoh Necho deposed him and set Eliakim on the throne, changing his name to Jehoiakim. The deposed king was taken to Egypt, where he died. The present poem was written after he had gone into exile, and while lamentations were still being made for his father Josiah. Jeremiah regards the fate of the son, torn from his throne after three months' reign to pine in exile and die, as more pitiful than that of Josiah, who was indeed cut off in his prime and

but weep sore for him that goeth away; for he shall
11 return no more, nor see his native country. For thus
saith the LORD touching [a] Shallum the son of Josiah,
king of Judah, which reigned instead of Josiah his father,
which went forth out of this place: He shall not return
12 thither any more; but in the place whither they have led
him captive, there shall he die, and he shall see this land
no more.

13 Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by injustice; that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not

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[a] In 2 Kings xxiii. 30, *Jehoahaz.* Compare 1 Chr. iii. 15.

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slain in war, but after a righteous and prosperous reign of more than thirty years.

11, 12. These verses, which, as Graf says, are merely an explanation of 10, are regarded by Duhm and Cornill as a later addition, not on account of any discrepancy with the oracle in 10, but as giving information which is of course correct but would be unnecessary to contemporaries, and as adding very little, and that in prose not metre and in a very diffuse style, to what had already been concisely said.

13–19. An invective against Jehoiakim, and prediction of his unlamented death and ignominious burial. The judgement here passed on the king deserves the fullest confidence, and ought not to be regarded as dictated by prejudice or by misconception of his policy. The charge of exacting forced labour, without remuneration, is itself only too credible when brought against an Eastern despot. Had it been used for defensive fortifications, as Hitzig thought, or other public purposes, there would have been some palliation of his conduct, since he was probably in financial straits on account of the tribute to Egypt. But the buildings were erected simply to gratify the king's luxury and ostentation. The greater part of the section probably belongs to the early years of Jehoiakim. On the other hand, 18, 19 may have been added at a later time, perhaps on the reissue of the roll; it is certainly authentic, though it presents a historical difficulty which we cannot solve with certainty.

13. chambers: better 'roof-chambers,' i. e. rooms built on the roof, cooler than the lower rooms since the air came in through the lattice.

his hire; that saith, I will build me a wide house and 14
spacious chambers, and cutteth him out windows; and it
is cieled with cedar, and painted with vermilion. Shalt 15
thou reign, because thou [a] strivest to excel in cedar? did
not thy father eat and drink, and do judgement and justice?
then it was well with him. He judged the cause 16
of the poor and needy; then it was well. Was not this
to know me? saith the LORD. But thine eyes and thine 17
heart are not but for thy [b] covetousness, and for to shed
innocent blood, and for oppression, and for violence, to
do it. Therefore thus saith the LORD concerning Jehoia- 18

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[a] Or, *viest with the cedar*

[b] †Or, *dishonest gain*

14. The text is uncertain, and the LXX diverges from the Hebrew. If we hold to the latter in the main, for 'and it is cieled' we should read 'cieling it' or rather 'panelling it' (the sense borne by the former word when the A.V. was made), and 'painting' instead of 'painted.'

15. Is kingship constituted by building fine cedar palaces? His father Josiah had quite another conception of the duties of his position. True, he 'came eating and drinking,' was no morose ascetic, but he did not surrender himself to luxury and self-indulgence, he took seriously the responsibilities of government, administered justice to the defenceless, and thus proved himself endowed with the true knowledge of God. The 'father' must be Josiah, not Solomon as Giesebrecht believes, nor Ahaz as the LXX reads. The R.V. rendering is in the main correct, and we should not substitute 'Shalt thou reign because thou viest with thy father?' (or, 'with Ahaz.' Codex A of the LXX reads 'with Ahab'). It is of special interest to have this testimony to Josiah from a contemporary so clear-sighted, so free from all the distorting prejudices in favour of royalty.

18, 19. We read in xxxvi. 30 a similar prediction made after Jehoiakim had burnt the roll, 'his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost.' It is accordingly probable that our passage was among the 'many like words' added to the second edition of the roll (xxxvi. 32). This is inferred by some scholars from the fact, as they consider it, that the prophecy was not fulfilled, and must therefore have been written and the book in which it was incorporated closed before Jehoiakim's death. This raises the question whether the prophecy was fulfilled or not. In 2 Kings xxiv. 6 we read 'So Jehoiakim

kim the son of Josiah, king of Judah: They shall not lament for him, *saying*, Ah my brother! or, Ah sister! they shall not lament for him, *saying*, Ah lord! or, Ah

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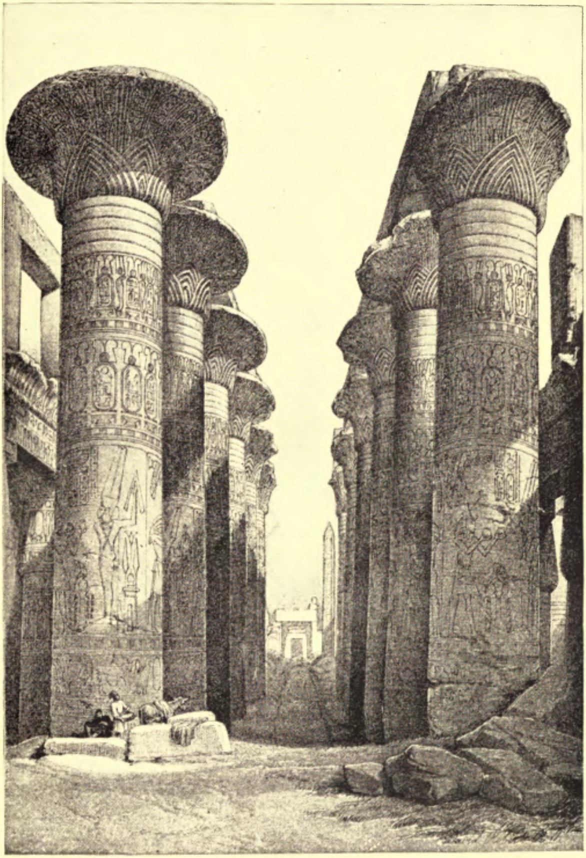
slept with his fathers,' which is taken to imply burial in the royal tombs. It is noteworthy, however, that in the case of other kings it is usual to add explicitly the fact of burial and the situation of the grave, and this is missing in the case of Jehoiakim. It is true that it is also missing in the case of Hezekiah (2 Kings xx. 21), who no doubt received a royal burial, but the statement in 2 Chron. xxxii. 33, 'they buried him in the ascent of the sepulchres of the sons of David,' probably rests on good authority and may possibly have been omitted by accident from the original text of Kings. We are therefore justified in refusing to press the formula 'slept with his fathers' to imply a royal burial. After the time of Ahaz no kings seem to have been buried in the royal tombs. It is possible that the body was buried and then disinterred and dishonoured by the people or by the Chaldeans. But the prediction contemplates that he would not receive a burial accompanied by the usual lamentations, to say nothing of a royal funeral. And the prediction was probably fulfilled. Had it not been, it would have been suppressed both here and in xxxvi. 30, and against this consideration the conventional formula in 2 Kings xxiv. 6 weighs scarcely at all, especially since the fact of burial and the situation of the grave are so significantly omitted. The full horror of this fate is only dimly realized by the modern reader, for whom nothing that happens to a dead body can really matter. But in antiquity it was supposed to matter very much to the deceased if his body received no burial. (See the writer's *Faded Myths*, pp. 43–46.)

18. The LXX diverges here considerably in detail from the Hebrew, and may partially preserve the more original text. After 'Judah:' it inserts 'Woe upon this man,' and omits 'or, Ah sister!' and 'or, Ah his glory.' The insertion may be correct. On the other hand, the omission of 'or, Ah sister!' is readily accounted for, on the ground of its inappropriateness to a man, while its insertion is much less easy to explain. It is accordingly original, and, if so, the companion omission by the LXX must also be incorrect, since the pair of exclamations in one line must be balanced by a pair in the other. Nor is there any need to correct the text. Jeremiah is quoting the customary formulae of lamentation: in the first line those commonly used (1 Kings xiii. 30), which would in this case be uttered by the king's relatives; in the second line those reserved for the king, cf. xxxiv. 5. For 'his glory' we might better render 'his Majesty.'



Drawing by David Roberts, R.A.

GREAT HALL, KARNAK

his glory! He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, 19
drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem.

Go up to Lebanon, and cry; and lift up thy voice in 20
Bashan: and cry from Abarim; for all thy lovers are
destroyed. I spake unto thee in thy prosperity; but thou 21
saidst, I will not hear. This hath been thy manner from
thy youth, that thou obeyedst not my voice. The wind 22

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19. the burial of an ass: probably this means no burial at all; a dead animal would be left on the ground for the birds and beasts of prey.

20–23. This seems to be a detached fragment, since no individual king is named, and it is addressed to the community, as the feminine pronouns show. It includes, however, a prediction of the fate of the rulers, and was probably inserted here on that account.

20. The high mountains are chosen for wailing, as for the proclamation of glad tidings (Isa. xl. 9), in order that the cry may be heard far and wide (Judges ix. 7).

Abarim: 'the mountain of Abarim' is mentioned in Num. xxvii. 12, Deut. xxxii. 49 as that from which Moses saw the Promised Land. It lay east of the Dead Sea: Mt. Nebo formed part of the range.

thy lovers: the term is used for the false gods on which Israel doted, but that is not appropriate, since Jeremiah would probably not speak of them as here and in 22 (but cf. xlviii. 7, xlix. 3). It is also used for the nations with which Judah allied herself, and this view is taken by several scholars here. Generally these are represented as the instrument of God's vengeance on His people. But there is no reason why they should not be spoken of as here, and if the text is retained this is the best interpretation. The context, however, leads us to expect a reference to the native kings, and this has led some to the unnatural expedient of forcing this meaning upon the words. This is out of the question, for the rulers are never represented as the 'lovers' of their nation, but a slight emendation of the text would give the required sense.

21. from thy youth: this might seem to contradict ii 2, but it ought not to be pressed.

22. Render 'The wind shall shepherd all thy shepherds,' in order to preserve the word-play in the Hebrew. The shepherds drive the flock before them, but Judah's shepherds, i.e. her rulers (ii. 8), shall be driven by the wind, they shall be hurried into exile. Perhaps we should omit 'thy lovers,' as an intrusion from 20, reading simply 'and they shall go.'

shall [a] feed all thy shepherds, and thy lovers shall go
into captivity: surely then shalt thou be ashamed and
23 confounded for all thy wickedness. O [b] inhabitant of
Lebanon, that makest thy nest in the cedars, [c] how
greatly to be pitied shalt thou be when pangs come upon
24 thee, the pain as of a woman in travail! As I live, saith
the LORD, though [d] Coniah the son of Jehoiakim king of
Judah were the signet upon my right hand, yet would I
25 pluck thee thence; [S] and I will give thee into the hand
of them that seek thy life, and into the hand of them of
whom thou art afraid, even into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar
king of Babylon, and into the hand of the Chal-
26 deans. [J] And I will cast thee out, and thy mother that
bare thee, into another country, where ye were not born;

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[a] Or, *feed upon* [b] Heb. *inhabitress.* [c] Some ancient versions have, *how wilt thou groan.* [d] In ch. xxiv. 1, and 1 Chr. iii. 16, *Jeconiah.* In 2 Kings xxiv. 6, 8, *Jehoiachin.*

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23. Judah has been as confident of safety as a bird that had fixed its nest far away from men in the cedars on the heights of Lebanon. But how she would groan when her agony came upon her.

how greatly to be pitied shalt thou be. The Hebrew is difficult and uncertain; the margin gives the reading of the LXX, Syriac, and Vulgate, which is to be preferred.

24–30. This section on Coniah or Jehoiachin contains two oracles, 24–27 and 28–30. In the former his captivity still lies in the future, in the latter it has taken place.

24. Though Coniah were as precious to Yahweh, as intimately bound to Him, as a signet ring to its owner, He would cast him off and fling him away.

Coniah: or **Jeconiah:** perhaps the name borne by Jehoiachin before his accession.

25 is very diffuse, and regarded as a later expansion by Duhm, Cornill, and Giesebrecht, even in the more concise form given by the LXX. The same judgement is pronounced by the two former scholars on 26, but the reference to the queen-mother favours its authenticity: cf. xiii. 18, xxix. 2; 2 Kings xxiv. 12, 15. Her name, as we learn from 2 Kings xxiv. 8, was Nehushta.

and there shall ye die. But to the land whereunto [a] their 27
soul longeth to return, thither shall they not return. Is 28
this man Coniah a despised broken [b] vessel? is he a vessel
wherein is no pleasure? wherefore are they cast out, he
and his seed, and are cast into the land which they know
not? O [c] earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the LORD. 29
Thus saith the LORD, Write ye this man childless, a man 30
that shall not prosper in his days: for no man of his seed
shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling
any more in Judah.

Woe unto the shepherds that destroy and scatter the **23**

[a] Heb. *they lift up their soul.* [b] Or, *pot* [c] †Or, *land*

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28. Here the catastrophe is accomplished; Coniah is thrown out of the land, as one would throw away a broken image or a useless vessel. We should probably omit 'he and his seed,' with the LXX, and substitute singular verbs for the plural. For 'broken vessel' it would be better to substitute 'broken image.'

29. This verse, with the following, is regarded by Duhm as an insertion; Cornill accepts the greater part of 30. The solemn triple adjuration may seem to the modern reader unnecessary, but we are scarcely in a position to judge how Jeremiah would have regarded the fact here announced.

30. childless. Jehoiachin was not literally childless, and could not be entered as such in the roll of citizens, but he had no royal successor, no son of his would be heir to the throne.

xxiii. 1-8. This section links on very well to the preceding, it also is concerned with the rulers of Judah. We should naturally expect the series of oracles which have dealt successively with Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, and Jehoiachin, to be closed by an oracle on Zedekiah, the last king of Judah. And this we probably have before us. It is true that Zedekiah is not named. But there is a tacit allusion to him in 6, and it is quite in accordance with Jeremiah's practice to refrain from personal polemic against him. For the prophet knew quite well that the king was not personally responsible for the misgovernment during his reign. He was a weak tool in the hand of the princes, hence Jeremiah attacks the shepherds. The whole passage is regarded as late by Duhm and Schmidt. 7, 8 are omitted in the LXX, but inserted quite inappropriately after 40. They occur in xvi. 14, 15, where also they are in an unsuitable position. They harmonize with

2 sheep of my pasture! saith the LORD. Therefore thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, against the shepherds that feed my people: Ye have scattered my flock, and

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their present context very well, though they would stand even more suitably after 3, 4. They are rejected by Giesebrecht and Rothstein, by Cornill with less decision, since he admits that their contents are not inconsistent with Jeremianic authorship. He sets aside 3, 4 without hesitation, as presupposing a situation much later than Jeremiah's time. But the wide dispersion here contemplated is found also in 7, 8, the authenticity of which Cornill does not dispute on that ground. Giesebrecht regards 3, 4 as authentic. These questions are, however, comparatively trivial compared with that raised by 5, 6 (cf. xxxiii. 14–16). This Messianic prophecy is denied to Jeremiah by Duhm, Volz, Marti, and others. It is claimed for him by Giesebrecht and Rothstein, and above all by Cornill, who has elaborately vindicated its authenticity. It is admitted that the Messianic idea was current at the time, and the designation of the Messiah as 'the Shoot' in Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12 is a strong confirmation of the Jeremianic authorship of our passage. For unless we arbitrarily delete it from the text of Zechariah, it is clear that by his time 'the Shoot' had become a technical term for the Messiah, which implies that it was much older and had been introduced into religious terminology by an authoritative personality. Moreover the name Yahweh Ṣidqenu (Yahweh is our righteousness) seems to have been chosen here just because of its close relation to Ṣidqiyahu, which we know in the more familiar form Zedekiah. What Zedekiah's name, received at his accession, set forth as an ideal, would be a realized fact in the time of the Messianic king. And the conception of the Messiah expressed in this passage is such as we should expect from Jeremiah. He is to be a righteous ruler, dealing wisely and administering even-handed justice. Under his rule Israel and Judah will be reunited, and dwell in security, unmolested by invasion. Such a Messiah would be more congenial to Jeremiah than the victorious hero, who crushes his foes into submission or wipes them out of existence, who rules the nations with a rod of iron or shivers them like a potter's vessel.

1. shepherds: i.e. rulers, as in xxii. 22. These shepherds are more like wolves, rending the sheep of Yahweh's pasture (Ps. lxxiv. 1, xcv. 7, c. 3; Ezek. xxxiv. 31). The LXX omits 'saith the Lord' and reads 'the sheep of their pasture,' i.e. the sheep entrusted to them (cf. x. 21), but 2 seems to favour the Hebrew text.

2. feed: literally **shepherd.**

driven them away, and have not visited them; behold, I
will visit upon you the evil of your doings, saith the LORD.
And I will gather the remnant of my flock out of all the 3
countries whither I have driven them, and will bring
them again to their folds; and they shall be fruitful and
multiply. And I will set up shepherds over them which 4
shall feed them: and they shall fear no more, nor be
dismayed, neither shall any be lacking, saith the LORD.

Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that I will 5
raise unto David a righteous [a] Branch, and he shall reign
as king and [b] deal wisely, and shall execute judgement
and justice in the land. In his days Judah shall be 6
saved, and Israel shall dwell safely: and this is his name
whereby he shall be called, [c] The LORD is our righteous-

[a] †Or, *Shoot* Or, *Bud* [b] Or, *prosper*
[c] Or, *The* LORD *our righteousness*

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3. remnant: here the 'remnant' is identified with the exiles.

be fruitful and multiply: a phrase characteristic of the Priestly Document of the Pentateuch (P). It occurs in the inverse order in iii. 16, Ezek. xxxvi. 11. It would be precarious to infer the dependence of our passage on P.

5. Behold, the days come: a favourite expression in this book, where it occurs sixteen times. We can trace it first in Amos iv. 2.

Branch: this rendering is incorrect (see Driver, p. 364). We should render 'Shoot;' the term designates what sprouts from the ground. Graf argues strongly that, since the Hebrew word is used elsewhere in a collective sense, so here we must interpret of the line of Messianic kings, who are really identical with the 'shepherds' of 4. But the language of these verses suits an individual much better than a collective interpretation, and the former is confirmed by the fact that Zechariah so understood it.

deal wisely: the same word is used of the Servant of Yahweh in Isa. lii. 13, if the text is correct. The measures he takes will achieve his end.

6. It is to be observed that here a favourite thought of Jeremiah's finds expression, that Israel as well as Judah is to be restored from captivity.

The LORD is our righteousness. The name embodies the people's confession, but it is borne by the Messiah himself. The

7 ness. [a] Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the
LORD, that they shall no more say, As the LORD liveth,
which brought up the children of Israel out of the land
8 of Egypt; but, As the LORD liveth, which brought up
and which led the seed of the house of Israel out of the
north country, and from all the countries whither I had
driven them; and they shall dwell in their own land.

9 Concerning the prophets. Mine heart within me is

[a] See ch. xvi. 14, 15.

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plural pronoun does not warrant the view that the righteous Shoot is to be explained as a collective designation. The righteousness of the people both in status and character is Yahweh's gift, of which the Messiah is the pledge. The marginal rendering is grammatically possible, but should be rejected. Jeremiah does not regard the Messiah as identical with Yahweh. In the parallel passage the name is given to Jerusalem. On its relation to Zedekiah see the note on 1–8, pp. 259 f.

7, 8. See xvi. 14, 15. In the Messianic time the great deliverance of Israel from Egypt, to which for so many centuries the people had looked back as the most wonderful manifestation of Yahweh's goodness and power, will not be mentioned in such adjurations, since it would be eclipsed by His deliverance of Israel from its wide Dispersion.

xxiii. 9–40. CONDEMNATION OF THE PROPHETS.

This section on the Prophets, for which Mic. iii. 5–12, Isa. xxviii. 7–13, Ezek. xiii. 1–16 may be compared, appropriately follows the preceding oracles on the Kings, since they were so largely responsible for the sins and miseries of the people. The text and contents raise many difficulties. In the latter portion the style is unusually diffuse, and we should probably recognize that the original utterances of Jeremiah have received considerable expansion. Duhm considers that 16–40 is a very late insertion, dating from the second century B.C., though apart from the closing verses, it might be reckoned with the best of the post-Jeremianic portions of the book, containing some things worthy of Jeremiah himself. Cornill thinks little is genuine after 24, Giesebrecht takes 30–40 as late, Rothstein singles out 9–12, 19–22, 23, 24, 28, 29 as the genuine portion of 9–32, and the closing portion on the Burden of Yahweh (33–40) he also regards as genuine, but taken from the prose-book.

broken, all my bones shake; I am like a drunken man, and like a man whom wine hath overcome; because of the LORD, and because of his holy words. For the land 10

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xxiii. 9–15. I am unstrung by Yahweh's holy words, for the land mourns because of transgressors. Prophet and priest profane God's house. They shall be driven on a slippery path, and fall in the darkness. The prophets of Samaria have led Israel into idolatry, the prophets of Jerusalem are guilty of flagrant immorality and encourage evil-doers in their sins. They shall be fed with wormwood and gall, for they have profaned all the land.

16–18. Hearken not to the prophets whose utterances spring from their own heart, not from Yahweh, who promise peace and safety to those who stubbornly despise Him. For who has stood in His council and marked His word?

19, 20. Yahweh's tempest shall smite on the head of the wicked, and not cease till His wrath has achieved its end.

21–24. The prophets prophesy without commission from Me. If they had stood in My council, they would have turned the people from their sin. Am I a God at hand, and not a God afar off? Can a man hide himself from Me, who fill heaven and earth?

25–29. I have heard the false prophets boasting of their dreams. Will they turn, who prophesy deceits, and with their dreams cause My people to forget Me? Let the dreaming prophet tell his dream, but let him who really has My word declare it. What has the straw to do with the wheat? My word is a fire, and a hammer that shatters the rocks.

30–32. I am against the prophets who steal their oracles, who say 'Thus saith Yahweh,' who prophesy lying dreams and lead My people astray, though I sent them not.

33–40. If the question is put, 'What is the burden of Yahweh?' then say 'You are, and I will cast you off.' Those who speak of 'the burden of Yahweh' shall be punished. Ye shall say 'What has Yahweh answered?' or 'What has Yahweh spoken?' The 'burden' shall be mentioned no more, for ye have perverted My word. If you still continue to use the term I will cast you off, away from My presence.

xxiii. 9. According to the present text the prophet's heart is broken, his bones become soft, on account of Yahweh's holy words, i. e. the Divine displeasure he has to utter. Duhm thinks his pain was really due to the sin itself, so he treats 'because . . . words' as a gloss.

10. Giesebrecht's view that 'for because . . . dried up' is an insertion due to dittography has commanded general acceptance.

is full of adulterers; for because of [a] swearing the land
mourneth; the pastures of the wilderness are dried up;
11 and their course is evil, and their force is not right. For
both prophet and priest are profane; yea, in my house
12 have I found their wickedness, saith the LORD. Wherefore their way shall be unto them as slippery places in
the darkness: they shall be driven on, and fall therein:
for I will bring evil upon them, [b] even the year of their
13 visitation, saith the LORD. And I have seen folly in the
prophets of Samaria; they prophesied by Baal, and
14 caused my people Israel to err. In the prophets of Jerusalem also I have seen an horrible thing; they commit
adultery, and walk in lies, and they strengthen the hands
of evil-doers, that none doth return from his wickedness:

[a] †Or, *the curse* [b] Or, *in the year*

---

adulterers may be literally meant; it may, however, mean those who are faithless to God, especially the prophets. Giesebrecht, in fact, by a slight emendation reads 'prophets.'

swearing: better, **the curse.** The sin of the people has brought a curse on the land, which has taken the form of a drought.

course: literally **running.**

11. Cf. vi. 13. Priest and prophet profane even the Temple with their sins.

12. In a fine metaphor (cf. xiii. 16, Ps. xxxv. 6) Jeremiah declares their fate. Hitherto their way has been so smooth that they have run swiftly along it (10). But now the night descends upon them, and they miss the path; they find the ground slippery under their feet. They are not, however, suffered to stand still, or retrace their steps. They are driven forward till they fall. Cf. Mic. iii. 6.

13. folly: that which is without taste (cf. Job vi. 6); but here the word must have a stronger sense, 'ill-savoured' (see note on Job i. 22).

14. It was bad enough for the prophets of Samaria to prophesy by the Baal, but far worse was the immorality and lying of which the prophets in Jerusalem were personally guilty, and their encouragement of evil-doers. Their sin was monstrous in God's sight, like that of the cities of the Plain, and such would be their doom (Isa. i. 10). The estimate of the relative heinousness of the two types of sin is significant.

they are all of them become unto me as Sodom, and the inhabitants thereof as Gomorrah.

Therefore thus saith the LORD of hosts concerning the 15
prophets: Behold, I will feed them with wormwood, and make them drink the water of [a] gall: for from the prophets of Jerusalem is profaneness gone forth into all the
land. Thus saith the LORD of hosts, Hearken not unto 16
the words of the prophets that prophesy unto you; they teach you vanity: they speak a vision of their own heart,
and not out of the mouth of the LORD. They say con- 17
tinually unto them [b] that despise me, The LORD hath said, Ye shall have peace; and unto every one that walketh in the stubbornness of his own heart they say, No
evil shall come upon you. For who hath stood in the 18

---

[a] See ch. viii. 14.

[b] †According to the Sept., *that despise the word of the Lord, Ye &c.*

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15. Cf. ix. 15, where the same threat is uttered against the people; perhaps it is here simply a marginal quotation which has been taken into the text. For 'water of gall,' cf. viii. 14. That the prophets were themselves profane, and by their sin had defiled the Temple, we learn from 11; now we learn that they have contaminated all the land.

16. The messages of such profane prophets can naturally have no Divine origin; they are their own imagination and deserve no attention. It is true that this verse does not form so good a continuation of 15 as does 17, but it is arbitrary to strike it out.

teach you vanity: lit. 'make you vain;' but 'fill you with vain hopes' (Driver) brings out the real sense.

17. The evil influence of the prophets on the land is due to the assurance they give to the wicked who despise Yahweh's word that no ill shall befall them. The reading of the LXX (so also Syriac) should be preferred. It involves a change of vowel points merely.

18. The R.V. probably gives the true rendering, but the passage is difficult. For the answer which such questions naturally suggest is that no one has stood in the council of God. Since Jeremiah could obviously not have held such an opinion, conscious as he was that he had stood in God's council, and convinced that earlier prophets had enjoyed the same experience, Duhm considers

council of the LORD, that he should perceive and hear
his word? who hath marked [a] my word, and heard it?
19 [S] Behold, the tempest of the LORD, *even his* fury, is
gone forth, yea, a whirling tempest: it shall burst upon
20 the head of the wicked. The anger of the LORD shall

[a] Another reading is, *his*.

---

that we have here a denial of the reality of the claims made for themselves by the apocalyptists. The author, who lived in the second century B.C., was one of the sober people who had no sympathy with ecstasy and fanaticism, and repudiated the representations made in the apocalyptic literature that the seers had visited the heavenly regions and been there initiated into the secrets of the Divine purpose. Quite apart, however, from the improbability that our passage should be so late, it is unlikely that any Jewish writer should make a sweeping statement of this kind, which would contradict the claims made for themselves by some of the Biblical writers, and especially insert it in this context where the true prophecy is vindicated against the false. Graf and others explain the passage quite differently, taking the pronoun not as an interrogative but as a relative: 'He who hath stood . . . let him perceive . . . he who hath marked my word, let him proclaim it' (with a slightly different pointing). This has some support from 28, but it would be quite inconclusive against the false prophets, who did not hesitate to give out their revelations as of Divine origin. Accordingly it seems best to take the pronoun as an interrogative, but to regard the implied denial as touching simply the claims made by the false prophets. This limitation is not contained in the verse, but in view of the general subject-matter of the passage it is not arbitrary. The sense of the verse is thus similar to that of 16.

my word. This is the reading of the Hebrew text. The Hebrew margin reads **his word,** and is supported by the Syriac, Targum, and Vulgate. Some MSS. of the LXX support the text, others the margin. The margin is probably to be rejected, as due to assimilation to what precedes.

19, 20. These verses are also to be found, with trivial variations, in xxx. 23, 24. It is questionable whether even there they are Jeremianic; here they can form no part of the original passage. They break the connexion between 18 and 21, and speak of a subject remote from the theme of the section. There is no indication that we have here a specimen of true prophecy as contrasted with false prophecy, and why should such a prediction be introduced in a book which abounded in genuine prophecies?

not return, until he have [a] executed, and till he have performed the intents of his heart: in the latter days ye shall [b] understand it perfectly. [J] I sent not these 21
prophets, yet they ran: I spake not unto them, yet they prophesied. But if they had stood in my council, then 22
had they caused my people to hear my words, and had turned them from their evil way, and from the evil of their doings. Am I a God at hand, saith the LORD, and 23

[a] Or, *done* it [b] Or, *consider*

It was probably a marginal quotation from xxx. 23, 24, but why appended to the passage it is difficult to say.

in the latter days: an eschatological expression; when the present era comes to an end, the catastrophe which marks its close will make plain to them what Yahweh's purpose has been. Cf. Mal. iii. 17—iv. 3.

21. The continuation of 18.

22. Jeremiah brings the claims of the false prophets to have stood in the council of God to a practical test. They cannot be organs of a real Divine inspiration, or they would have urged the nation to forsake its evil doings. Cornill aptly compares the test of a truly inspired Scripture in 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

23, 24. The most obvious sense of the passage is that God's omniscience and omnipresence make Him cognizant of their conduct, so let them not flatter themselves that they can escape His notice. He is not a mere localized deity, He fills heaven and earth. But these prophets would hardly have denied that God was acquainted with all their doings. They were rather convinced that they were recipients of His revelation, and nothing would be further from their thought than to escape His notice. The LXX takes 23 as a statement, 'I am a God at hand, and not a God afar off,' and this has been defended by Giesebrecht, who considers that the Hebrew text is a late dogmatic alteration to bring the text into conformity with the Jewish doctrine of God's remoteness. But this seems to give a sense out of harmony with the rest of the passage. Cornill has put forward a very attractive view. Is God a Being with whom one can be on such easy familiar terms as these prophets fancy? It is not so simple a matter to be a prophet as they think. It is a high dignity to stand in the council of God, it is not accessible to the first-comer, but only to the worthiest. God is not the next-door neighbour whose door always stands open, but the remote God, 'the High and Holy One who inhabiteth eternity.' But just as man cannot force himself on God or

24 not a God afar off? Can any hide himself in secret
places that I shall not see him? saith the LORD. Do
25 not I fill heaven and earth? saith the LORD. I have
heard what the prophets have said, that prophesy lies in
my name, saying, I have dreamed, I have dreamed.
26 How long shall this be in the heart of the prophets that
prophesy lies; even the prophets of the deceit of their
27 own heart? which think to cause my people to forget my

---

elect himself to the prophetic office, so little can he escape His summons if he is God's chosen instrument. No matter how inaccessible his retreat, he cannot elude His all-seeing eye. Cornill's view is based partly on his metrical theory, which is a precarious foundation, and while it is a deep thought which he discovers in 24^a, and one taught Jeremiah by his own experience, it is hardly that which the passage naturally suggests. 24 seems on the face of it to support 23 rather than to form a contrast to it. It is then perhaps best to acquiesce in the usual view, which lies on the surface.

25. We now have a very interesting reference to the medium through which the false prophets claimed to receive their revelations. Dreams are often mentioned in Scripture as the vehicle of Divine communications (the document E in the Pentateuch; Num. xii. 6; Joel ii. 28; Dan. ii, iv, vii, &c.; Matt. i–ii). The writer does not necessarily deny that they may serve this function, but he apparently does not rate dreams high, since they gave such scope for delusion.

26. The thought is so strangely expressed even in the R.V., while the Hebrew cannot be translated, that the text is undoubtedly corrupt. We should probably accept Duhm's emendation of the first two words in the Hebrew, reading, 'I have dreamed,' so that this formula, like that in vii. 4, xxii. 29, is repeated three times. Then we should make, as Giesebrecht suggested in his first edition, a different division of the two following words (reading *h^{a}yashub leb*) 'Will the heart of the prophets turn, that prophesy lies?' &c.

27. The prophets tell their dreams to their fellow men (not to each other), thinking thereby to make Yahweh's people forget His name. Since the author has just said that these prophets speak in Yahweh's name (25), he cannot mean that it is their intention to make the name itself forgotten. The name has here its pregnant sense, it includes the essential nature of Yahweh, so that the result of this erroneous teaching is that, while the mere name continues to be used, it is filled with a false content. The

name by their dreams which they tell every man to his
neighbour, as their fathers forgat my name for Baal.
The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; 28
and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully.
What is the straw to the wheat? saith the LORD.
Is not my word like as fire? saith the LORD; and like 29
a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?

Therefore, behold, I am against the prophets, saith the 30
LORD, that steal my words every one from his neighbour.
Behold, I am against the prophets, saith the LORD, that 31

---

author speaks as if this result was due to an intentional misrepresentation of Yahweh's true character. Similarly the prophets of an earlier period had caused Yahweh's name to be forgotten 'through Baal,' i. e. the prophets had led their hearers to think of Yahweh as if He were like one of the Canaanite Baalim; for though the deity in whose name they prophesied was spoken of as Yahweh, he was no better than a Baal (see note on ii. 23).

28. Let the dreamer tell his dream if he will, but not utter it as divinely given revelation. Let him who has received the word of Yahweh declare it faithfully. But let the dream and the word of God be sharply distinguished, for the straw has nothing to do with the wheat, the worthless stubble with the Bread of Life; they must not be blended together.

29. And if it be asked, How are we to know what is the genuine word of God? the answer is that we may know it by its effects. It burns with consuming energy, it smashes like a forge-hammer the stubborn rocks. The former metaphor reminds us of v. 14, where the prophetic word is a fire devouring the people. But it is also worth noting that Jeremiah uses the same figure for the word in his own breast, which is as fire in his bones, torturing him till he utters it. But it is also like a hammer wielded with such crushing effect that the most obstinate resistance would be broken down. Thus we meet once again with the conception of the prophetic word as endowed with God's living energy and securing its own fulfilment.

30. The meaning is apparently that the prophets here denounced, having no genuine revelations to communicate, stole such revelations ('my words') from the real prophets and passed them off as their own. It would be very interesting to have fuller knowledge of the practices here mentioned.

31. The prophets who 'use their tongues' have no inward con-

32 [a] use their tongues, and say, He saith. Behold, I am
against them that prophesy lying dreams, saith the LORD,
and do tell them, and cause my people to err by their
lies, and by their vain boasting: yet I sent them not, nor
commanded them; neither shall they profit this peo-
33 ple at all, saith the LORD. [S] And when this people, or
the prophet, or a priest, shall ask thee, saying, What is
the burden of the LORD? then shalt thou [b] say unto them,
34 [c] What burden! I will cast you off, saith the LORD. And
as for the prophet, and the priest, and the people, that
shall say, The burden of the LORD, I will even punish
35 that man and his house. Thus shall ye say every one to

[a] Heb. *take*. [b] Or, *tell them what the burden is*
[c] † The Sept. and Vulgate have, *Ye are the burden.*

---

viction behind their words; their utterance is just a glib mechanical exercise, for which they claim Divine origin by profanely prefixing to it the formula 'He saith.'

32. The author reverts to the prophets whose stock-in-trade is dreams, in which he can recognize no element of truth, but only a delusion which would lure the people into false and ruinous courses.

33. The Hebrew word for 'burden' (*massa*) was ambiguous, since it bore the derivative sense of a prophetic oracle. When the people wished to know the latest oracle, and asked 'What is the burden?' the prophet is directed to reply 'Ye are the burden, and I will cast you off' (see margin, which is almost universally accepted; it involves a slightly different division of the consonants; the Hebrew can be translated only with violence). We read elsewhere how tenderly Yahweh has borne Israel (Exod. xix. 4; Deut. i. 31, xxxii. 11; Isa. xlvi. 3, 4, lxiii. 9; Hos. xi. 3). Here He is represented as weary of His burden and purposing to fling it off.

34. The rigorous prohibition of the word 'burden' is not quite easy to understand, but apparently the people had, by a trivial witticism, imported into the derivative sense of the word something of its primary meaning: one may well call the prophetic utterance a 'burden,' for it is both heavy and wearisome. Hence the use of the word is forbidden, that such profane misuse may be rendered impossible, and an unambiguous formula is to be substituted (35).

his neighbour, and every one to his brother, What hath
the LORD answered? and, What hath the LORD spoken?
And the burden of the LORD shall ye mention no more: 36
for every man's own word [a] shall be his burden; for ye
have perverted the words of the living God, of the LORD
of hosts our God. Thus shalt thou say to the prophet, 37
What hath the LORD answered thee? and, What hath the
LORD spoken? But if ye say, The burden of the LORD; 38
therefore thus saith the LORD: Because ye say this word,
The burden of the LORD, and I have sent unto you, saying, Ye shall not say, The burden of the LORD; therefore, 39
behold, I will [b] utterly forget you, and I will cast you
off, and the city that I gave unto you and to your fathers,
away from my presence: and I will bring an everlasting 40
reproach upon you, and a perpetual shame, which shall
not be forgotten.

[J] The LORD shewed me, and, behold, two baskets of **24**

---

[a] †Or, *is his burden, and ye pervert &c.*

[b] †Or, according to some ancient authorities, *lift you up*

---

36. every man's own word shall be his burden. We should either render 'is his burden,' i.e. the oracle he utters has no source higher than himself, or 'the burden to every man shall be his word,' i.e. his profane use of the term 'burden' shall be a burden upon him. The former is perhaps preferable. The last clause of the verse may be an insertion, and similarly the next verse, which is a repetition of 35. They are absent in the LXX.

39. forget: we should read, as in the margin, 'lift you up,' with the LXX, Syr., and Vulg., thus keeping the play on the word *massa*. The penalty for the use of the term here threatened is certainly astonishing.

xxiv. THE BASKETS OF FIGS.

It was natural that the Jews who were left behind in Palestine, when Jehoiachin and the flower of the nation went into exile in 597, should attribute their escape from captivity to their superior excellence. This complacent estimate is contradicted in this chap-

figs set before the temple of the LORD; after that Nebuchadrezzar
king of Babylon had carried away captive
Jeconiah the son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, and the
princes of Judah, with the craftsmen and smiths, from
2 Jerusalem, and had brought them to Babylon. One basket
had very good figs, like the figs that are first ripe:
and the other basket had very bad figs, which could not

---

ter. There is no sound reason for doubting the Jeremianic origin, whether we owe the actual composition to Jeremiah or Baruch. Ezekiel formed a similar estimate, and it is much simpler to assume that we have an incident in Jeremiah's career, than that a later writer is carrying back into the pre-exilic period the division between the half-heathen Jews who remained in Palestine during the exile and the strict Jews who returned from Babylon or remained there. Erbt has made the interesting suggestion that in its original form the passage was uttered after the Jews, who were left in Palestine by Nebuchadrezzar, had, in defiance of Jeremiah, gone into Egypt, and that these Jews were symbolized by the bad figs, and the captives in Babylon by the good figs. But this involves quite unnecessary violence to the text. The date of the incident may be placed soon after 597.

xxiv. 1-3. After Nebuchadrezzar had taken Jeconiah to Babylon, Yahweh showed me two baskets, one containing very good figs, the other bad, uneatable figs, and at His bidding I described them.

4-10. He said that He would look on the exiles to Babylon with favour, as on the good figs, and bring them back to dwell permanently in their own land, and they would be whole-hearted in their devotion to Him. But Zedekiah and those left with him in the land, and those in Egypt, will be consumed.

xxiv. 1. The vision, like those in chap. 1, probably had a physical basis. We may suppose that it was occasioned by the sight of two baskets of figs of opposite quality. But it is also influenced by Amos viii. 1, the vision of the basket of summer fruit. Cornill strikes out 'set before the temple of the Lord,' on the ground that the word for 'temple' is not that employed by Jeremiah himself, and that no one would bring utterly worthless figs as an offering.

smiths: the precise meaning of the Hebrew word is unknown.

2. The firstripe fig was a much-esteemed delicacy; it ripened about the end of June (cf. Isa. xxviii. 4; Hos. ix. 10; Mic. vii. 1; Nah. iii. 12).

be eaten, they were so bad. Then said the LORD unto 3
me, What seest thou, Jeremiah? And I said, Figs; the
good figs, very good; and the bad, very bad, that cannot
be eaten, they are so bad. And the word of the LORD 4
came unto me, saying, Thus saith the LORD, the God 5
of Israel; Like these good figs, so will I regard the
captives of Judah, whom I have sent out of this place into
the land of the Chaldeans, for good. For I will set 6
mine eyes upon them for good, and I will bring them
again to this land: and I will build them, and not pull
them down; and I will plant them, and not pluck them
up. And I will give them an heart to know me, that I 7
am the LORD: and they shall be my people, and I will
be their God: for they shall return unto me with their
whole heart. And as the bad figs, which cannot be 8
eaten, they are so bad; surely thus saith the LORD, So
will I give up Zedekiah the king of Judah, and his
princes, and the residue of Jerusalem, that remain in this
land, and them that dwell in the land of Egypt: I will 9
even give them up to be [a]tossed to and fro among all the
kingdoms of the earth for evil; to be a reproach and a
proverb, a taunt and a curse, in all places whither I shall
drive them. And I will send the sword, the famine, and 10
the pestilence, among them, till they be consumed from
off the land that I gave unto them and to their fathers.

[a] Or, *a terror unto*

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5. regard . . . for good: i.e. look upon them with favour.

8. that dwell in the land of Egypt: whether exiles taken into Egypt along with Jehoahaz, or those who favoured Egypt, and escaped thither when the Babylonian supremacy over Judah was established. Possibly we should connect this reference with the facts disclosed in the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, which show us that in 525 B.C. a Jewish colony had been long established there.

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Oxford: Horace Hart, Printer to the University